

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

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FOREWORD

BY PROFESSOR W. R. NIBLETT, B.A., B.LITT., Director of the University of
Leeds Institute of Education

WHY should we spend time in studying the long history of the educational provision made in this island? Facts about the history of education are notoriously difficult to remember and not least when an examination paper is waiting, in front of one's eyes, to be answered. The complex sequences of events, the tortuous negotiations which have preceded the carrying through of so many reforms, the changing currents of public opinion, studied in detachment, have a way of seeming unreal, boring, irrelevant. And, of course, studied in detachment (with one's eye on an examination ahead), so they are.

But the true history of education can hardly be studied in detachment. For it is a record of the provision made by our fathers for us, and by their fathers for them, back through many generations. Those apparently tortuous negotiations conceal battles of principle—battles which have their contemporary counterparts recorded in *The Times Educational Supplement*, *Hansard*, and the local Press. The history of education is the history of a gradually widening conception of what education itself is, a history still nearer its beginning than its end. Wherever we may live there are within reach of us visible embodiments of the Victorian ideas of the purpose of schools in the very architecture of the schools themselves. Our teaching to-day is guided, guarded, informed, and influenced, by the history of education within these shores.

In this concentrated book, filled with knowledge and hard facts—but with many things in it of direct and personal human interest—Dr. Curtis has given us plenty of clues for tracking modern issues and controversies back through the centuries to mediaeval times. The examples he draws upon in text and footnote are often northern examples and none the worse for that, whether the reader be from

the south or the north His chapters on Education in Scotland give valuable material for work in comparative education As he says, he has tried to show "some of the main ways in which it has both influenced, and been influenced by, events in England." There is still room for more of such two-way traffic.

As we read any history of education it is well to remember for our comfort that however defective the actual educational provision in any period, even to-day, may be, education in the broad sense was and is always taking place—through home and family life, in the contacts of field and factory, in church and market and street, as well as in schools and universities. It is well to remember, too, that what goes on in schools, and how it goes on, depends not only on the great statesmen, the strong headmasters, and the ardent administrators, with whose work and contribution this book is necessarily chiefly concerned, but on the creative ideas of those men and women of many nations to whose thinking about education we owe so much—the Platos and the Lockes, the Rousseaus and the Froebels, the McMillans and the Montessoris, the Bubers and the Deweys, down the ages.

W. R. NIBLETT.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THIS book has been written to meet the needs of students in University Education Departments and Training Colleges. It will appeal also to the general reader interested in the development of education and in current problems concerning educational progress.

The origin and growth has been considered not only of schools, primary and secondary, but also of universities and other educational institutions and agencies. The important differences between the English and Scottish systems and the influence of each on the other has been considered.

The bibliography has been carefully planned to guide readers wishing to study in greater detail individual topics in which they are particularly interested.

The author would like to express his gratitude to his colleagues and friends who have assisted him in so many ways. In particular, he wishes to acknowledge the debt he owes to Professor W. R. Niblett for his kindness in contributing the Foreword and for his helpful advice and criticism when the book was in proof; to his colleague, Mrs. A. Whitehead, for permission to use the letters and prospectus on pp. 226-7 [pp. 532-3 in the Second Edition], and to Miss W. F. Robson, who so kindly assisted in reading the proofs. Finally, he would like to thank his wife, not only for her help in the arduous task of checking the proofs and index but also for the lively encouragement she gave him when he was writing this book.

S. J. C.

Leeds, 1948.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE favourable reception accorded the First Edition of this book, and the need for a new impression, has given the author an opportunity of bringing the text up to date, of rearranging the contents, and of substantially adding to them. Several chapters have been completely rewritten and considerable additions have been made to the others. The bibliography has been entirely recast to give assistance to more advanced students, and a detailed date chart has been added.

The author would like to express his gratitude to reviewers, colleagues, and friends, for their constructive criticisms of the First Edition and for much useful advice, and particularly to Mr. H. Bell, Rector of Dollar Academy, for his suggestions concerning education in Scotland. It is too much to hope that every educational development can receive mention in a book of this size, but a number of important topics have now been included which were not discussed originally.

S. J. C.

Leeds, 1950.

NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION

THE present edition contains some minor corrections and alterations in the text and an Appendix has been included dealing with changes in educational policy since the publication of the Second Edition. The Bibliography has been enlarged.

S. J. C.

Leeds, 1953.

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HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

ENGLISH SCHOOLS BEFORE THE REFORMATION

“An institution older than the House of Commons, older than the Universities, older than the Lord Mayor, older even than the throne or nation itself.” In these words, A. F. Leach emphasised the antiquity of the school of York Minster, of which St. Peter’s, York, is the lineal descendant. In these days, when men are apt to associate education predominantly with the State, it is useful to remind ourselves and others that our English schools were the creation of the Church and took their rise almost at the same time as the introduction of Christianity into this island. No doubt schools existed in Roman Britain both before and after Christianity was accepted as the religion of the Empire, but all traces of them were swept away by the Anglo-Saxon invasions of the 5th and 6th centuries.

England received its Christianity through two streams, the Continental in the south-east and the Celtic in the north. As the Continental was the first, it is logical to suppose that the earliest schools were established in Kent, and in the controversy as to which is the oldest school, Canterbury or York, the evidence seems to point in favour of the former. It should, however, be noted that even at the present day, the word “school” is ambiguous. It may either refer to the building in which instruction is given to pupils, *i.e.* the schoolhouse, or it may indicate the assembly of pupils and teachers met together for the respective purposes of learning and teaching. There is a close parallel in the use of the word “church” which can be used to indicate either a body of people united by the bond of common belief and worship, or the actual building in which the worship is carried out. In modern usage, school, often, but not exclusively, emphasises the building, but in mediaeval times the essential idea was that of a number of scholars who gathered together to listen to a master. The pupils might be adults or they might be children. The teaching might be conducted in the open

air, within a monastery or a church, or even in the dwelling-place of the master. The practice of setting aside a special building for the purposes of education only arose at a comparatively late period. Thus, when we refer to a school at Canterbury or York existing during the Saxon period, it must not be assumed that a particular building was earmarked to house the master and his pupils. A relic of the mediaeval usage is to be found in the term, the Honours School of a University, or the Schools of Oxford.

Augustine landed in England in 597 and after the conversion of Ethelbert, King of Kent, he was permitted to establish his episcopal see in the royal city of Canterbury. Augustine's mission was a difficult one. He was attempting to Christianise a people who, unlike the barbarian invaders of the Continent, had only the slightest acquaintance with the Roman tongue, Roman customs, and the Roman religion. Hence it was necessary for his missionaries to teach the Latin language to the native priests who were to perform the services in that tongue, and to those nobles who were to understand the new doctrines. Thus the teaching of Latin went hand in hand with the teaching of Christianity.

When the first cathedral church of Christ at Canterbury was established, it is practically certain that a school connected with it started at about the same time. The lineal descendant of this school is the King's School, Canterbury, its title referring not to the original patron, Ethelbert, but to Henry VIII who refounded it. As other sees were founded at Rochester, London, and the town of Dunwich, now swept away by the sea, similar schools on the model of Canterbury were started.

The evidence for this is afforded by the Ecclesiastical History of Bede who tells us, "At that time (631) the king of East Anglia was Sigebert, a good and religious man, who sometime before had received baptism while in exile in Gaul. On his return home, as soon as he had recovered his kingdom, wishing to imitate what he had seen well arranged among the Gauls, he instituted a school in which boys might be taught grammar (*litterae*). In this enterprise he was assisted by Bishop Felix, who came to him from Kent and brought with him ushers and teachers after the fashion of the Canterbury folk."¹ The school founded by Sigebert was Dunwich, and Bede expressly states that Canterbury served as its model. The controversy as to which is the oldest school in England is quite simply settled, for as Leach tells us, "The first churches

¹ III, 18.

were Bishops' churches or cathedrals invariably planted as the Bishop's see in the chief cities of the kingdom in which the Bishop himself was established. The schools were annexed to, or rather were part of, the foundation of the churches. We have only, therefore, to look for the first endowed cathedral, and there we shall find the first endowed grammar or Public School, and for the second to find the second, and so on."¹

The first preaching of Christianity to the north was due to Paulinus, who was sent from Kent to convert Edwin of Northumbria and his people. The work of Paulinus was shortlived. Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, with the assistance of his Welsh allies, defeated and slew Edwin at Heathfield in 633. Paulinus fled from Northumbria leaving behind James the deacon to look after the remnant of Christians. When the Christian King Oswald returned to Northumbria, Bede tells us, "when the number of the faithful increased, James acted as master to many in church, chanting after the Roman or Canterbury fashion [*i.e.* teaching the use of the Gregorian chant]." Oswald had learnt his Christianity in the monastery of Iona, and it was natural that he should turn to the Abbot of Iona to send a missionary to convert his subjects. The mission was undertaken by Aidan, and although Oswald was later defeated and slain by Penda, the work accomplished by the Celtic mission was of a permanent character. The reference of Bede to the work of James the deacon indicates that what in later ages was known as a song-school had been established at York.

Thus we find that from the earliest days of the Church in this country the forerunners of at least two different types of school were established. Other types came into existence at a later date, but wherever a cathedral or minster was built, there developed the twin schools of grammar and song. The same is true of Scotland. The important fact, so often forgotten in modern times when the State plays such a predominant part in education, is that the English schools were the offspring of the Church, which regarded them as one of its chief instruments in Christianising and civilising the people. Hence the Church, since it provided the only organised education that existed, exercised complete control over the schools which were under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities. Until the Reformation, all schoolmasters, with very few exceptions, were clergy, and scholars were in orders, though not necessarily

¹ In a letter to *The Times Educational Supplement*, 3rd January 1911.

major orders. It is essential to grasp this point to understand the controversies of the early 19th century. When the Church of England claimed continuity with the mediaeval Church, she also claimed to be the one body responsible for education in the country. This claim had the support of history and tradition, but those who advanced it failed to realise the changed circumstances of the time in which they lived.

The early Fathers were vehemently opposed to the training given in the grammar-schools of the Empire. Their main object was to further the spread of the Christian faith and it seemed to them that the literary curriculum of the grammar-schools was so bound up with pagan myth and legend as to be inimical to the new religion. They found themselves confronted with a very real practical problem. Tertullian and Origen, who had received a classical education themselves, sought to solve the difficulty by suggesting that much of the best in Greek and Roman literature had been borrowed from the sacred writings, and Augustine of Hippo openly proclaimed the legitimacy of "spoiling the Egyptians," *i.e.* making use of all those elements of pagan learning which were not opposed to the faith. This, however, did not represent the general outlook, especially in the West, and for a considerable period the Church was hostile to pagan learning. Even such a liberal-minded man as Gregory the Great scolded one of his French bishops, saying in a letter, "it has come to our knowledge that your brotherhood teaches grammar to certain persons; which we take all the worse as it converts what we formerly said to lamentation and mourning, since the praise of Christ cannot lie in one mouth with the praise of Jupiter."

The needs of the new kingdoms which arose out of the ruins of the Empire eventually forced the Church to reconsider the aim of education. On the one hand it was necessary to produce loyal sons of the Church whose aim in this life was to procure the salvation of their souls in the next, but there was also the need to train the clergy to act as intelligent leaders. As the organisation of the new kingdoms grew more complex, there developed the necessity for keeping up the supply of officials. "The clerks supplied not only the chaplains, but the civil servants, secretaries, attorneys, and land stewards of the age. Domesday Book and the vast number of accounts, title-deeds, charters and the like legal documents, which still survive, were their work. Some of the feudal establishments, therefore, included a number of learned

persons, or furnished the nucleus of an educated society, in the narrow sense of the phrase as used to-day.”¹

For such people, as for the clergy, a knowledge of the Latin language was essential. Thus we find that the study of Latin, which sometimes included a small amount of literature, was one of the main subjects in the mediaeval grammar-schools. According to Leach, the early schools took as their model the only possible one, the grammar-school of the later Roman Empire. This has been denied by some writers who trace these schools back to the early Christian schools, e.g. schools for catechumens, catechetical, and episcopal schools.² The probability is that both influences were at work in shaping the schools, and the effect of Christian tradition is seen in the importance attached to instruction in religion and morals.

The history of the English pre-Reformation schools falls roughly into three periods, each of which is characterised by certain important features. The first, which may be called the Formative period, starts with the introduction of Christianity and ends with the completion of the Norman Conquest. The next period, which is one of Development, is brought to a close by the Black Death, 1349, and the last, an age of Consolidation, is terminated by the Renaissance and Reformation. Although it is not the purpose of this chapter to attempt a detailed account of English schools and scholars of the Middle Ages, yet it is important to consider the educational developments of each of the above periods and to draw attention to factors which affected schools of later days.

The records of the early period provide somewhat scanty information. Thus, although Leach's claim that Canterbury was the seat of our oldest school may be accepted, its truth is rather a matter of inference from what Bede has to say than of direct evidence. We do know, however, that the school of Canterbury was flourishing shortly after the arrival of Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus in 669. It was known as the "School of the Archbishop and the City," but for nearly three centuries after the death of Theodore, there is a complete blank. Absence of records, however, is not evidence that the school for a time ceased to exist.

In the same way, evidence is lacking for the continuity of the school at York. We do not know for how long James the deacon

¹ J. W. Adamson. *A Short History of Education*, p. 13, C.U.P., 1922.

² A. W. Parry. *Education in England in the Middle Ages*, pp. 22-3, U.T.P., 1920.

carried on the school after the triumph of Penda, but shortly after the Synod of Whitby in 664 the school appears in history once more. It seems that, from the beginning of the 8th century, the right of appointing the master of the school was assumed by the Archbishop of York. The first master was Egbert (about 705). He was followed by Albert (about 750), whose pupil, and successor in 766, was the famous Alcuin of York. After Alcuin, with the exception of a brief reference in 849, no further record exists until 1094. The reason for the silence was the destruction of the well-known library by the Normans in 1069. After the Harrying of the North, the Archbishop seems to have re-established the school.

Similar schools were established in connection with other cathedrals, *e.g.* Winchester, 648, Worcester, 685, together with Lichfield and Hereford at approximately the same time. The school of York is always associated with the name of Alcuin, who, together with Albert, founded the famous cathedral library, the catalogue of which is still extant. This shows that it contained a complete collection of the Church Fathers, the Latin grammarians, and a representative assembly of Latin classical writers.

Alcuin gives an illuminating description of the curriculum of the school in those early days. "There he (Albert) moistened thirsty hearts with divers streams of teaching and varied dews of study; busily giving to some the arts of the science of grammar (*grammaticae rationis artes*), pouring into others the streams of the tongues of orators; these he polished on the whet-stone of law, those he taught to sing in Aeonian chant, making others play on the flute of Castaly, and run with the lyre over the hills of Parnassus. But others, the said master made to know the harmony of heaven and the sun, the labours of the moon, the five belts of the sky, the seven planets, the laws of the fixed stars, their rising and setting, the movements of the air and the sun, the earth's quake, the nature of men, cattle, birds, and beasts, the different kinds of number and various (geometrical) figures, and he gave sure return to the festival of Easter; above all, revealing the mysteries of holy writ, for he opened the abysses of the old and rude law."¹

This account of the studies of the school of York suggests that they were encyclopaedic in range, and the reader will discover that they consisted mainly in the Seven Liberal Arts, a term which is explained later in this chapter. He should note that the one

¹ Quoted by A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 58-9, Methuen, 1915.

institution undertook the teaching of all subjects from what we should now call the school to the university stage. Differentiation in function found little place in the early schools of England, and even in the later Middle Ages there was much overlapping between one institution and another. It seems, however, that on the Continent, differentiation of function in the schools was beginning to appear. The evidence for this development is afforded by the letters of Alcuin. Archbishop Eanbald I was contemplating retirement from his office in 795. At this time, Alcuin was in France, engaged in founding schools in the dominions of Charles the Great. Letters were sent asking Alcuin to return to England so that his knowledge and experience might be available in the choice of a new archbishop. Alcuin could not be spared, and in his absence Eanbald II was elected archbishop.

When Alcuin heard of the appointment, he wrote a letter to Eanbald to congratulate him on his accession, and offered him the following advice. "With holy solicitude, make provision for masters to teach the pupils. According to the customs of the Gauls, arrange for the clerks to be separated into those who read books, those who serve the chanting of the services, and those who are assigned to the study of writing. Let each of these divisions have its own masters, lest having nothing to do, they wander from place to place and busy themselves with idle frivolities or become slaves to other foolish pursuits. My dearest son, consider all these things most carefully, so that in the chief city of our people, there may be found a fount of goodness and learning from which the thirsty wayfarer or the lover of ecclesiastical lore, may be able to draw what his soul desires.

"You, who are most diligent in the practice of apostolic piety, turn over with care in your mind where you can establish guest houses or hospitals in which a daily welcome may be offered to the poor and to travellers, and they may have sustenance at your expense."¹

This letter is of first-rate importance. Although there is no evidence to show that Alcuin's counsel was acted upon immediately, it anticipates the development that was to take place in the future, when the grammar and song schools were organised as separate establishments, and the writing-school, having been

¹ There appear to be two errors in the original manuscript; *clero* should obviously be *clerici*, and *illorum* (since the letter was written from Gaul) should be read as *Gallorum*. These corrections do not affect the meaning of the advice, and Alcuin's intentions are perfectly clear.

relegated to an inferior position, carried out the functions of a primary school.

In the early days of the Church in this country, the bishop not only supervised his diocese, but he also undertook the office of a teacher. Thus Wilfrid of Ripon personally instructed the sons of noblemen. As the business of the diocese grew more burdensome, the bishop found it necessary to delegate part of the teaching. St. John of Beverley, who occupied the see of York from 705 to 718, is described by Bede as teaching a school which included both clerics and laymen and seems to have been both a grammar and a song school.¹ John was an elderly man (he had previously been Bishop of Hexham) and for several years before he retired he had found the business of the diocese pressing heavily upon him. To ease his burden, he appointed Wilfrid II as his deputy in the city of York. In a similar way, so Alcuin informs us in his poem on the Archbishops of York (*De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis Carmen*), Archbishop Egbert appointed Albert as master in York (*et simul Euborica praeferetur in urbe magister*). This shows that the bishop had delegated the office of teaching to a person who ranked next to him in authority. When Albert in his turn was raised to the archbishopric, his love of learning was so great that Alcuin records with some surprise that he still continued to teach and expound the Scriptures.

During this formative period, the process of delegation seems to have taken place in stages. In the first stage, the bishop delegated the teaching of the grammar and song schools whilst retaining what afterwards became the theological school. The next step was when the bishop's duties became so onerous that he was forced to abandon teaching altogether. His deputy took charge of all the schools. The final stage belongs to the period of development when the bishop's deputy became head of the theological school but the grammar and song schools had separate officers. Thus the bishop's deputy eventually became known as the chancellor (*cancellarius*) and the schoolmaster and precentor were in charge of the grammar and song schools respectively. It will be necessary to describe this process of delegation in some detail when we consider the period of development, since we find a certain amount of confusion amongst writers on the history of education in regard to the status of the chancellor, his duties, and his relation to the schoolmasters of the diocese. It will be sufficient at this point to

¹ *Ecclesiastical History*, Bk V, Ch. vi.

emphasise that in the pre-Conquest schools, the process of devolution was well on its way.

In the 8th and 9th centuries English schools and scholars enjoyed an international reputation. This was the result of the labours of men like Wilfrid of Ripon, Albert, and Alcuin. The latter was so outstanding a personality in the history of early education that it is worth while summarising his accomplishments in England and on the Continent. Evidently the prestige of the school of York had travelled far and wide, for we find that pupils from other lands were sent to Alcuin to obtain a training which was not available to them in their own countries. Thus, some time between 760 and 770, Liudgar and Sigibold came from Utrecht to study under Alcuin at York. After spending a year in the school, Liudgar returned to his own home, but he had been so impressed with the teaching of Alcuin that he obtained permission to come back and stay another four years at York.

After the death of Archbishop Albert, Northumbria passed through a period of unrest. One king after another succeeded to the throne in the space of a very few years. Possibly the ensuing disorder had much to do with Alcuin's decision to leave the school of York. He also deeply felt the loss of his bishop and friend to whom he was genuinely attached. During Albert's lifetime, Alcuin had accompanied the archbishop to the Continent when the two scholars went in search of books for the library. In the course of these visits Alcuin made many friends, and in 781 he became acquainted with Charles the Great. Charles soon discovered that Alcuin was the kind of man he required to organise the schools of his empire. Permission was obtained from the king of Northumbria and Archbishop Eanbald for Alcuin to stay on the Continent and undertake the organisation of the palace school, which was intended for the sons of the noblemen at the court of Charles. The Englishman collected round him a band of accomplished scholars and as head of the palace school acted as a kind of Minister of Education for Charles. Alcuin returned once more to England in 790 but he soon went back to France where he spent the rest of his days. The school of York was always in his thoughts, as evidenced by the letter of advice he sent to Eanbald about the reorganisation of the school. In his old age, Alcuin retired to become Abbot of Tours, where he died on Whit-Sunday, 804.

Many of Alcuin's letters are still extant and show him to have been a most lovable character who possessed a strong sense of

humour. One letter to his old companions at York reminds them how they trained him in his early years and with paternal floggings brought him to man's estate. On another occasion he playfully warned the canons against falling in love or getting tipsy. On his last visit to York he seems to have found the cold very trying after his long stay in France, for he wrote to his servant, asking him to send some warm clothing and a supply of wine "because the acidity of the beer in these parts plays havoc with my stomach."

The mention of the palace school of Charlemagne for the sons of courtiers, raises the question whether a like development occurred in England. According to his biographer, Asser, Alfred the Great seems to have contemplated some such thing, but Asser's testimony cannot by any means be taken as accurate. If Alfred did establish a palace school, it was not continued after his death. Alfred's fame as a patron of education rests upon his earnest attempt to repair the ravages wrought by the Viking invasions. He tells us that as the result of the raids, "So great was the decay of learning among Englishmen that there were very few on this side Humber, and I ween not many north of it, who could understand the Mass or translate a letter from Latin into English. No, I cannot remember one such, south of the Thames, when I came to the throne." Alfred's work of restoration consisted in his translations and in his invitations to famous scholars to visit England and assist him in his task. It was in this way that both Asser and Grimbald came to dwell at Alfred's court. One of Alcuin's successors in the palace school was the famous philosopher, Scotus Erigena. William of Malmesbury asserts that some time after 872, Erigena was invited to England by Alfred, where he became head of the school connected with the monastery of Malmesbury and met his end by being stabbed to death with the pens of his infuriated pupils. A good deal of controversy has raged over the trustworthiness of William's statement.¹

Dunstan has always been reputed an important patron of schools and learning, but such a crop of legends has developed around his activities that it is difficult to dissociate the truth from error. Aelfric was a pupil of Dunstan and his authorship of an Anglo-Saxon grammar, a *Glossary*, and the well-known *Colloquy*, testify that education had made considerable progress. Aelfric

¹ The evidence for Erigena's residence at Malmesbury is discussed at length by R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning*, pp. 273-85, S.P.C.K., 1920.

became Abbot of Eynsham about 1005 and his *Colloquy* gives us an insight into the teaching methods of these early schools. Latin was taught as a spoken language, and for this purpose vocabulary books and readers were necessary. The former were known as Colloquies and took the form of dialogues into which words and phrases useful in everyday life were introduced.

Speaking of Aelfric's *Colloquy*, Dr. Coulton says: "It gives us a very vivid picture of school at that time. To begin with, we find the rough material. The teacher asks: 'Who are you here before me?' and one pupil answers for 'us boys' (*nos pueri*). The list of pupils includes a professed monk, ploughmen, shepherds, cowherds, fishermen, fowlers, merchants, shoemakers, hunters, and bakers. We must not, of course, take this catalogue too literally; the writer's business was to bring in as many occupations as possible in order to increase the vocabulary of his scholars. . . . Next, the book throws light upon discipline. The teacher asks: 'Are you ready to be flogged while you learn?' (*Vultis flagellari in discendo?*). The pupils answer: 'We would rather be flogged for learning's sake than be ignorant,' but they add ingratiatingly: 'We know that thou art a humane man, and wilt not beat us unless our conduct compels thee.'"¹

The second period of mediaeval education extends from the third quarter of the 11th century to about the time of the Black Death, when the universities had become securely established and organised. The 12th century itself was an age of considerable intellectual activity, only exceeded in the vigour of its efforts and achievements by the Scholastic Renaissance of the following century and the Humanistic Renaissance which ushered out the Middle Ages. This intellectual ferment was largely the product of two causes: the increased attention given to the study of law, especially canon law and Roman law as expressed in the Digest of Justinian, and the infiltration into Western Europe of the *Organon* or logical works of Aristotle. On the authority of John of Salisbury, we know that by 1162 the whole of the *Organon* was in the possession of the West. It was also the 12th-century Renaissance which brought about the foundation of the mediaeval universities, and as soon as they were established we begin to obtain a clearer picture of the organisation of education in this country. Records become more plentiful and they show that not only the founding of schools went on with renewed vigour as soon as the confusion which was

¹ G. G. Coulton. *Medieval Panorama*, p. 403, C.U.P., 1938.

created by the Conquest had disappeared, but they enable us to obtain more certain knowledge about the different types of school which existed.

The first two important changes were direct effects of the Conquest. To a considerable extent, Saxon schoolmasters were replaced by Normans, and thus began the practice of translating Latin into Norman-French instead of English. Another innovation was due to the policy of Archbishop Lanfranc, who was determined to reform the English Church by replacing, wherever possible, the secular establishments of the cathedrals by regulars. He naturally began with his own cathedral church of Canterbury, which had been severely damaged by fire in 1067. The actual establishment of Canterbury in pre-Norman times is unknown, but the frequent use of the phrase "the Archbishop and his clerks," suggests a large element of seculars. Lanfranc replaced them by members of regular monastic orders, as was also the case at Rochester, Winchester, and Worcester. The school at Canterbury was maintained, but instead of remaining as an integral part of the cathedral establishment supervised by a permanent member of the Chapter, it was put under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, who had so many cares that we may assume he had little time to spare for the interests of the school. That the school of Canterbury continued is attested by the fact that when the first Franciscans came to England about 1220, certain of them were lodged in the schoolhouse of Canterbury. This also shows that by this time it had become the custom to set aside a special building for the use of the school.

The records of the 12th century indicate that the educational organisation of the Church was taking on a definite pattern, and the tendency towards differentiation of function, already developing in the pre-Norman schools, now resulted in a clearer line of demarcation between different types of school. Some writers have distinguished between Latin and vernacular schools, and have considered the former as providing a secondary and the latter an elementary type of education. This distinction is by no means an absolute one since in many so-called Latin schools a part of the teaching was in the vernacular, which in the early part of the period was often Norman-French, and in some schools which have been claimed as elementary, the pupils were taught to sing the Latin of the Church services. In any case, we must remember that the elementary school, in the meaning of the term in later ages, did not exist.

The most important distinction was that between the grammar-school and other types. The actual term "grammar-school" was not in common use much before the 14th century. Its first appearance in English seems to have been in 1387 when John of Trevisa used the phrase "gramer scole" in his translation of Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*. There is, however, no doubt that the cathedral establishments of the early period included a school which was to all intents and purposes a grammar-school.

Other schools were attached to monasteries and at first prepared novices who wished to become monks, but after a time they admitted lay youths as well. Leach¹ contends that the number of schools of monastic origin has been greatly exaggerated. He points out that the word minster can only be translated into Latin by the word monastery, which in the early English period meant any large church, just as *monasterium*, or little minster, referred to any small church, even an ordinary parish church. In later times, the word minster was applied exclusively to cathedrals or collegiate churches of secular clergy, like York, Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell Minsters in the north, Lincoln and Lichfield in eastern England or the midlands, and Wimborne Minster in the south.

Indeed, it should not be assumed that because a school was attached to a monastery or placed under the care of the Abbot, it was a monastic school. Thus St. Alban's School, usually attributed to Abbot Ulsinus, 948, was certainly in existence in 1097. In the abbacy of Richard Daubney (1097-1119), the secular Geoffrey de Gorham was sent from the Continent to become the master of the school at St. Albans. Later, the mastership was held by Alexander Nequam, the author of many punning verses, also a secular. He was master from 1185 to 1195, when he was appointed Bishop of Cirencester. This is an example of a grammar-school under the jurisdiction of an abbey, staffed by seculars, and differing in no respects from other grammar-schools of the time except that it received distinction from the fact that it educated Nicholas Breakspear, afterwards Adrian IV, the only Englishman ever to occupy the Papal Chair. It is a matter of dispute to what extent the internal schools of the monasteries were open to pupils from outside. The practice seems to have varied from age to age, but at no time were the pupils very numerous.

Whatever its origin, the grammar-school provided what may be called the secondary education of the Middle Ages. Another type

¹ A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, p. 57, Methuen, 1915.

of school, the song-school, was in existence. We have already met with the instance of the song-school at York, which probably existed side by side with the grammar-school from the earliest times. As a rule the song-schools were quite distinct from the grammar-schools, though in small foundations they were frequently housed under one roof. In such cases, the grammar master was always senior to the song master, as their stipends indicate. At Northallerton in 1426, the school included what may be called the three departments of grammar, song, and reading. Jesus College, Rotherham, employed a grammar master whose salary was £10, a song master who received £6 13s. 4d., and a writing master at £5 6s. 8d. The aim of the song-school was to train youths who were engaged in the singing of the Church services. Chaucer, in the *Prioresses Tale*, describes a "litel scole" where, the Prioress tells us, the pupils learned

"... to singen and to rede

As smale children doon in hir childhede."

A small choir-boy, "a widwes sone, a litel clergeon seven yeer of age," attended this school and sat "in the scole at his prymer." He heard the older children singing the Alma Redemptoris Mater and he committed the words to memory, but he could not understand them. One of the older boys tried to explain its meaning but he could not go far because,

"I can no more expounde in this matere;

I lerne song, I can but smal grammere."

The little boy made up his mind to learn the hymn for himself.

"Though that I for my prymer shal be shent

And shal be beten thryes in an houre."

He learnt it so thoroughly that he was able to sing it "wel and boldly," and when going to school in the morning, and again when coming home at night, he sang the hymn to himself.

"Twyes a day it passed thurgh his throte,

To scoleward and homward whan he wente."

Besides the song-schools there were reading-and-writing schools, and, in the passage above, Chaucer is giving us a picture of a tiny boy learning his primer in a reading-and-writing school which was attached to a song-school for older choristers.

It was during this middle period that the cathedral establishments became stabilised and the offices and duties of the precentor and chancellor were clearly differentiated. The clearest picture of

what occurred is presented by the history of the cathedral of York. In 1069 the whole of the north was in rebellion against William I and the Norman garrison at York was massacred. During the fighting, the cathedral was destroyed by fire and with it perished the great library which had been created through the labours of Albert and Alcuin. William's vengeance on the rebels and the desolation he wrought in Northumbria are well known. He found York a city of ruins, and one of his first acts was to set about the restoration of the cathedral. Thomas of Bayeux was appointed archbishop. The work of restoration carried out by this Norman ecclesiastic is described by Hugh the Chanter, *i.e.* the precentor. Thomas re-established the school of York and appointed a schoolmaster. Hugh tells us that only three of the seven canons remained and the cathedral had been completely gutted. The original number of canons was restored, the church received a new roof, and a refectory and dormitory were built. According to the continental custom, a provost was appointed to preside over the canons and the diocese was divided among the archdeacons.

About twenty years later, Archbishop Thomas, acting upon advice which had been tendered to him, entirely reorganised the establishment and appointed four principal dignitaries. The dean took the place of the provost and next in rank came the precentor, who was in charge of the music of the cathedral, and the treasurer, who was responsible for the ornaments of the church. The schoolmaster (*magister scholarum*), who had previously been appointed, was the fourth dignitary or *maior persona*. The same kind of change had been taking place in other cathedral establishments, *e.g.* at Salisbury and Lincoln.

In 1120 Thurstan was elected archbishop, and we are told in the history of Hugh the Chanter, that the newly elected archbishop visited the Pope at Blois to seek consecration without having to swear obedience to Canterbury. Thurstan was accompanied by two archdeacons and the schoolmaster, who in this connection was described as *scolasticus*.¹ It is probable that the latter was Hugh,

¹ The term *scolasticus* was not in common use in England, though it is frequently met with in accounts of schools on the Continent. During the early mediaeval period in Scotland, there was a person who was known as the *scolasticus* or *scoloc*, but he was a scholar who had passed beyond the stage of being merely a pupil and was employed as a kind of assistant teacher. The Scottish equivalent to the English chancellor in those days was the Ferleyne.

Thus Adamson seems to be at fault when he writes: "At first the actual conduct of the scholastic work of the cathedral was a duty of the chancellor, who in this capacity was termed *scolasticus*." (*Op. cit.*, p. 5.)

who may have held this office before he became precentor. At this time the title of chancellor and schoolmaster seems to have been interchangeable. The same was true of St. Paul's, where the schoolmaster regularly used the title *magister scholarum*. Richard of Stortford, who became master of St. Paul's in 1181, signed his documents as *magister scholarum Londoniensium*. The bishop of London considered that the stipend of the schoolmaster was insufficient and he assigned to the office certain tithes from lands at Fulham and Barnes. A later addition to the document which awarded the extra emoluments reads, "Note of tithes granted to the schoolmaster, now the chancellor." John of Kent, who succeeded Richard, used the title of chancellor in a deed of 1205.

This development can be illustrated from the records of York Minster. A dispute had arisen about the order of precedence of the cathedral dignitaries. Archdeacon Ralph asserted that the third dignitary in order of rank was the Archdeacon of York. An appeal was made to the Pope, who ordered the Abbot of Welbeck and the Priors of Newburgh and Pontefract to investigate the claim. The papal commissioners took the evidence of those clergy who had been longest at York, and concluded that the chancellor was the third dignitary of the cathedral (*invenimus quod cancellaria est tertia dignitas in ecclesia Eboracensi*). They gave judgment that the chancellor, Simon of Apulia, had precedence in all things of Ralph, Archdeacon of York. The date of the decision is 1191 and it suggests that the separation between the duties of the chancellor and the schoolmaster had only recently been made.

The statutes of the cathedral of York were not put into writing until 1307, but they claimed to represent the customs of that church for at least a century before this date. The section headed: "Of the chancellor and his office" is so significant in the light it throws upon the duties performed by that dignitary, that a full translation is appended.

"The chancellor, who in ancient time was called the schoolmaster, should be a master in theology and should actually teach close to the church. It is his duty to make the appointments to the grammar-schools (*scholas grammaticales*). He must appoint a master in arts to the grammar-school at York, who should be an individual who gives promise of being efficient. According to the ancient custom of this church, he should hold office for not more than three years, though in special circumstances his tenure may be extended for a further year.

"The chancellor must preach a sermon to the people on the first Sundays of Advent and Lent, and at the synod he is to preach to the clergy. He is also to assign the dates on which others are to preach. He is to be in charge of the seal for citations (*i.e.* for legal business). It is his duty, and that of the sub-chancellor, to make a roll of the readers, to grant the licence authorising them to read, and to hear them before the vestry office.

"He must also keep the records of important events in the history of the cathedral. On double feasts he is to assign the lessons to the readers, but when the dean or any other of the four dignitaries are appointed to read, the sub-chancellor is to see that they are notified and also the canons, so that they may choose their own reader.

"The sub-chancellor also has the duty of seeing that there is no deficiency in the reading in the choir and chapter-house, nor amongst the incense bearers and deacons.

"For these duties, the sub-chancellor is to be paid the sum of twenty shillings a year from the grammar-school endowment."

These statutes demonstrate quite clearly that the chancellor was expected to teach the theological school, and the fact that a master of arts was required for the grammar-school shows that the latter was of some standing. It should be noted that the chancellor appointed the masters to the grammar-schools of the diocese and that in his work in the cathedral he was assisted by the sub-chancellor. The statutes also detail the duties of the precentor and indicate that by this time the song-school and the grammar-school had become distinct establishments. The duties of the latter dignitary were parallel to those of the chancellor. The statutes laid down that he was to appoint the master of the song-school, supervise all matters pertaining to that school, and settle all disputes. The precentor was responsible for the singing in the choir, and the vicars' sub-chanter assisted him in the latter work. The actual choir arrangements were in the hands of the vicars' sub-chanter, who kept a roll of the choir-boys, made sure that they knew their parts, and punished them when necessary (*cum necesse fuerit, castigare*). Like the sub-chancellor, the sub-chanter received twenty shillings a year from the song-school endowment.¹

¹ The results of recent research into the cathedral establishments are given in the following study. K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, University of Manchester Press, 1949. The office and duties of the chancellor are discussed on pp. 180-7.

Throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages the Church exercised a close supervision over the schools. This did not mean that the schoolmaster was necessarily in holy orders, and there is evidence that in some of the schools, especially towards the end of the period, he might be a layman. Thus, in 1432, John Sevenoaks, the founder of Sevenoaks Grammar School, definitely ordered that the master should not be a clergyman. The Church controlled education by conferring the right to teach through the chancellor's licence, a rule which also applied to the universities. The system of licensing schoolmasters was widespread, and the Third Lateran Council of 1179 laid down that no charge was to be made for the issue of the licence (*Pro licentia docendi nihil exigi debet vel promitti*). Thus began the system of licensing schoolmasters which was not finally abolished until 1869.¹

There were, however, some masters who defied the regulations and opened unlicensed or "adulterine" schools. One of the best-known examples is the series of disputes which distracted the district of Beverley in the early 14th century. Beverley Grammar School was a very ancient foundation dating from pre-Conquest days when the Minster was established. Nothing is known of the early history of Beverley Grammar School. The first mention of it is in the history of the miracles of St. John of Beverley, written by Ketell who informs us that in the year 1100 a new schoolmaster was appointed. He was an excellent man in every way until he cast his eyes upon a pretty girl with whom he fell hopelessly in love. He kept his passion a secret, but the effect upon him was disastrous. He neglected his studies and his discipline fell to pieces. His passion so preyed upon him that he became pale and emaciated. One morning he remained in church after matins to seek the aid of St. John of Beverley. The saint responded to his tears and prayers and the schoolmaster arose from his knees completely healed and once more became the perfect schoolmaster.

A certain Thomas of Brompton, Rector of Beverley Grammar School, on 27th October 1304, cited one "Robert Dalton, clerk, unmindful of his [soul's] health" as an unlicensed schoolmaster, who kept school in a district which fell within the jurisdiction of the Minster. Walter Kelsay, clerk to the Minster chapter, warned Dalton

¹ Endowed Schools Act, 1869, Clause 21. "In every scheme, the Commissioners shall provide for the abolition of all jurisdiction of the Ordinary relating to the licensing of masters in any endowed school, or of any jurisdiction arising from such licensing."

to relinquish his school within nine days under pain of excommunication, and forbade him to teach in Beverley in the future. Evidently Dalton obeyed the decision of the chapter for the time being, but he was not the only unlicensed schoolmaster to trouble the authorities. A few months later, Stephen of Garton was warned against keeping an adulterine, *i.e.* an unlicensed school, at Kelk in the liberty of Beverley. No sooner was this case disposed of when a third clerk, Geoffrey of Sancton, summoned before the chapter for practising as a schoolmaster, turned the tables upon Thomas of Brompton by instituting an action against him. The issue of the action is not recorded in the chapter roll, but later in 1305, Geoffrey of Sancton was warned about his behaviour. He refused to give up his school, was excommunicated and then boycotted, "to avoid him and cause others to avoid him, until, excluded from common intercourse, suffused with shame he may be inclined to the grace of humility and the issue of reconciliation." Geoffrey was unable to stand against the clerical boycott and made his submission in January 1306. A few months later, Robert Dalton's name cropped up again. He was warned once more and finally had to desist from teaching.¹

Another example of the claim to the monopoly of teaching is afforded by Gloucester Grammar School. In this case, an action was brought in the Court of Common Pleas and was heard by the Lord Chief Justice and two judges. The school at Gloucester was originally attached by Henry I, about the year 1100, to St. Oswald's collegiate church. In 1137 it was transferred to Llanthony Abbey, a house of the Augustinian canons, a short distance out of the town. The right of patronage of the priory of Llanthony seems to have been resented by the people of Gloucester and resulted in an inquiry of 1286-7 by the bishop, who upheld the claim of the prior of Llanthony and directed other schools established in the city to be suspended. In order to confirm the right, the priory obtained a royal charter. The lawsuit of 1410 was instituted by John Hamlyn, master of the school, who sought to restrain Thomas More from teaching an unlicensed school in the city. Normally the appeal would have been made to the ecclesiastical authorities, but, influenced no doubt by the fact that the charter had been obtained from the Crown, Hamlyn brought an action of trespass against More in the civil court. He

¹ A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 182-3, Methuen, 1915.

pleaded that 'owing to the competition of the rival school his emoluments had fallen off considerably, and he claimed damages. The full text of the proceedings is given by Montmorency in Appendix I to his *State Intervention in English Education*. The Lord Chief Justice ruled that the act of keeping a school did not constitute an offence against the Common Law of England.¹ The law did not recognise a monopoly except in the case of the universities and the ancient schools. If an offence had been committed, it was a question for the ecclesiastical courts, and the plaintiff must seek his remedy there. 'Once again a principle was enunciated which was not observed in practice, for we shall see that a few years later Henry VI granted a monopoly to his royal foundation at Eton.

Perhaps the most amusing case is that of the grammar-school at Canterbury in the early 14th century. In the Middle Ages, Canterbury was not a free school and tuition fees were paid until its refoundation by Henry VIII. The Rector of the school in 1321 was Ralph of Waltham. During his tenure of office, Robert de Henneye, Rector of St. Martin's outside the city walls, taught a school in his parish. This school appears to have been a reading-and-writing school and he was allowed to take as many pupils for elementary education as he could obtain. In addition, he was permitted to teach grammar to a number of pupils, who were not to exceed thirteen in number. Probably the grammar pupils paid higher fees and Robert was anxious to increase the number. Ralph contended that this infringed his monopoly and he sent his usher to pay surprise visits to the rival school to count the grammar boys and report if they exceeded the permitted number. Robert seems to have got wind of the visits, for it was alleged that whenever the usher appeared the excess pupils were concealed, and produced when the visit had terminated. Ralph appealed to the archbishop, who, after holding an inquiry, confirmed that Robert was only entitled to thirteen grammar boys and threatened him with excommunication if he should take more than this number.²

¹ The Lord Chief Justice, in giving his decision, ruled that the education of children is a spiritual matter (*le doctrine et enformation des enfants est chose espiritual*) and therefore came under the jurisdiction of the Church courts, not the civil courts. This judgment was used by the Church party in the 19th century to support the claim of the Church to exclusive control of education, but both those who employed it and those who opposed it failed to understand the real significance of the decision.

² See Woodruff and Cape, *History of the King's School, Canterbury*, pp. 28-30, Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1908,

A frequent cause of dispute was concerning the respective rights of the grammar-school master on the one hand and the masters of the song and reading-and-writing schools on the other. We have already emphasised that these schools, although they gave what we should now term an elementary instruction, must not be regarded in the light of the elementary schools of the 19th century. In a great many cases they were in the nature of preparatory schools, teaching reading and writing to pupils who would afterwards enter the grammar-school. At Warwick, a dispute between the respective rights of the grammar and song masters was settled by the statutes of the school. Unfortunately, the statutes are not dated and we are unable to tell if they were drawn up in 1215 or 1315. The statutes record: "For an everlasting remembrance of the matter, we, Robert of Leicester, Dean of the Collegiate church of the Blessed Mary of Warwick, with the counsel of our brethren, decree and order that the Master of the Grammar School for the time being shall devote himself diligently to the information and instruction of his scholars in grammar. . . . That all material for strife and disagreement, which we learn has hitherto arisen between the Master and Music School-master over the Donatists and little ones learning their first letters and the psalter may be put a stop to for ever, after due inquiry in the matter and with the advice of our brethren, and so that the Masters and each of them may receive their due, and that undue encroachment of scholars on one side and the other may cease for the future; we decree and direct to be inviolably observed that the present Grammar Master and his successors shall have the Donatists, and thenceforward have, keep, and teach scholars in grammar and the art of dialectic if he shall be expert in that art; while the Music Master shall keep and teach those learning their first letters, the psalter, music and song."¹ The Donatists were those pupils who were studying the *Ars Minor* of Donatus, the elementary textbook on the parts of speech. In this case the Donatists were given to the grammar master, and the song master was given those who had not begun their Donat. In other cases it was decided that some of the Donatists might be taught by other masters, as in the example previously quoted of the thirteen boys at Canterbury School.

The rise of the universities resulted in a further development. The schools for higher studies connected with the cathedral establishments tended to disappear and become absorbed in the

¹ A. F. Leach. *History of Warwick School*, pp. 65-6, Constable, 1906.

Theological Faculties of the universities, except in places where the cathedral was remote from a university. At the same time, the function of the grammar-school became more sharply defined. It was now a feeder for the universities and provided that training in Latin, elementary logic, and rhetoric, which was necessary for a would-be entrant to university studies. Thus began that close connection between the grammar-schools and the universities which has remained so marked a feature even in modern times. The universal demand thus created resulted in the foundation of new schools, and their number rapidly increased after the commencement of the 13th century.

Since the grammar-schools of this period began to be thought of as feeders for the universities, their curriculum was now designed as an introduction to university studies and we no longer find that encyclopaedic range of subjects which characterised the school at York in the time of Alcuin. A much-quoted passage of William Fitzstephen, taken from the preface of his biography of Thomas a' Becket and preserved for posterity by John Stow in his *Survey of London*, 1596, indicates the nature of grammar-school studies in the middle of the 12th century. "In London, the three principal churches have famous schools privileged and of ancient dignity, though sometimes through personal favour to some one noted as a philosopher more schools are allowed. [The schools were St. Paul's, the school of the Arches, or St. Mary-le-Bow, and that of St. Martin's-le-Grand. Stow unfortunately creates confusion in his account by identifying the two latter with Westminster and Bermondsey, which at that time were outside London.] On feast days the Masters celebrate assemblies at the churches, arrayed in festive garb. The scholars hold disputations, some argumentatively, others by way of question and answer. These roll out enthymemes, those use the forms of perfect syllogisms. Some dispute merely for show, as they do at collections; others for the truth which is the grace of perfection. The sophists and those training in sophistry are pronounced happy because of the mass and volume of their words; others play upon words. Those learning rhetoric with rhetorical speeches speak to the point with a view to persuasion, being careful to observe the precepts of their art, and to leave out nothing that belongs to it."

Apart from this being a description of what we may almost call a 12th-century Speech Day in which the scholars, and not some person imported from outside, provided the entertainment, the

reference throws a most valuable light upon the grammar-school studies of the period. In the technical language of the time, the schools were concerned with the first three of the Seven Liberal Arts. In the Middle Ages, theology was considered the queen of studies, to which philosophy served as an introduction. The studies which led to the supreme study of theology were known generally as the Seven Liberal Arts. The Arts (or sciences) were termed liberal from *liber*, free, and constituted the course of study suitable for the freeman as contrasted with the Practical and Mechanical Arts which were learned and practised by slaves in the classical period.¹ The conception of the Liberal Arts takes us back to Greece, at least as far as Plato, and passed over to Rome with other aspects of Greek thought. The idea was given more definite form by the late Latin writers, Augustine and Martianus Capella in the 5th century, and Boethius and Cassiodorus in the 6th. The two latter were responsible for fixing the number of the arts as seven, no doubt due to Proverbs ix. 1, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars."

The arts were divided into the Trivium and Quadrivium. This division was first indicated by Boethius (475-525), who, in his treatise on arithmetic, showed the relation of that study to the other sciences of geometry, astronomy, and music. Speaking of the four, he wrote: "This, then, is that Quadrivium in which those must travel whose mind being raised above the senses, is brought to the heights of intelligence." The distinction between the Trivium and the Quadrivium was completed by Isidore of Seville (570-636), who, in his *Etymologiae*, produced an encyclopaedia of all the knowledge as was available to his day. The conception of the Seven Liberal Arts exercised a profound influence on after ages. We have already met with the practical application of the idea in the curriculum of the school at York under Albert and Alcuin. Even as late as the 18th century, many school books contained allegorical illustrations depicting the Arts.²

¹ This contrast was maintained in the Middle Ages, as witness the references to the Seven Mechanical Arts in the works of Hugh of St. Victor in the 12th century and St. Bonaventure in the 13th. The latter, in his *De reductione Artium ad Theologiam*, classifies the Mechanical Arts as the manufacture of clothes (*lanificium*), the making of weapons (*armatura*), agriculture and hunting (which also include the trades of bakers, cooks, and butchers), navigation, the theatrical art, and medicine. In the universities, the latter became an additional art added to the Quadrivium.

² A useful sketch of the meaning and development of the Liberal Arts is given in the *Spens Report on Secondary Education*, Appendix II, H.M.S.O., 1938.

The subjects of the Trivium consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic (logic); and of the Quadrivium, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. In many of the cathedral schools before the foundation of the universities, the subjects of the Trivium were taught to younger pupils and those of the Quadrivium to older pupils. John of Salisbury, in his *Metalogicus*, described in great detail the curriculum of the School of Chartres as it was under Bernard of Chartres in the 12th century. From his account, we find that grammar was employed merely as an introduction to the reading of classical literature, for which study Chartres was famous, but he is careful to add: "Since then less time and less care have been bestowed on grammar, and persons who profess all arts, liberal and mechanical, are ignorant of the primary art, without which a man proceeds in vain to the rest." As the universities developed, the grammar-schools confined their teaching to the Trivium, the remaining studies being considered as those proper to the university.

As already stated, grammar, *i.e.* the study of Latin grammar, was for practical reasons the most important of the school subjects. It is not usually realised that training in the Latin tongue was as vocational in the Middle Ages as is, say, training in engineering at the present day. Most of the teaching was oral. Manuscripts were scarce, so that the usual method of teaching consisted in the master reading from his own manuscript and dictating notes. The text-book used in the early period was the *Ars Minor* of Donatus, the teacher of St. Jerome who flourished at Rome in the middle of the 4th century. Donatus produced two works on grammar, the *Ars Minor* and the *Ars Maior*. The latter work was studied for the bachelor's degree in Arts at Oxford in the 13th century. The grammar of Donatus was so widely used that the term "Donat" was employed to describe an elementary work on any subject whatever. In some schools the *Institutio de Arte Grammatica* of Priscian (6th century) was used. This book contained a large number of quotations by way of illustration from classical authors, and was divided into eighteen parts, sixteen concerned with accidence and two with syntax. Later, in the 12th century, another competitor appeared, Alexander of Villa Dei. His book was written in crude verse and its quotations were taken from Scripture or colloquial Latin. The use of colloquies has already been mentioned.

Logic received some attention and was at first encouraged by the Church authorities as a means of detecting heresies. After the Renaissance, when the opposition to Scholasticism was in full

swing, the study of logic in schools tended to be discouraged, since it was considered to be closely allied to the doctrines and methods of the Schoolmen. Rhetoric in the schools was really a training in the art of writing letters and official documents. Some little time was given to what may be called ecclesiastical arithmetic, *i.e.* the rules for fixing the date of Easter and other feasts, and perhaps the elements of computation through the use of the abacus or ball frame.¹

The period of consolidation presents a number of important and interesting features. Following the development of the collegiate system at the universities, a revival of it began amongst the secular clergy. In many parts of the country new collegiate churches, each with its grammar and song school, arose. Leach considers that Howden, in 1266, was one of the earliest. Others quickly followed and "from this time to the dissolution of colleges in 1548, scarcely a year passed without witnessing the foundation of a college at the university, or a collegiate church with its grammar school attached, generally in the native place of its founder. The only difference between the university college, with its church attached, and the collegiate church with its schools of grammar and song attached, was that the latter were primarily for religious services and secondarily for education, and the former were primarily for education and secondarily for religious services. The collegiate church was *ad orandum et studendum*, the house of scholars at the university *ad studendum et orandum*. Both were indifferently spoken of as colleges."²

In a similar way, grammar-schools were founded as adjuncts to the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Thus, in the Statutes of the House of the Scholars of Merton, 1270, Walter de Merton enjoined that "some single individual, being a member of the collegiate body, is to be a grammarian, and must entirely devote himself to the study of grammar; and he is to be furnished, at the expense of the house, with a proper supply of books and other requisites: he is to have the care of the students in grammar, and to him too the more advanced in years may have recourse without a blush."³

¹ Foster Watson seems to over-emphasise the place of logic in the schools. See *The Old Grammar Schools*, p. 7, C.U.P., 1916.

² A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, p. 167, Methuen, 1915.

³ *The Foundation Statutes of Merton College, Oxford*, ed. E. F. Percival, p. 16, William Pickering, 1847.

A further provision of the statutes attached a grammar-school to Merton's foundation. "I will and enact that if any young children of my kin need support in consequence of the death or poverty of their parents, while they are under early instruction in the rudiments of knowledge, in such case the Warden shall cause them, to the number of thirteen, to be educated in the house until they can make their way in the schools (of the university), if they turn out to be of ability for that purpose."¹

The proof that Merton's will was carried out is shown by the accounts of the college grammar-school. In 1277 there were eleven boys, four living in the college and the remainder in the town under the care of Thomas of Wallingford. The Master of Grammar is described as the Master of Glomery. The latter was a corruption of the word "grammar," and was not only in use at Cambridge, as Rashdall states, but, as we have seen, at Oxford and also at other places in England and on the Continent. The accounts also state that the sum of 4d. a quarter for each boy is to be paid as tuition fee to the Master of Glomery. When Archbishop Peckham visited Merton in 1284, he found grave abuses existing both in the college and the school, and in his ordinances he says: "Furthermore, the founders of your college, perceiving that the clergy of England, for the most part, expressed themselves very inaccurately in the learned languages, decreed that you should educate scholars under a grammatical tutor, and that the works of grammatical authors should be kept in the library to perfect you in the learned languages. But as this has hitherto been neglected, we prescribe, under the penalty imposed on disobedience, that so far as possible the transgression be corrected according to rule. And we will that the works of Papia and Hughico, together with the summary of Brico, be procured and fastened on a public table, so that all who frequent the library may have facility of consulting them."² Other grammar-schools in connection with the colleges followed in imitation of the example of Merton, e.g. William Waynflete's foundation of Magdalen College School.

One of the outstanding characteristics of this period was that the customs according to which the schools were governed now began to appear in written form as statutes. No doubt the examples of the statutes of Merton and Peterhouse assisted in the growth of this procedure. Thus we have instances of early statutes at Lincoln

¹ *The Foundation Statutes of Merton College, Oxford*, ed. E. F. Percival, p. 65, William Pickering, 1847.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

in 1236, St. Paul's about 1250, and at York in 1307. The latter claimed to be a codification of the ancient customs which for centuries had been observed in the cathedral and the school of York. As distinguished ecclesiastics and lay noblemen began to found new schools, it was only natural that they should put into legal form the regulations for the government of these institutions. This development reached its maturity in the statutes of Winchester and Eton.

The Black Death of 1349, followed by other outbreaks in 1361 and 1367, seriously affected every aspect of national life, but nowhere were its results more apparent than amongst the clergy and in the schools and universities. It put an end, for many years, to the creation of new colleges and schools. At Cambridge, when Corpus Christi¹ and Clare Colleges were founded to repair the ravages caused by the Black Death, no other foundation is recorded for over a century, and the development of the Oxford colleges was hindered for nearly forty years. The mortality amongst the educated sections of the population was enormous, so that there was an insufficiency of clerics to fill posts in the Church and the State.

It has often been stated that one of the earliest consequences of the Black Death was the almost complete disappearance of the French language in schools. The Black Death was probably a contributory cause, but it must be remembered that for some time Normans and Saxons had been drawn together in an English nation and that for more than ten years before the coming of the plague, England and France had been at war. French had been discarded in 1362 as the language of the law-courts and of Parliament. John of Trevisa (1326-1412) informs us that John of Cornwall, the master of Merton College School, "changed the learning in grammar schools and construction of French into English . . . so that now [1385] . . . in all the grammar schools of England children leave French and construe and learn in English, and have thereby advantage on one side and disadvantage on the other. Their advantage is that they learn their grammar in less time than children were wont to do. The disadvantage is that now children of the grammar school know no more French than does their left heel, and that is harmful if they should pass the sea and travel in strange lands."

¹ Corpus Christi College originated from the gild of the same name, whose headquarters were situated south of St. Bene't's Church. Although it was officially named the "College of Corpus Christi and the Blessed Virgin Mary," for nearly 500 years it was called Bene't College. When the old entrance to the churchyard was closed in 1827, the college reverted to its official title.

The Black Death, by seriously reducing the number of scholars fit to teach in grammar-schools, was instrumental in bringing about the foundation of the first English institution for the training of schoolmasters.¹ In 1439 William Byngham petitioned the King for authority to erect a mansion called God's House in Cambridge for the training of grammar-school masters. The House was to accommodate "twenty-four scholars for to commence in grammar, and a priest to govern them." In his petition, Byngham declared: "your poor beseecher hath found in western land, over the east party of the way leading from Hampton to Coventry and so forth no farther north than Ripon, 70 schools void or more that were occupied all at once within 50 years past, because that there is so great scarcity of masters of grammar, whereof as now be almost none, nor none may be had in your Universities over those that needs must be occupied still there."² Evidently Byngham's venture was not a permanent one, for the house was permitted to fall into decay and was later refounded as Christ's College by the Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII.

The lack of priests resulted in a great increase in pluralism. William of Wykeham, after the plague of 1361, is reported to have obtained sixteen preferments in the space of eighteen months. His rapid rise to wealth and fame was such that he may be considered as the millionaire of the 14th century. After certain minor advancements, Wykeham was elected to the see of Winchester in 1366 and was made Chancellor in the following year. When, in 1371, Parliament attacked the King's ministers, he lost the office of Chancellor, and later, at the instrumentality of John of Gaunt, Wykeham was impeached for fraudulent misuse of public funds, and his episcopal estates were sequestered. They were, however, soon returned to him and, on the accession of Richard II, Wykeham received a full pardon.

Wykeham had long been a patron of education, and as early as 1369 he was buying land at Oxford with a view to a new foundation. In 1379 he executed a charter for the foundation of "Saint Marie College of Winchester in Oxford," which should have a warden and seventy scholars. The actual building of the college proceeded apace and it was formally opened in 1386. The college

¹ As early as 1200, the Council of Westminster, after ordering that priests should teach freely any children brought to them, also required that all priests should have a school for schoolmasters in their houses. We have no means of discovering how far this injunction was obeyed.

² G. G. Coulton. *Medieval Panorama*, p. 391, C.U.P., 1938.

was known as New College to distinguish it from Oriel, the older St Mary College in Oxford. The statutes of New College show quite clearly Wykeham's reasons for his foundation. "Further, compassionating the general disease of the clerical army, which through the want of clergy caused by pestilence, wars, and other miseries of the world, we have seen grievously wounded, in order that one may be able partly to relieve it, since in truth we cannot wholly cure it, for this truly in our small way we willingly spend our labours." A further reason was the growing strength of the Lollard movement. Wykeham saw that educated clergy were a necessity if the new doctrines were to be successfully checked.

At the time that Wykeham was busy with the preparations for the erection of New College, he was also making arrangements for the second part of his project. In 1373 he entered into an agreement with Richard of Herton to take charge for ten years in Winchester of "the poor scholars whom the said Lord Bishop maintains and will continue to maintain at his own expense." A house in the parish of St. John's, outside the East Gate, was purchased as a dwelling-place for the "poor scholars." In the meantime, Wykeham was maturing his plans for building a permanent home for them. In 1378 he obtained a Bull from Urban VI for the founding of "Saint Marie College of Winchester," and when the royal licence was granted a site was chosen and, after some delay, building operations commenced in 1387. They were not completed until 28th March 1394, when, with much ceremony, the formal opening of the college took place.¹

Wykeham's College at Winchester represents the beginning of a new era in the foundation of schools. As we have seen, collegiate schools had existed long before his time, but Winchester was on a larger and grander scale than the earlier colleges, and became a model for subsequent foundations. From Winchester, his scholars were to go to the sister foundation at Oxford to study arts, philosophy, and theology. The Winchester statutes show a marked development in clarity and comprehension over the statutes of earlier schools. The innovation of Wykeham, however, has been admirably described by Leach in his well-known history of the college.

¹ There seems to be some confusion in regard to the date of the formal opening of Winchester. The problem is discussed by A. F. Leach (*A History of Winchester College*, Chap. xi, "Our Opening Day").

"The really important new departure was taken, a real step in advance made, when Wykeham made his School a separate and distinct foundation, independent of the Oxford College. Others had erected Collegiate Churches for university students. He erected one for school-boys. The old Collegiate Churches had kept Grammar Schools, and flourishing Grammar Schools, but they were, though inseparable accidents, still accidents. The new Collegiate Churches at the University, called Colleges, substituted grown scholars for priests, and study for services, as the essence of the institution, but the school-boys remained an accident, and a rather unimportant accident. In Winchester College the accident became the essence. The corporate name of 'Warden and scholars, clerks,' stamped the School and the school-boys as the aim and object of the foundation. The Collegiate Church form was preserved, the Fellows occupying the place of Canons, but instead of the boys being subordinate to the Canons the Canons were subsidiary to the boys. For the first time a school was established as a sovereign and independent corporation existing by and for itself, self-centred, self-controlled."¹

In his foundation deed of 1382, Wykeham, after a reference to the founding of New College, states quite clearly the purpose of Winchester. "As experience, the mistress of life, already teaches, grammar is the foundation, gate, and source of all other liberal arts, without which they cannot be known, nor can any one arrive at their pursuit. . . . There are, too, and will be hereafter, one may believe, many poor scholars, busied in school studies, suffering from want of money and poverty, whose means barely suffice, or will suffice, in the future, to enable them to continue and become proficient in the art of grammar. For such poor and needy scholars, clerks, now and hereafter, in order that they may stay and be busy at school, and more freely and liberally profit in the faculty and science of grammar, and become as is desirable, more fit for the sciences or liberal arts . . . we propose, by the help of God, out of the means and goods given us by God, to hold out helping hands, and give the assistance of charity in the form underwritten." The deed appointed as Warden, Thomas of Canle and directed that the Warden and scholars "shall in the same college, live together as collegial and collegiate persons."

The earlier statutes of Winchester are not extant, and we only possess the revised statutes of the year 1400. From these we find

¹ A. F. Leach. *A History of Winchester College*, pp. 89-90, Duckworth, 1899.

that the original establishment consisted of the Warden, the Head Master, ten Fellows, three Chaplains, an Usher, seventy scholars, three chapel clerks, sixteen choristers, making a total of 105. In addition, there was a considerable domestic staff. The statutes show that, although Winchester was on a larger scale than previous schools, it was essentially a grammar-school. In spite of the fact that at present it is frequently described as our oldest public school, it is important to remember that the term "public school" did not acquire the sense it often has now until the 18th century. The public schools were no different in their origin from other grammar-schools. In its mediaeval usage, the word "public" simply meant open to scholars from all parts of the country, with no restrictions as to place of residence, as was the case in many schools. In this sense, St. Albans can claim, with a good deal of justice, to be one of the oldest public schools. The reference to the "poor and needy scholars" (*pauperes et indigentes*), will be discussed later in this chapter.

Winchester was intended to be an independent college, though closely connected with New College. Thus, the latter elected the Warden, who was a past or present Fellow of New College. The Fellows of Winchester were to have been, or were to be in the future, Fellows of New College. Also, each year the Warden and two Fellows from New College held a visitation at Winchester. It was on the occasion of their visit that scholars of Winchester were elected to proceed to New College and new scholars for the school were chosen. The statutes contain the regulations for conducting the election. First priority was to be given to the founder's kin. The remainder were to be "poor and needy scholars, of good character and well conditioned, of gentlemanly habits, able for school, completely learned in reading, plain song and old Donatus." They were to be between the ages of eight and twelve, but in exceptional cases boys up to sixteen could be admitted if they showed sufficient promise. Preference was to be afforded to those who came from the estates of the two foundations. Next in order came natives of the diocese of Winchester, and then those from Oxford, Berks, Wilts, Somerset, Essex, Middlesex, Dorset, Kent, Sussex, and Cambridge, and finally those born in other parts of England. Scholars could stay at school until the age of eighteen.

In addition to the scholars, the statutes directed that not more than ten sons of noble persons might be admitted, provided "that by occasion thereof prejudice, loss or scandal in no wise arise to

the Warden, priests, scholars, clerks or any of the servants of the same." These were called Commoners or Gentleman Commoners because they paid to have their commons, *i.e.* common meals and residence, with the Fellows. According to the records, the first commoners appeared in 1395. By the second term they were eleven in number, though one of them was termed *puer officialis*. We may suspect that he was what in later ages was termed a pupil-teacher. The amount paid for commons seems to have varied from 9d. to 16d. per week, according to the individual's station in life. By 1412 we find that there were from eighty to one hundred commoners, and the complaint of overcrowding was made. Only ten of the commoners were living in college. The rest were "street commoners" or Oppidans, who lodged near the college. Some of them are supposed to have lived in St. Elizabeth's College, which was on the site of the Warden's Garden. At a later period special quarters were provided for them by the Head Master. It is important to note that here we have the beginnings of the present public-school system in which the majority of the pupils are fee-payers and not free scholars.

At first the Warden was the most important officer and the Head Master (*Magister Informator*)¹ was merely the teacher, but as time went on he became very much more important. The stipend of the Warden was £20 a year; that of the Informator £10, whilst the Fellows received £5. The Head Master was allowed an Usher (*Hostiario*) as an assistant, and the latter was paid at the rate of £3 6s. 8d. a year. At times there were other assistants, known as *co-adiutores*. The Head Master was not permitted by statute to receive money or presents from the scholars, but there was no such restriction in regard to the commoners. One suspects that they contributed liberally to the Head's expenses.

The college records provide us with a clear picture of school-boy life in the Middle Ages at such an institution as Eton or Winchester. There was no general holiday until 1518 when, for the first time in its history, school was closed. There were plenty of holy days on which boys did not attend lessons, and certain boys were allowed to go home between Whitsun and August (*Exeats*). Any scholar who was absent for more than a month relinquished his place. Christmas was a season of great festivity. Not only did the college receive visits from minstrels and players, but on Holy Innocents' Day the curious ceremony of the feast of the Boy

¹ The headmaster of Winchester still signs his prizes as "Informator."

Bishop took place. One of the most handsome boys was chosen to be a bishop and the remainder took the parts of the prebends, canons, and other clergy. In reality, positions were reversed, and whilst the boys sang the services the clergy took subordinate parts. One can imagine with what glee the boys occupying the stalls of the Master and the Fellows sang, "He hath put down the mighty from their seats." The ceremony of the Boy Bishop was not by any means peculiar to Winchester. We find it at Eton and St. Paul's and in many of the other collegiate schools such as Jesus College, Rotherham. At Bristol, the mayor and corporation attended the Boy Bishop's sermon and received his blessing. The ceremony was proscribed by Henry VIII in 1541.

It is difficult with the scanty materials available to give anything like a complete picture of the daily routine at Winchester. The time of rising was fixed by mattins, which varied according to summer or winter from four to six o'clock a.m. After mattins came school-work. Breakfast was at nine and only the younger scholars were allowed to partake. The older ones were thought to be sturdy enough to wait until dinner at noon. The other main meal was supper at about six. All fast days were kept with the usual abstinence from flesh meat, but there is no evidence that the boys were insufficiently fed. Beer for the table was brewed in the college itself.

All scholars were obliged to receive the tonsure, the first step towards holy orders, before the end of their first year at school. Their head was shaved by the porter, and the inventory of the Porter's Lodge for 1413 contains amongst its items three basins, six shaving cloths, and four razors. All scholars were ordered to wear long gowns. Their colour is unknown except that black gowns were forbidden. The choristers, or Quiristers, did not live in college for the first half-year, but after this they were eligible for election and received their education free in return for waiting in Hall and making the beds of the Fellows.

Wykeham has been credited with the institution of Prefects or Praepostors. The boys were divided into Prefects and Inferiors, and the statutes certainly ordered that in the scholars' chambers there should be at least three scholars of good repute and older than the rest to superintend their studies and report on them to the Warden or Master when required to do so. This idea, however, was not original, for it seems to have been borrowed from the statutes of Merton, which prescribed, "There is to be one person in

every chamber, where scholars are resident, of more mature age than the others, who is also to have a superintendence over the other fellows, and who is to make his report of their morals and advancement in learning to the Warden.”¹

Wykeham does not seem to have drawn up any regulations concerning sports and games. In his desire to protect the fabric, his statutes forbid “uproarious and inordinate sports” in the college precincts. He says: “Inasmuch as below the said Hall is the school-room wherein scholars should study, who by wrestlings, dancings, leapings, singings, clamours, tumults and inordinate noises, and the spilling of water, beer and other liquids, in the said Hall, may be sore hindered from their studies and may sustain grave damage to their books and clothes: now we forbid all such doings, and each offender shall pay for the damage done by himself in such matters.” The main exercise seems to have been that of walking in procession to Hills (*ad montem*). The hill in question was St. Catherine’s Hill, about a mile from the college. No satisfactory explanation of the custom has been forthcoming. It may be that scholars could there indulge in ball games and archery without interference. The practice was developed at Eton in 1452, and there Montem was held each year at about the time of the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. The custom led eventually to rowdyism, and was abolished at Eton in 1847.

The schoolroom below Hall which is mentioned in the above extract from the statutes was the original schoolroom, and is the only ancient school building of the 14th century which now remains. A 16th-century description gives us a picture of it as it existed before modern restoration altered some of its original features. The room was at first forty-five feet six inches in length and twenty-eight feet ten inches in breadth. With such dimensions, one can well understand the complaint about overcrowding made in 1412. The Hall above was supported by four posts, of which one remains. There are raised steps in each window, on which sat the eighteen Prefects to supervise the work of the Inferiors. On the walls hung a map of the world, Quintilian’s Code of School Laws, and the famous device, “*Aut disce aut discede, manet sors tertia, caedi*,” which has been translated by “Learn, leave, or be licked.” Under the *Aut disce* originally stood the rostrum from which boys declaimed their exercises in rhetoric.

¹ *The Foundation Statutes of Merton College, Oxford*, ed E. F. Percival, pp. 18-19, William Pickering, 1847.

Wykeham's foundation was sure to have its imitators. One of these was Archbishop Chicheley of Canterbury, who founded the college school at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, and the College of All Souls, Oxford, in 1422 and 1438 respectively. The most important college which took Winchester for a model was that of Eton, founded by Henry VI in 1440. Its scholars were intended to pass on to King's College, Cambridge. Henry paid several visits to Winchester to study the organisation of the school, and when he had decided the lines on which Eton should be run, he persuaded the headmaster of Winchester, William Wayneflete, to be Eton's first Provost. Wayneflete brought with him from Winchester five scholars, an ex-scholar, and a commoner, to form the nucleus of the new college. The statutes of Eton, with certain modifications, were modelled on those of Winchester. Henry seems to have been more mindful of recreation than Wykeham, for he set aside sufficient ground for archery, and there is every reason to believe that some kind of football was played at Eton in quite early times.

Henry issued in 1446 a warrant in which he granted a monopoly to the Provost of Eton and his successors. This is one of the earliest occasions on which the term "public" was applied to a grammar-school, and it is again another sign that in the beginning the public schools of to-day were not different from, but had a common origin in, the mediaeval grammar-schools. The terms "public" and "general" emphasised the non-local character of Eton, which drew its scholars from all parts of the kingdom. This necessitated boarding in the houses of the Fellows. The boarders were known, as at Winchester, by the name oppidans, in distinction from the scholars who were borne on the foundation. There were two classes of oppidans at Eton: the higher class was composed of sons of noble-men and were not to exceed twenty in number. They dined with the chaplain and usher. The lower class dined with the scholars and choristers, and paid less for their board. Both classes received their tuition free.

Eton passed through troublous times during the Wars of the Roses. Because Eton was a foundation of the House of Lancaster, Edward IV, when he became King, obtained a Bull abolishing the college, and annexed the buildings to St. George's, Windsor. Wayneflete, now Bishop of Winchester, and Westbury, the Provost, were able to restore the college in 1467 and to obtain the revocation of the Bull. Edward seems later to have taken Eton into his favour again and paid several visits to the college. In 1489, as a

consequence of a petition presented by Eton and King's College to Henry VII, a commission of inquiry was appointed and the two colleges received back much of the property taken from them by the Yorkist kings

The third of our ancient public schools, Westminster, is from one point of view the oldest. The actual date of its commencement is unknown, but it is probable that when, in 1179, Pope Alexander III ordered all cathedrals and monasteries to maintain a school, the great Benedictine monastery of Westminster was unlikely to have disobeyed. The rules for the behaviour of 13th-century schoolboys preserved in the chapter library at Westminster are thought to have applied to the scholars of that school. The boys, on rising in the morning, were to make their beds, say their prayers, and wash themselves before proceeding to church. "They were not to carry in their hands bows, sticks or stones, and were not to run, jump, chatter or play any trick on a townsman . . . on the way. In church they were to endeavour to fix their eyes on the altar and to copy the good customs of their elders, and they were neither to laugh nor to giggle if anyone should happen to read or sing indifferently. . . . On holidays the boys were to keep to a definite place assigned beforehand for playing in moderation . . . but should any boy be found with dice in his possession, he must taste a stroke of the rod for each pip of the dice."¹

It is beyond doubt that from 1363 there was a permanent school in the Almonry of the Abbey, though it was never a large one, probably containing not more than twenty-eight boys. Leach arrives at this number in an interesting manner. "The payments for cloth enable us to determine with tolerable certainty the status of the almonry schoolmaster and the size of his school. The five yards of cloth allowed him was the same as the allowance to the usher at Winchester College, three yards less than the head master's, and his fur coat cost 16d. or 18d., while the head master's at Winchester cost 3s. 4d. He was sometimes a married man, and therefore not in holy orders. The number of boys can be deduced from the amount of cloth. Three or four pieces were bought, of twenty-four yards in the piece, which, at four yards a boy, would give eighteen to twenty-four boys."² The payment of cloth to the master and the boys remind us that at that time the clothing trade was the staple trade of England.

¹ L. E. Tanner. *Westminster School*, pp. 1-2, Country Life Ltd., 1934.

² A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, p. 220, Methuen, 1915.

Westminster was one of many instances which arose in the 13th century of a grammar-school under the supervision of the monastic almoner. At first, the grammar and song schools seem to have been combined, but in 1479 the records show that the two establishments were separate. The monastery was dissolved in 1540, but the King issued a charter for the refoundation of the school, and Alexander Nowell was appointed as Head Master in 1543. The development of Westminster into a large public school belongs, therefore, to the post-Reformation period.

One of the striking characteristics of the later Middle Ages was the very large number of schools which originated in association with a chantry. Some of these were primary schools, but most of them were either grammar-schools originally or became grammar-schools at a later date. The custom developed for wealthy individuals, who in earlier years might have endowed a church or a monastery, to found a chantry, which maintained one or more priests to say Masses for the repose of the founder and the souls of other specified persons. In most cases, the duties of a chantry priest involved the teaching of a school. Foster Watson claimed that the earliest recognised case of the foundation of a school in a chantry was that of Lady Berkeley in 1348, who was the founder of what was known later as Wotton-under-Edge Grammar School of Lady Margaret.¹ This claim does not seem to be substantiated, for Adamson states that the earliest chantries were founded in the 12th century, and Leach gives numerous instances of chantries and schools founded much earlier than Lady Berkeley's, e.g. the Free School of Crewkerne, Somerset, connected with the Trinity chantry, 1310; Ashburton Grammar School, Devon, and the chantry of St. Lawrence, 1314; and the chantry school of St. Petronilla at Harlow, Essex, 1324.

One of the earliest instances of a grammar-school springing from a chantry is that of Appleby Grammar School. As a matter of fact, Appleby originated from two chantry bequests, both much earlier than the date assigned by Foster Watson to Wotton-under-Edge. The first was the chantry of De Goldington, at the altar of St. Mary in the Church of St. Lawrence. He assigned five and a half marks yearly for the chantry priest. The deed is dated 1286. The mayor and corporation of Appleby claimed the right of

¹ Foster Watson. *The Old Grammar Schools*, p. 3, C.U.P., 1916. This school, however, can lay claim to another record. It was the first English school to possess a playground, and Lady Berkeley prescribed that whilst the pupils were at play they should be supervised by the master and the usher.

appointing the chantry priest, who was the schoolmaster. An interesting relic of this claim is that until 1886 the headmaster of the grammar-school had the right to occupy the corporation pew in the Church of St. Lawrence. The second chantry, dedicated to St. Nicholas, the patron saint of schoolboys, was founded by Robert de Threkeld in 1331. It seems that the same priest served both chantries. This was not unusual in cases where the chantry bequest was not sufficient by itself to maintain a priest. In 1388 the town was sacked by the Scots, but the chantry school was left standing. The rest of the days of the chantry school were occupied in a contest between the mayor and corporation and the vicar of St. Lawrence over the right of appointing the schoolmaster. In 1518 the dispute seems to have gone in favour of the corporation. When we come to consider the mediaeval Scottish schools, we shall find that the civic authorities claimed similar rights over them, and the proximity of Appleby to the Border may have influenced the corporation in this particular case. The chantry was dissolved in 1548, but the school was allowed to remain. In 1569 the dispute about the appointment of the master was raised once more, and to settle it the corporation applied to the Queen for a charter. This was granted in 1574, but the present title of the foundation as the Queen Elizabeth's Grammar School should not delude us into thinking that it originated at that date.

Another example of a grammar-school which sprang from a chantry is that of Leeds Grammar School.

Thomas Clarell, who was Vicar of Leeds from 1430 to 1469, was buried in his own chantry in Leeds parish church. The object of the Clarell Chantry was "to pray for the soule of Kyng Edward the iijth and Quene Elizabeth, the founder's soule and all Cristen soules, and to do dyvyne service." Freehold lands worth £4 13d. 4d. per annum were acquired for the support of the chantry. The original endowment was doubled by further gifts of land and it is highly probable that some kind of school, most likely a grammar-school, was taught by the chantry priest. We certainly find a reference in the will of 1496 to the "prestes, clarkes, and scolers" of Leeds. When the chantry was dissolved, the chantry priest was a certain William Sheffield who was granted a small pension. At his death in 1552, Sheffield left a will bequeathing the rent of certain properties "to the use and for findinge sustentation and livinge of one honest substantial learned man to be a schoole maister to teach and instruct freely for ever all such younge

schollars youthes and children as shall come and resort to him from time to time to be taught instructed and informed in such a school house as shall be founded erected and buylded by the paryshioners of the sayde towne and parishe of Leedes." He also named twelve executors to see his wishes carried out.

Another founder of the school was William Ermystead, priest, who refounded Skipton Grammar School in 1548 and Birstall Grammar School in 1556. In 1555 he set aside certain property the rent of which should go "to the finding of one prieste sufficientlie learned to teach a free gramer schole within the towne of Leeds in the Countie of Yorke for ever for all such as shall repaire thereunto without takinge of any money more or lesse for teaching of the said children or schollers saveing of one pennie of everie scholler to enter his name in the Mayster's booke yf the Scholler have a pennie and yf not to enter and continue freeilie withoute any paieing, whiche said prieste and his successors by the Grace of God and by my will and mynde saie Masse three daies in everie weeke in the parish church of Leeds aforesaid."

Wakefield Grammar School developed from a chantry school. The commission of inquiry appointed by the Chantries Act of 1547 noted, with regard to Wakefield Parish, "the Chantry called Thurstone Chantry in the seid paryshe churche—Edward Wood, Incumbent, lii yeres of age, well learned and teacheth youth there, hath no other lyving than the profits of the said Chauntrie." In a similar manner, Skipton Grammar School originated in the chantry of St. Nicholas, established some time before 1492 by Peter Toller, whose object is expressed as, "to pray for his sowl and all Christian sowles, and to help to do and manteyn dyvyne service in the said quere, and also to keep a grammer skole to the children of the same towne." The altar of St. Nicholas was established in Skipton Parish Church in 1475, when Toller became Dean of Craven, so that the school may have originated at that date. The frequent dedication of chantries to St. Nicholas, the patron of schoolboys, in itself emphasises the close connection between the chantries and the schools.

The craft and merchant gilds of the Middle Ages, which through their apprenticeship system trained artisans and skilled craftsmen, were closely associated with the Church and paid priests to officiate for them. In addition, there were numerous religious gilds and brotherhoods, all of which maintained a priest. Frequently one of the duties of the priest was to teach Latin grammar, and some of

the gilds maintained schools such as Ludlow Grammar School, founded by the Palmers' Gild, and the school connected with the Gild of St. Nicholas at Worcester. The foundation of the Grammar School of Stratford-on-Avon, which was attended by Shakespeare, was closely connected with the gilds of that town. Sometimes the gild priest was also a chantry priest; at others, he might be a "morrow mass priest,"¹ who celebrated an early Mass attended by folk on their way to work. It should not be thought that the gild schools were merely vocational. They were similar to the grammar-schools which sprang from cathedrals and collegiate churches. In the same way, hospitals and almshouses frequently maintained schools.

Ripon Grammar School was probably a pre-Conquest foundation, but it does not appear in written history until 1348, when the Sheriff of Yorkshire was ordered to arrest the master on a charge of felony. His crime was that he had become mixed up in some kind of rebellion, but, fortunately for him, he could not be found. The school became associated with the gilds of the town, and the events which followed form a most important commentary on the economic conditions of the later Middle Ages and their effect upon schoolmasters. Although the all-round wealth of the country had been growing during the 15th century, money was declining in value. We know from the chantry certificate of the commissioners of Henry VIII that the stipend of the schoolmaster at Ripon was £2 per annum. For many years this had been insufficient to maintain him, and in order to provide him with a living wage he had been given a chantry in the minster. The gilds also came to his rescue and he was allowed the use of the rents from certain lands which were known as the School or Rood lands. The master was

¹ An interesting example of the "morrow mass priest" is afforded by the chantry certificate for the chantry connected with the school of Pontefract. "The Chauntrie of Corpus Christi in the sayde Church. Richard Ridgall, incumbent Havyng no foundation but put in by the Mayre and his bretherne, To th' entente to say the morrowe masse in the said church and to surveye the amendynge of the high wayes about the said towne, which masse is done by 5 o'clock in the mornynge." Richard, when he had concluded his mass, evidently had time on his hands, and was able to undertake the duties of a highway surveyor and to teach in the school. At the dissolution, the schoolmaster of Pontefract had to make do on a stipend of £2 19s. 2d. a year. A complaint was made that he "doth not his endcavour and diligence in the due education and bringing up of children." The appointment of the master was given to the corporation, and in 1583 Elizabeth ordered the stipends of several small schools in the neighbourhood to be compounded and given to the master of Pontefract. His new salary was £25 7s. 2d. The school fell into decay and was refounded by George III in 1782 under the title of the King's School. (See *Charity Commissioners' Reports, Yorkshire West Riding*, 1819-37, pp. 734-7.)

not permitted to augment his income by charging fees to his pupils, since Ripon was a free school. The lands mentioned above belonged to the Rood or Gild of the Holy Cross in Ripon. It seems to have been quite a common practice for a gild to devote part of its income to help out the 15th-century schoolmaster and so to preserve the grammar-schools as free schools. In the example of Ripon, there was a curious sequel.

The Chantry Act dissolved gilds as well as chantries. The total income from the gild lands at Ripon was £8 7s. 2d. When the Chantry Commissioners visited Ripon, the townsfolk endeavoured to conceal the fact that the property consisted in gild lands. Probably they thought they would be able to preserve their school by this means. In any case, once the lands had been surrendered, if they wished to continue the school it would have been necessary to buy back the lands from the Crown. All might have gone well had they not attempted to dismiss the master, Edmund Browne, on the grounds that he was a Papist; "he was commonly reputed and taken for a misliker of Christ's religion now established." Browne evidently informed the authorities of the real facts about the lands, and a number of involved lawsuits followed. The school was reconstituted in 1555 as the Free Grammar School of Queen Mary.

After this brief account of the development of the pre-Reformation schools of this country, one is in a position to consider certain problems that arise in connection with mediaeval education. In the first place, was any provision made for primary education in the mediaeval scheme?

Adamson quotes a number of instances where grammar-schools of the later Middle Ages extended their teaching to younger children who were taught to read and write. Some of these small schools survived the Reformation and thus secured the continuity of primary education in this country.

The Church, through decrees of councils and episcopal charges, frequently reminded parish priests of their duty to maintain schools and teach freely all children of the parish who came to them. It is important to realise that girls as well as boys attended such "parish schools." We have no means of estimating the value of this teaching or how consistently it was carried out. One suspects that it varied greatly with individual parish priests and was often of the nature of the teaching given in a Sunday School, though probably there were some priests who taught children of their parishioners to read and write.

Some writers (e.g. S. C. Parker, *A Textbook in the History of Modern Elementary Education*, Ginn, 1912) have stressed the tardy development of vernacular schools. As we said previously, it must not be supposed that facilities for elementary education existed in England comparable to the elementary schools of the 19th century, but there is evidence that the type of school we have been considering was more widespread than has usually been acknowledged. Leach quotes a number of instances of primary schools existing at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Three examples will illustrate this point.

1. The Guyld of the Trinitie in Barnard Castell.

"The said Guyld was founded and endowed with certen landes, by Gifte of the brethern and other benefactors of the same, of auntyent tyme, to fynde a preste to be namyd the Guyld preste, to say masse dayly at the 6th houre of the clocke in the mornynge, and to kepe a free Grammar scoole and a Songe scoole for all the children of the towne." ¹

2. Parish of Kingsley, Staffordshire.

The chantry priest was directed "to kepe scole, and to teche pore mens children of the seid parishe grammer, and to rede and sing." ²

3. Parish of Bromyard, Worcestershire.

"Sir John Bastenall, Incombente and scole master ther, of the age of [blank] yeres, a man of good conversacion and well lerned, which teachith chylderne, and doth brynge upe vertuously in redying, wryttinge, and in gramer." ³

In northern Italy and Germany, the situation was entirely different. The development of banking and the growth of commerce and industry demanded that a comparatively large proportion of the population should be able to read, write, and keep accounts. Thus we have the rise of the German reading-and-writing schools in which the teaching was in the vernacular and which can be considered as elementary schools in some respect similar to the English schools of the 18th century. In Germany, also, the town councils took a prominent part in the founding and maintenance of these schools.

¹ A. F. Leach. *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 61, Pt. II, "Extracts from Chantry Certificates and Warrants," Constable, 1896.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Childrey, in Berkshire, is an interesting example of a school with an upper division for those who required grammar teaching. The priest was to teach the alphabet, the Paternoster, the Ave, the Creed, and all that was necessary for serving at Mass. The boys also received doctrinal instruction in the articles of faith, the ten commandments, and the method of making a confession. They were also taught good manners and to honour their parents. Those who proceeded to the upper division were to be instructed in grammar, but the priest was to give his services gratis, though he could accept presents freely offered.

The scarcity of references to primary schools in the Middle Ages is responsible for the belief, held until recently, that little or no provision was made for elementary teaching. The lack of documentary evidence is partly due to the fact that many primary schools were ephemeral, and partly because vernacular schools were considered as much less important than the Latin schools. Nevertheless, unless considerable numbers of them existed, it is difficult to explain how boys who entered the grammar-schools were able to read and write. Many of these schools had no school-house, but the scholars were taught in the parish church by the priest or the clerk.

One interesting example is that of Threlkeld School, near Keswick in Cumberland. The school may have existed as early as 1220, but there is good reason to believe that it was flourishing in the 15th century. When the Lancastrians were defeated at Towton, in 1461, Henry, the young Lord Clifford, and his mother proceeded in disguise to Threlkeld village. His father, "the black Clifford," had been slain at Towton and the Yorkists were seeking the young boy's life. He is said to have lived for fourteen years in a shepherd's home at Threlkeld and to have received his education in the village school, which seems to have been held in the parish church. It was given a permanent schoolhouse through the will of Anthony Gilbanke, in 1659, and was endowed as a free school. The present building was erected in 1849, and the school is now known as Threlkeld Church of England School.

Many of the grammar-schools are distinctly described as "Free Grammar Schools," and the title became almost universal in Tudor times. Some controversy has arisen in regard to the meaning of the term "free." One theory, advanced by Dr. Kennedy, headmaster of Shrewsbury School, and submitted in 1862 to the Public

Schools Commission, was that the freedom of the school simply implied that it was free from external control whether of a cathedral or monastic chapter or of a college. This view has generally been abandoned. Another interpretation is that a "free school" was a school in which a liberal, *i.e.* a freeman's education, was provided. Parry puts forward the view that the freedom of the school consisted in its not being restricted to any particular class of pupils, but opening its doors to all comers. In other words, a free school was a public school.¹ He argues that some monastery and cathedral schools only admitted certain classes of pupils. Also, in certain towns and parishes the schools were only open to inhabitants of the district; and those who came from outside the neighbourhood, foreigners, as they were called, were not admitted. He quotes as an example the entry in the York Episcopal Registers of June 1289, concerning the schools of Kinoulton, which were open to parishioners only: "all other clerks and strangers whatsoever being kept out and by no means admitted to the school."

According to his view, the term "public" gradually became a substitute for "free" school. He concludes: "We may consequently regard the institution of 'free' grammar schools as marking a stage in the policy of breaking down the barriers which separated parish from parish, and township from township." This theory has much to commend it. Undoubtedly, in later times, the terms "free grammar-school" and "public grammar-school" were often interchangeable. Thus the charter of Giggleswick emphasises that the master is "to teach indifferently [*i.e.* impartially] the poor as well as the rich, the parishioners as well as the stranger." Some schools, however, resembled Sedburgh, founded by Roger Lupton and described in the foundation deed of 1527 as the "Free Grammar School of Mayster Roger Lupton." Although there were no restrictions to the entry of foreigners, preference was to be given to the founder's kin and boys of the district. The master was enjoined to "teche frely gramer after the maner, forme, and use of some laudable, notable, and famous scole of England, and especiall my kinsmen and theym of Sedber, Dent, and Garstall, and then all others without any exaction or chalenge of their stipend or wages beside my allowance." There is no doubt that when he founded Sedbergh, Lupton had Eton in mind.

¹ A. W. Parry. *Education in England in the Middle Ages*, pp. 67-71, U.T.P., 1920.

Leach's theory is generally accepted at the present time. It does justice to the points put forward by Parry, but it interprets "free" in the literal meaning of the word. Leach held that a "free" school meant undoubtedly a school in which, because of its endowment, all or some of the scholars, the poor, or the inhabitants of the place, or a certain number, were freed from fees for teaching. This view is well supported by numerous foundation deeds, if it is realised that entrance fees, money paid for extras,¹ and fees contributed by pupils who were not eligible for the freedom of the school, were not incompatible with the idea of a free school. Some grammar-schools were not free in the sense that fees were paid by all their pupils, and many schools which were free were not grammar-schools, but provided a more elementary type of education.

Frequently parents made a voluntary offering to the schoolmaster for his care of their children. Needless to say, such gratuities, where not expressly forbidden in the foundation deeds, were encouraged, and set a precedent. One interesting contribution in the late Middle Ages and Tudor times was the "cockpenny." Cock-fighting was a widespread form of sport for boys and masters, especially in northern England. The cockpenny was a levy to provide the cocks and pay incidental expenses. The foundation deed of Manchester Grammar School forbade the masters to take any money such as "cockpenny, victor penny, potation penny." At Sedbergh, the cockpenny was transformed in the 18th and 19th centuries into an offering of £1 1s. to the Headmaster and 10s. 6d. to the Usher paid on Shrove Tuesday. Pocklington Grammar School still preserves its ancient cock-fighting bell.

Leach's theory receives support from the example of Sedbergh mentioned above. We have also seen the predicament in which the master of Ripon found himself through not being able to charge

¹ There is very little information to be obtained about extras paid for in mediaeval schools. In the 16th century we find many instances of payments which probably had the support of long-standing custom. Thus nearly all free grammar-schools charged entrance fees which usually ranged from a penny to a shilling. Sometimes boys of the neighbourhood or kinsmen of the founder were exempt from entrance fees. Occasionally, the amount of the entrance fee was graded according to the social status of the pupil, varying from 10s. for the son of a lord to 4d. for the son of an ordinary citizen. In some schools fees were charged for light, heat, and cleaning. At Guildford, 8d. a year was charged and was allotted as follows: 1d. per quarter for brooms and rods, 4d. at Michaelmas for providing wax candles to light the school in the dark winter mornings and evenings. Instances were not uncommon where the pupils brought their own wax candles (tallow candles were usually not accepted) and their contribution to the school fire.

fees to supplement his inadequate stipend.¹ Roger Sutton, who was described as Rector of Beverley Grammar School, argued in 1312 that no more than seven choristers could be admitted to the school as free scholars (*liberi*). The chapter inquired into the ancient traditions and customs of the church and school, and ruled that there was no restriction to the number who could be admitted without paying fees. At Jesus College, Rotherham, founded by Archbishop Rotherham in 1483, the grammar, song, and writing masters were to "diligently teach without exaction of money or anything else" (*absque pecunie vel alterius rei cuiscunque exactione*). That this rule was observed is attested by the Chantry Certificate of 1548, which states: "The sayd Colledge was founded for a preacher to preach 12 sermons every yere, three scholemasters of free scholes, viz. grammer, song, and wryting, 6 pore children, a butler, and a coke." The Chantry Certificate for Newland, Gloucestershire, tells us that amongst the duties of the chantry priest was "to kepe a Gramer scoole halfFree; that is to seyc, taking of scolers lerning gramer 8d. the quarter, and of others lerning to rede 4d. the quarter."²

There is also another possible interpretation of the term "free" which, strangely enough, seems to have been overlooked. During the 13th century, the estates of the Church were increasing at an alarming rate, and this was having a serious effect upon the revenue of the King. A feudal king was almost completely dependent on his feudal dues, e.g. scutage, escheat in the case of lack of heirs, wardships, and fines for treasonable conduct. With the income he obtained from such sources, he had to carry on the business of government. Landowners tried to avoid the demands made upon them. As in modern times people have escaped the high rate of income-tax by residing in the Channel Islands, so in the Middle Ages one method of evasion consisted in granting lands to an ecclesiastical corporation such as an abbey or a cathedral chapter and afterwards

¹ The idea of the free grammar-school spread extensively during the Tudor period, and we find the charters of these schools commencing with the phrase, "the Free Grammar School of King Edward VI" or "of Queen Elizabeth." The following extracts from Tudor foundations are typical. Keighley: "The master shall instruct in the English, Latin, and Greek languages free and without any reward or stipend whatever." Archbishop Holgate's Schools: "The master shall teach grammar—without taking any stipend, wages or other exaction of the scholars." Heath Grammar School, Halifax: "For the admission and teaching of every scholar of the town and parish of Halifax, of what condition soever, nothing shall be demanded."

² Quoted by J. W. Adamson, *The Illiterate Anglo-Saxon*, p. 52, C.U.P., 1946.

receiving them back as a tenant. Any marked growth of this practice resulted in an appreciable diminution in the royal income, and as a counter Edward I persuaded Parliament to enact the Statute of Mortmain in 1279. This law prohibited the grant of land to the Church under pain of forfeiting it to the Crown. The statute contained a good many loop-holes and it was necessary to close them by further legislation in 1391.

It was, however, possible for a founder to obtain a dispensation from the King exempting him from the Statute of Mortmain. This was granted even in cases where property was left to a monastery. If it could be proved that the bequest was a charitable one, the claim to be freed from the operation of the statute was so much the stronger. Thus a founder who left land and property to endow a college or a school could plead that his bequest was a charitable one, if he provided that a portion of the entrants should be educated without paying fees. Many founders wished to benefit their own district and were quite willing to make such a stipulation. In order to be freed from the operation of the statute, such a person would apply for a licence in Mortmain. Thus Archbishop Rotherham obtained a licence in Mortmain in 1482 as a prelude to founding Jesus College. The same was true of Renaissance and post-Reformation schools. The letters patent of Edward VI, authorising the refoundation of Giggleswick in 1553, provided the governors with a licence in Mortmain giving them power to acquire additional land (*licenciam specialem liberam*). In a similar way, he issued, in the warrant for letters patent for refounding Sedbergh School, a licence in Mortmain. "With a lycense also that the said Gouvernours may receyve by way of gifte or purchas other landes and heredytamentes hereafter to the value of xx^{li}, with such other convenyent clauses to be contegned in the said graunte as in other Free Scoles erected by the Kinges Maiestic."

To sum up: the meaning of the term "free" grammar-school is not altogether clear. We meet with similar difficulty in saying what was intended by speaking of a "free" town. There seem to have been two conditions for a free school which to a certain extent were interdependent. The founder was granted a licence freeing his gift from the operation of Mortmain, but the condition of the licence may have been that the school should receive a proportion of pupils who did not pay fees. In addition, many schools were free to receive scholars from any part of the kingdom, though certain preferences could be operative. The licence in Mortmain also

freed the school from external interference whether by a monastery, a cathedral, or even the Crown itself.

The phrase, "poor scholars," *pauperes et indigentes scolares*, as we find it expressed in the statutes of Winchester College, is frequently used to describe the type of pupil who attended the free grammar-schools. Much controversy has raged over the meaning for the term "poor." Leach maintains that the schools were not for the very poor—the destitute—, but for the relatively poor, *i.e.* sons of tradesmen, skilled artisans, country gentry, and yeoman farmers

Parry takes an opposite point of view and considers that even such outstanding schools as Eton and Winchester were originally intended for "boys whose parents were poor and needy."¹ He adds, "The only condition of admission, practically, was that these boys would subsequently proceed to the universities, in order that their course of preparation for the priesthood might be completed."

Leach, dealing with the early 16th century, admits, "That occasionally bright boys were snatched up out of the ranks of the real poor and turned into clerics, to become lawyers, civil servants, bishops, is not to be doubted. But it was the middle classes, whether country or town, the younger sons of the nobility, or farmers, the lesser land-holders, the prosperous tradesmen, who created a demand for education, and furnished the occupants of Grammar Schools."²

One fact does stand out quite clearly—namely, that very few of the nobility sent their sons to be educated at the grammar-schools.

As Trevelyan writes, "The sons of the nobility and gentry were educated in various ways, differing according to the rank or the personal views of their parents. Some stayed in the manor house and were taught letters by the chaplain, field sports by the forester, and the use of arms by an old retainer or a neighbour knight. More usually they were sent away from home, an English practice that seemed heartless to foreigners, but was perhaps more good than bad in its results. Some sat in the grammar schools, conning Latin cheek by jowl with the ablest sons of burghers and yeomen. Others went to smaller private schools, even then sometimes kept by a married master. Others again were boarded in monasteries under the special care of the abbot."³

¹ A. W. Parry. *Education in England in the Middle Ages*, p. 201, U.T.P., 1920.

² A. F. Leach. *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 109, Constable, 1896.

³ G. M. Trevelyan. *English Social History*, p. 76, Longmans, 1946.

Leach quotes the foundation statutes of William of Wykeham's College of Winchester, to the effect that every boy on entering took an oath, "I have nothing whereby I know I can spend beyond five marks a year," *i.e.* an income of £3 6s. 8d. He points out that these "poor" boys were permitted to have an income greater than that enjoyed by sixty-seven incumbents in the diocese of Winchester.

Coulton supports the view of Leach. He writes: "The constant use of the word 'poor' in foundation statutes has led modern readers very naturally to imagine that benefactors' endowments were originally intended for a class very much worse off than those who enjoy them at present. This, however, rests upon a misunderstanding of medieval common-form. By Canon Law it was strictly forbidden to transfer to secular purposes any endowment which had been given to the Church. But nearly all the endowments conferred on our colleges were of that kind. Peterhouse and Corpus Christi at Cambridge, for instance, were both founded mainly on the income of a parish church, which was served by the Fellows. It was therefore necessary for the foundation deed to emphasise the fact that the new institution was itself one of pious charity. Leach and Rashdall have both shown conclusively that foundation statutes anticipated, not a proletarian standard of scholastic life, but that of the middle, and not even of the lower middle class."¹

Montmorency states that before 1406, the year the Statute of Artificers was passed by Parliament, "the first Statute of Education," as he calls it, "the class that chiefly attended the grammar schools, whether in town or country, were the children of free, non-gentle persons."²

So far, this statement agrees with the assertion of Leach that these pupils were the sons of the relatively poor. His further argument does not seem conclusive. He agrees that in the 14th century there was no large class of destitute persons. The non-gentle population of England consisted of the free and the non-free. The latter consisted of villeins, cottagers, and the lowest social class of all, the villeins in gross, who were not only tied to the manor but could be even sold at the will of their lord. We know that the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was a great uprising of the non-free classes and after its failure, although the restrictions of the Statute

¹ G. G. Coulton. *Medieval Panorama*, p. 403, C.U.P., 1938.

² J. E. G. de Montmorency. *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 26, C.U.P., 1902.

of Labourers were enforced outwardly in a stricter way than ever, yet throughout the 15th century the distinction between the free and the non-free classes tended to become less and less.

One result was that even as early as 1391, children of the non-free began to make their way into the grammar-schools so that they could rise in the social scale. This fact is indicated by the petition presented by the Commons to Richard II in this year, asking the King to forbid villeins sending their children to school to "learn clergie." This phrase is significant. All persons who could read Latin were deemed to be in orders (though not necessarily major orders) and could claim benefit of clergy. All clerics were freemen. The King rejected the petition and a few years later the statute of 1406, mentioned above, proclaimed that "every man or woman of what state or condition that he be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any school that pleaseth them within the realm."

In the 13th and 14th centuries there are numerous examples of villeins being fined for sending their sons to school without permission of their lords, and Leach quotes several instances by way of illustration. Villeins willingly paid fines to send their children to school, not so much because of a desire to see them educated as to secure their freedom from bondage. An educated man was deemed a clerk and enjoyed the status of a freeman. There were several reasons which moved the Commons to make their petition, amongst them being the fear that any great spread of education amongst the masses would entirely upset the existing system of land tenure by depriving them of the labour of the villeins. One thing, however, Montmorency forgets because of his legal training. The Statute of Artificers stated a principle, but that is one thing; to get the principle acted upon is quite another, especially in the Middle Ages. The statute had removed the legal restriction under which the villeins suffered and it became possible for a labourer's son to make his way up the social ladder, provided always that he was a boy of outstanding ability.

Thus the 14th-century schools even in the towns, but more especially in the country, would contain a sprinkling of boys of this type, but it does not affect the contention of Leach that the majority of the pupils of the grammar-schools were from what we should now call the middle classes. The limit of five marks a year which applied to the foundation scholars of Winchester was an upper limit. We have already seen that the statutes provided for

a limited number of commoners. One may trace some kind of parallel in the position as regards free places in secondary schools in the decade before the Second World War. Pupils awarded free places, or rather those who accepted the free places which were awarded, were rarely the destitute. The very poor found themselves unable to accept the offer of an award because they had need of the child's earnings, and his keep and other incidental expenses were more than the parents could afford. But sons of parents whose income was above a fixed amount could not benefit by the scholarship. Leach appears to be justified when he writes: "The poor whom Wykeham wished to help were, as he says, those who had means enough to send their sons to grammar schools but not enough to send them on to the universities; the younger sons of lords and squires, the landed gentry in the county, the burgesses and traders in the towns. The notion that the endowments of Winchester or any other school before Christ's Hospital, which was for foundlings and the gutter pauper, have been perverted from the patrimony of the poor into an appanage of the rich, will not bear investigation."¹ As the Fleming Report warns us, "If we wish to suggest changes in the method of entry of the Public Schools, and in particular to make this entry available to a less restricted range of society than is now the case, we must base our reasons for doing so on the present needs of the country, whose children they were founded to educate, rather than on the inevitably uncertain interpretation of phrases in use five or six hundred years ago."²

So far we have been discussing the education of boys during the mediaeval period. Was there any equivalent form of education for girls? The evidence for the existence of schools for girls is still very scanty, though here and there fresh instances are coming to light. One can say quite definitely that there was nothing resembling the grammar-school for the education of girls. Most girls received their training at home from their mothers. Amongst the upper and middle classes it seems to have consisted in what we should now call domestic duties. Girls were trained in all that pertained to the management of the household, in first-aid, sick-nursing and the use of simple herbs for healing, and in various kinds of needlework, as the beautiful tapestry and embroidery of the Middle Ages testify.

¹ A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 207-8, Methuen, 1915.

² *The Public Schools*, Board of Education Report, p. 9, H.M.S.O., 1944.

When young, girls of the upper classes took part in the games and field sports, such as hawking, with their brothers. We know that quite a number of women of these classes were able to read and write, and that some, like Chaucer's Prioress, were able to speak French, but the evidence that these accomplishments were learnt at school is very slight. Adamson writes: "In the roll of the Corpus Christi Guild of Boston, under the year 1404, occurs the name of Maria Mareffete, '*magistra scholarum*,' a phrase which by analogy may be rendered 'school mistress,' or, where more than one teacher is in question, 'head mistress.' Was this lady the head of an independent girls' school, or a teacher of girls, or of 'petties' in the grammar school itself? The material for an answer is not forthcoming."¹

Montmorency, in a note, says: "To what extent girls' schools existed must be sought for in local records. That there were many such schools there is no reason to doubt. Alfred appears to have attempted something in the way of schools for girls. The term 'schoolmistress' was in use quite early. In Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, written in the Kentish dialect in A.D. 1340, Avarice is referred to as 'The maystresse thet heth zuo greate scole thet alle guoth thrin nor to lyerni.' . . . Probably schools for girls were conducted by nuns and were thus under the control of the Church."²

Daughters of the nobility were sometimes educated by private tutors. Thus Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, was taught to read and write English by a scrivener from London, and later in life she claimed to be able to write in French and Spanish. Girls and even little boys from wealthy families were occasionally sent to nunneries for their education. The ecclesiastical authorities did not favour the maintenance of convent schools, since they considered that the intrusion of persons from the outside world was upsetting to convent discipline.³ Convent schools do not seem to have appeared until the latter half of the 14th century, a period when church discipline was becoming somewhat lax.

Abbot Gasquet quotes the instance of Thomas Hunte, who sent his two daughters to a convent, presumably to be educated.

¹ J. W. Adamson. *A Short History of Education*, p. 74, C.U.P., 1922.

² J. E. G. de Montmorency. *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 12, C.U.P., 1902.

³ Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, Yorkshire, advises the anchoress to whom he is writing, "Do not allow boys and girls to come to you. There are some anchoresses who turn their anchorage into a school." Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. XXXII, col. 1453.

He paid 17s. 4d. each for food, but no mention is made of the kind of training they received. Lady Beaumont sent her daughter to a convent and was charged £2 13s. 4d. a year. She paid only £2 and the convent authorities did not press for payment of the remainder, probably because they did not wish to offend Lord Beaumont. The latter paid a visit to his daughter and he was charged 1½d. for "1 shoulder le molton" and 8d. for two lambs. Robert Aske, the leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, asserted as one reason for opposing the suppression of the religious foundations that "in nunneries their daughters were brought up in virtue."¹

In the 13th century forty-two schoolmasters and twenty-one schoolmistresses are mentioned in the returns made to the Chancellor at Paris, but it is possible that some of the schoolmistresses may have taught small boys. In 1484 authority was given to Perette la Couppenoire "to conduct the school of St. Germain l'Auxerrois and to teach and instruct girls (*puellas*) in good manners, in grammatical letters (*litteris grammaticalibus*) and in other things lawful and honourable" for the space of one year.² The convent of Farwell, in 1367, was allowed a nun to educate one child, provided it was not of the male sex over seven years of age. At the Dissolution there were between thirty and forty "gentylmens childern" at Polesworth, Warwickshire, but these may have been all small boys.

J. E. G. de Montmorency states that the convent of St. Mary's, Winchester, had twenty-six daughters of the nobility entrusted to it in 1537. He reproduces the register of the pupils.³

Bryget Plantaganet, dowghter unto the Lord Vyounte Lysley.	
Mary Pole, dowghter unto Sr Gefferey Pole, knyght.	
Brygget Coppeley, dowghter unto Sir Roger Coppeley, knyght.	
Elizabeth Phyllpot, dowghter unto Sr Peter Phyllpot, knyght.	
Margery Tyrrell	Enme Bartue
Adryan Tyrrell	Myldrid Clerke
Johaṇne Barbabe	Anne Lacy
Amy Dyngley	Isold Apulgate
Elizabeth Dyngley	Elizabeth Legh
Jane Dyngley	Mary Legh
Ffrances Dyngley	Alienor Merth
Susan Tycheborne	Johaṇne Sturgys
Elizabeth Tycheborne	Johaṇne Ffylde
Mary Justyce	Johaṇne Ffrances
Agnes Aylmer	Jane Raynysford. xxvi.

¹ Abbot Gasquet. *English Monastic Life*, p. 162, Methuen, 1904.

² J. W. Adamson. *A Short History of Education*, p. 74, C.U.P., 1922.

³ Article entitled "The Medieval Education of Women in England," *The Journal of Education*, June 1909.

He also quotes from Fuller's 1655 edition of his *Church History*. "Nunneries also were good Shee-schools, wherein the girles and maids of the neighbourhood were taught to read and work; and sometimes a little Latine was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such Feminine Foundations has still continued . . . haply the weaker sex . . . might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been obtained."

Miss Rickert quotes an instance of a mediaeval boarding-school for boys which, about 1380, was run by a layman. The evidence is contained in a charming letter written to Sir Edmund de Stonor by his chaplain. The latter was on a visit to Sir Edmund's son, who had been ill, and no doubt the chaplain had been sent to obtain news of his health. The boy was now recovering and the chaplain reported: "He is beginning to learn Donatus slowly, as is right enough so far. He has that copy of Donatus which I was afraid was lost. Indeed, I have never seen a boy get such care as he has had during his illness. The master and his wife prefer that some of his clothes should be left at home, because he has far too many, and fewer would be enough; and his clothes, through no fault of theirs, might easily be torn and spoiled."¹ How far this was but an isolated example is impossible to say.

It is certain that girls often attended the parish schools. Thus Elizabeth, daughter of Wilham Garrard, a draper of London, was taught in a primary school by Sir William Barbour, priest, and we are told that there were thirty children in the school and the master taught them the Paternoster, the Ave, and the Creed, and "ferther learnyng." Certain anchoresses accepted girls as pupils, but the practice was frowned upon by the authorities. The well-known mystic and anchoress, Dame Juliana of Norwich, is supposed to have been educated by the nuns of Carrow, and we are told that "This nunnery had for many years been a school or place of education for the young ladies of the chief families of the diocese who boarded with and were educated by the nuns."²

Authorities differ widely as to the distribution of schools in the Middle Ages. Leach estimates the population of England, basing it on the Poll Tax returns, as about 2½ millions in 1377. He regards this as an over- rather than an under-estimate. He calculates that this would give 400 schools in forty counties, or one

¹ *Chaucer's World*. Edith Rickert, ed. Clair Olson and Martin Crow pp. 115-16, O.U.P., 1948.

² Gertrude Robinson. *In a Mediaeval Library*, p. 76, Sands and Co., 1918.

grammar-school for every 5,625 people, and contrasts this proportion with that revealed by the Schools Inquiry Report of 1864, of one school to every 23,750 people.¹

G. G. Coulton calculates 26,000 pupils for a population of about five millions at the Dissolution. He concludes that if the provision of schools in 1931 was at the mediaeval rate, "we should have only 182,000 pupils, spaced among nearly 4,000 schools, whose average standard inclined rather to the elementary than to the grammar class. Yet we have in fact, according to *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1931, 1,300 secondary schools with an aggregate of 200,000 boys and 180,000 girls, to which must be added 20,000 elementary schools with an attendance of 5,000,000, that is, nearly thirty times more scholars in proportion to population."²

¹ A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 329-31, Methuen, 1915.

² G. G. Coulton. *Medieval Panorama*, p. 388, C.U.P., 1938.

CHAPTER II

THE MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITIES

It is no exaggeration to say that the university was the greatest invention of the Middle Ages, and the most important legacy bequeathed by them to the modern world. As stated in the previous chapter, the universities were a product of the great intellectual revival of the 12th century. Before the foundation of universities, there were schools attached to certain cathedrals and monasteries in which advanced learning flourished, but many of these schools lacked organisation and continuity. Their existence entirely depended upon the ability of the teachers connected with them. For example, the School of Chartres in the 11th and 12th centuries enjoyed a considerable reputation on account of a series of illustrious scholars who taught there.¹

The earliest university was that of Salerno, but as this remained predominantly a medical school, it had little influence upon the growth of universities in this country. During the first half of the 12th century, Irnerius, the famous teacher of Roman Law, and Gratian, the equally distinguished exponent of Canon Law, drew numerous students to the law schools of Bologna. Gradually, towards the second half of the 12th century, the University of Bologna came into existence. Since, in the early days, Bologna was essentially a law university, the most important development taking place, from our point of view, was in Paris.

The schools of Paris were unknown to history before the close of the 9th century, and for over two hundred years they were overshadowed by the fame of other places such as Chartres. The cathedral school of Paris, which was really the origin of the later university, became known through the teaching of its master, William of Champeaux. To this school came Peter Abelard, first as the pupil and then as the opponent of William. When Abelard began to teach, he attracted scholars from all parts of Europe, but it would be an exaggeration to claim him as the founder of the University of Paris. Except for his own personal qualities there was nothing to distinguish his school from others which were

¹ Bernard of Chartres, died 1130; Theoderic of Chartres, died about 1155, whose disciple was John of Salisbury; and William of Conches (1080-1154), who was tutor to Henry II of England.

beginning to flourish in the same city. There were three great churches which became famous for their schools: the cathedral school taught by William of Champeaux, the school of the Collegiate Church of Ste Geneviève, and the school of the Canons of S. Victor, known to posterity because of the renowned theologians and mystics, Hugh and Richard of S. Victor. Abelard himself taught on the "Mount" of Ste Geneviève. Although during his lifetime the school of Ste Geneviève was thronged with students, by the middle of the century it had, with S. Victor, materially declined in importance. This left the cathedral school in a position of pre-eminence.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that it was due to Abelard that two of the indispensable conditions for the formation of a university were to be found at Paris in the middle years of the 12th century, namely the existence of a large number of students and a multiplicity of masters. The actual date at which this collection of students and masters became organised into the University of Paris is unknown, but it is certain that it came into being some time between 1170 and 1175. The University of Paris received a charter from Philip Augustus in 1200 and was fully recognised by the Pope in 1231, but it was an acknowledged institution many years before its official recognition. Its importance for us lies in the fact that it was the mother of our own ancient universities.

In the 12th century the word "university" had quite a different meaning from that which it bears to-day. *Universitas* simply meant a gild or corporation and there were universities of merchants and tailors as well as of scholars. For their own mutual benefit and protection, scholars and teachers formed themselves into associations, and we come across the terms *universitas scholarium* and *universitas magistrorum*. At Bologna, the wealthy students of law formed a university of scholars which was far more important than the teachers who were employed and ruled by them. The University of Paris was an association of masters and served as the model for Oxford. Thus in mediaeval times the word *universitas* signified an association of scholars or masters and it was a later development to apply the term to the collection of buildings in which the teaching took place.

The usual mediaeval term for a university was *studium generale*. Any "school" or place of learning was a *studium*, but a *studium generale* was open to scholars from all lands and instruction was given in at least one "faculty" other than arts. In the 13th century,

it became the custom for a *studium generale* to secure recognition through a Papal Bull which granted to the masters of the university the *ius ubique docendi*, the right to teach in any similar institution. Oxford received official confirmation of its rights and privileges by the Bull of Innocent IV in 1254. Dr. Coulton reminds us: "The universities rose and attained their great influence by the same natural growth which created trade unions in modern Britain and has made them, in their present power and organisation, almost a fourth estate of the realm. It is true that, by about 1300, lawyers had worked out the theory that papal or imperial licence was necessary for the founding of a university, but even these lawyers had to admit that long custom might count also, and that we might have a university 'by custom' (*ex consuetudine*), as genuine as if it had been a papal or imperial foundation."¹

The origin of Oxford University has been a matter of controversy. We can dismiss at once the ancient legend that Oxford was founded by Alfred the Great. The view which received support from Leach, that the university was a natural growth from the priory of St. Frideswide, is also open to objection. Dr. Rashdall's theory, expounded in his *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*,² is not now generally accepted. He believed that Oxford owed its commencement as a *studium generale* to the quarrel between Henry II and Beckett, when in 1167 all English clergy abroad were ordered by the King to return home. The scholars who migrated from Paris eventually set up a new *studium generale* at Oxford. However this may be, two facts stand out quite clearly. In the first place there were schools at Oxford in the earlier part of the 12th century. Thus, in 1133, Robert Pullus, a prominent theologian, was teaching at Oxford. There is also evidence that Vacarius, the famous Lombard jurist, lectured at Oxford, but there is some doubt whether he taught before or after 1167. Secondly, there is clear evidence that a *studium generale* existed at Oxford about 1185. Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welsh traveller and man of letters,

¹ G. G. Coulton. *Medieval Panorama*, p. 395, C.U.P., 1938.

² O.U.P., new edition 1936, reprinted 1942. The new edition is edited by Sir F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, and contains many valuable notes and criticisms. The English universities are dealt with in Vol. III. The attention of the reader is drawn to Chapter xii, in which Rashdall expounds his theory, and to Appendix I which contains Leach's criticism and Rashdall's reply. Rashdall's theory of the migration from Paris in 1167 would place the origin of the latter university much earlier than generally supposed. The state of learning, and of the schools, in England during the 11th and 12th centuries requires a much more thorough investigation than has so far been attempted.

visited Oxford at that time and read his newly written *Topographia Hibernica* before an assembly of the masters and scholars.

The origin of Cambridge is generally attributed to a quarrel between the scholars and townsfolk of Oxford in 1209, which resulted in the migration of a large body of Oxford scholars to Cambridge.¹ The legend ascribing the foundation of Cambridge to the Spanish prince, Cantaber, 531, was merely an attempt to find an origin which should be earlier than the alleged foundation of Oxford by Alfred. It is not certain whether there were schools at Cambridge before 1209, but by 1231 there is documentary evidence of an organised university there.

Whether Rashdall's theory of the origin of Oxford is accepted or not, there is no doubt that both Oxford and Cambridge were, in their early days, strongly influenced by the customs and traditions of Paris. Certain features of the organisation of Paris were reproduced, but the English universities possessed some important characteristics of their own. At Paris, the scholars were organised into four Nations: the French, the Normans, the Picards, and the English. At the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War, the English withdrew and their place was taken by the Germans. In the same way, at Oxford and Cambridge, scholars were divided into Nations. At Oxford, those who came from north of the Trent formed the Northern, and the remainder the Southern, Nation. Scotsmen were in the former Nation, and Welshmen and Irishmen in the latter. The Nations were represented by their Proctors, who, although retaining the names of Northern and Southern, became representatives elected by the whole Faculty of Arts when the Nations were amalgamated in 1274. Sometimes quarrels broke out between Northerners and Southerners. At Cambridge, in 1261, a riot between the Nations, in which the townsfolk joined, led to the plundering of houses and the burning of records.

One of the main differences between the English universities and the University of Paris consisted in the position held by the

¹ In 1334 a similar quarrel caused a migration of Oxford scholars to Stamford and produced such an impression that, up to 1827, no man was allowed to take his master's degree at Oxford without swearing an oath that he would never lecture at Stamford. It was on this occasion that the famous knocker of Brasenose was left at Stamford and remained there until it was purchased by the college in 1890. There were other migrations to Northampton in 1261 and Salisbury in 1238. Neither of these attempts to found new universities persisted for any length of time. There was, however, always the chance that the *studium generale* might be transferred to another town, a fact that caused Walter de Merton to hesitate before he finally decided to place his college at Oxford.

Chancellor. In the previous chapter, attention was drawn to the functions of the episcopal chancellor. The Chancellor of Notre Dame, as the representative of the bishop, issued to masters, whether of schools or in the university, the licence or the right to teach. He was not a member of the university and it was not long before he came into conflict with the Rector, the head of the Nations. As the result of a long dispute, the Chancellor lost power and became merely the official who issued the licence on conditions prescribed by the *universitas* of masters. The latter were much assisted in their struggle by the Papacy. At the English universities, matters turned out very differently. Oxford and Cambridge were not cathedral cities and no chancellor is mentioned until the legatine ordinance of 1214. It is possible either that the licence to teach was issued by the archdeacon or that the masters chose an official of their own to grant the licence. What actually occurred in this early period is a matter for conjecture, and when Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln was appointed to the office of Chancellor of Oxford, we have, as Rashdall describes, the "almost unique combination of the functions of a continental Chancellor with those of a continental Rector."¹ The Chancellor was not only the bishop's representative, but he was also the head of the magisterial gild. Hence there could be no contest between Chancellor and masters as occurred at Paris. The Chancellor became less dependent on the bishop and more representative of the university. This independence on the part of the university was almost entirely due to the fact that Oxford was not the seat of a bishopric. The same process took place at Cambridge, although somewhat later. Thus, unlike Paris, the Chancellor of the English universities was not only the head of the university body, but also a member of it.

Another distinction lies in the growth of the collegiate system which was once supposed to be peculiar to England. In the early days of the universities, scholars lived in what lodgings they could find and the masters taught in hired rooms. The custom grew up at Paris, and was followed at Oxford and Cambridge, of students living together in houses which they hired for themselves. This practice was more satisfactory than living in lodgings. It was usual to elect one member who would be responsible to the rest. He was known as the *magister*, but at first it was not necessary that he should be a Master of Arts. Gradually these *hospitia*, or hostels,

¹ H. Rashdall. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. III, p. 42, O.U.P., 1942.

came under the control of the university. Frequently the hostel was due to the public spirit of some benefactor who endowed it as a house for poor scholars. One of the best known of these "houses of scholars" was that founded at Paris by Robert de Sorbon, but he was by no means the earliest benefactor. In the middle of the 13th century, William of Durham endowed a house at Oxford known as Great University Hall, which became, about 1280, University College.¹ Sir John Balliol, in penance for the injuries he had inflicted upon his neighbours across the border, agreed to support a number of poor scholars at Oxford. In 1282 his widow, Devorguilla, the Lady of Galloway, added extra endowments towards the "House of Balliol."

Some of the houses or halls received further endowments, and when later they became recognised as legal corporations, they developed into colleges. The transition from a hostel to a college is illustrated by the foundation of Walter de Merton, Chancellor of England and Bishop of Rochester, which was described in the previous chapter. Through his statutes, which aimed at regulating the corporate life of the Fellows, Merton College developed from an endowed hostel into a self-governing college, subject to a Warden, with Deans to watch over the morals of the Fellows, and three Bursars to manage the property. Complaints against the Warden could be made to the Patron or Visitor, who had the authority to deprive the Warden of his office if necessary.

Colleges developed in a similar manner at Paris, but whilst at the latter university the authorities quickly took over the control

¹ It is important to remember that the early colleges at Oxford were founded to enable their members to lead a common life. The idea that the senior members or Fellows should be responsible for the studies of the younger was introduced by Wykeham. Very little is known of William of Durham in his younger days. He was one of the five English masters who left Paris when the university dispersed in 1229. After some years at Rouen, he was appointed Rector of Wearmouth, one of the richest livings in the diocese of Durham, in 1237. In 1248, he contested the property rights of the living with Bishop Nicholas of Farnham, and his appeal to Rome necessitated a visit to the Continent. William died at Rouen on his journey back to England and he left in his will 310 marks to the University of Oxford for the maintenance of 10, 11, or 12 masters. The exact terms of the will are unknown, so that it is impossible to know whether William merely intended the university to use the money for certain individual scholars, or whether he wished to establish a college similar to those which were springing up in Paris. It is clear, however, that by 1280, statutes had been devised to regulate the life of the small community, which at that time consisted of only four masters. The statutes were revised and elaborated in 1292 and again in 1311, and the connection of the Hall with Durham was emphasised. The title of the Scholars of William of Durham (*Scholares Willelmi de Dunelmia*) was given to the community. It retained this name until 1573 when it was officially known as "the Master and Fellows of the College of the Great Hall of the University of Oxford."

of the colleges, at Oxford and at Cambridge, where in 1284 Peterhouse adopted statutes similar to those of Merton, the colleges began to develop in independence of the universities. This process was accelerated by the policy of Wykeham and of Henry VI. Wykeham arranged that the head of New College was not only to manage the house but was also to supervise the education of the scholars. This was carried out by the Fellows who became tutors and drew an additional allowance for their tutorial work from the college funds. So far the tutorial work was supplementary to the lectures of the public schools of the university. The same policy was carried a stage further by Henry VI in his foundation of King's College, Cambridge. The King obtained a Papal Bull excluding the college from the jurisdiction of the Chancellor of the University. This was not accepted without protest and modification, but it represented one more step in the development of colleges as independent of university control. At Paris the university exercised full control over the colleges until they were swept away by the French Revolution.

It is a mistake to regard the mediaeval colleges as being designed for undergraduates. They were for scholars, that is bachelors and masters who were studying for higher degrees in law, theology, and medicine. The ordinary undergraduate was not a member of the college and, if he was permitted to live in it, was a kind of paying guest. "One foundation (All Souls) remains to-day as a reminder that a college can survive without undergraduates; in the 14th century such a college was the rule rather than the exception. Thus the number of those in residence at the earliest Oxford colleges was small, and it has been estimated that in the middle of the 14th century the six colleges did not contain more than seventy-three members."¹ The undergraduates lived in the hostels or halls and often in private lodgings. It was not until the 15th century that the number of undergraduates living in the colleges began to grow and Commoners were admitted, *i.e.* students not on the foundation who paid fees for tuition and maintenance.²

Much has been written about the size of the student population of the mediaeval universities. People of the Middle Ages were much given to exaggeration, so that we should not be astonished at some of the amazing claims which were made. Thirty thousand seems to have been a favourite number both for Paris and Oxford,

¹ S. C. Roberts. *British Universities*, p. 13, Collins, 1947.

² Pensioner is the Cambridge equivalent to the Oxford Commoner.

but such claims are fantastic, as both Rashdall and Coulton demonstrate. It is difficult to find reliable evidence about numbers in the early days of the universities, but from the 15th century the roll of those who graduated and the lists of halls afford some data. It is probable that even in the early days when Paris was the only university in north-western Europe, the numbers never exceeded 5,000, and that by the beginning of the 15th century they had fallen to about 3,000. In the same way Oxford may have approached the 3,000 mark, but by the beginning of the 15th century the total was somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,500, and by 1450 it fell to below a thousand.

There were frequent quarrels between the students and the townsfolk. The latter regarded the students as lawless young men who were always creating disturbances. The students were always complaining of the extortionate prices demanded by the townsfolk for food and lodgings. Some of the fights between town and gown reached serious dimensions. The most famous was on St. Scholastica's Day, 10th February 1354. It began in a tavern quarrel. Some Oxford clerks complained of the wine served to them in an inn near Carfax. "The vintner giving them stubborn and saucy language, they threw the wine and vessel at his head." The innkeeper, on the advice of his friends, rang the bell of St. Martin's Church. The townsfolk assembled, and armed with bows and arrows, began to attack the students who, in turn, summoned reinforcements by ringing the bell of St. Mary's. In spite of statutes forbidding the carrying of weapons, the scholars appeared armed and the battle went on until night without a fatal casualty on either side. Unfortunately, the townsmen opened battle again on the next day and invaded the scholars' houses. This time, considerable numbers were killed and wounded. When the trouble was investigated, the King supported the university and gave it jurisdiction over the city and control of the market. The town was placed under an interdict which was only lifted when the mayor, the bailiffs, and the chief citizens agreed to perform an annual penance. A similar riot took place at Cambridge in 1381.

The system of academic degrees began towards the close of the 12th century. We have seen that the *universitas* was an association either of masters or students, and that in the north-western universities it consisted of the members of the masters' gild. There is a very close connection between the craft-gilds and the gilds of learning. The undergraduate was an apprentice to learning, and when

he first came to the university his name was placed upon the *matricula*, or list of students, kept by each master. Hence the modern term, matriculation. Just as the apprentice to the tailor, saddler, or goldsmith became a journeyman after a number of years, so too, the award of the title of Bachelor showed that the apprentice to learning had passed through the first half of his course satisfactorily, and now, although still a pupil, he could undertake a certain amount of teaching under the direction of a master. After further time spent in teaching and study, which varied in length according to the Faculty and the period of history, the bachelor might become a master.¹ Some masters continued to teach at the university and were known as Regent Masters (*magistri actu regentes*), whilst others taught in schools and were called Non-Regent Masters (*magistri non regentes*)

The candidate for the degree of bachelor had to take a preliminary test (Responsions) which involved a disputation in logic and grammar with a master. If he passed this successfully, he presented himself before a board of examiners consisting of three (later four) masters of his faculty who satisfied themselves that he had fulfilled the conditions of residence and attended the necessary lectures. They then proceeded to ask him questions about the contents of the books he had studied. Having passed this test with credit, he was allowed to *determine*. The Determination took the form of a disputation in which the candidate eventually determined, or summed up and gave a definite solution of, the problem he had chosen. At Paris the disputation took place in the Vicus Stramineus (Straw Street), so called because, for the sake of warmth, the floors of the examination halls were strewn with straw. The audience before whom the exercise took place consisted of the masters and fellow students of the candidate, but the disputation was also open to the general public. Cases were known in which the determiner's friends rushed into the street and collected an audience from the passers-by. A successful determination was frequently followed by some kind of banquet.

¹ It originally took three years to become a Bachelor, another four for the Mastership, and five or more years, according to the Faculty, for the Doctorate. As time went on, the period of residence demanded grew shorter, and at the English universities, residence became unnecessary after the bachelor's degree. On the Continent, the baccalaureate tended either to disappear or to become the equivalent of matriculation. Originally the term "degree" (*gradus*) was confined to the baccalaureate which was looked upon as a step to the mastership. The term Faculty at first denoted the capacity to teach a subject or group of subjects, but later it came to stand for the whole collection of masters and students of those subjects.

It is important to realise that the master's degree originally possessed a double aspect. From one point of view, it was essentially a licence to teach, and the authority conferring the licence was the Chancellor. From another, it consisted in the formal recognition of the candidate by the masters' gild as one of their number. This ceremony was known as Inception, and in the course of it the newly appointed master was presented with the insignia of his office, the black *cappa* of the master, the magisterial biretta, and the book. The significance of the handing over the tools of the trade (*traditio*) is admirably illustrated by the inception of a Master of Grammar at Cambridge in the 15th century.

This mastership has been specially instituted for those who wished to teach in grammar-schools and is another instance of the close connection between the grammar-schools and the universities. The candidate attended early mass at St. Mary's Church. "When mass is done, fyrst shall begynne the acte in Gramer. The Father shall have hys sete . . . the Proctor shall say, Incipiat. When the Father hath argyude as shall plesse the Proctor, the Bedeyll¹ in Arte shall bring the Master of Gramer to the Vyce-chancelar, delyveryng hym a Palmer² wyth a Rodde, whych the Vyce-chancelar shall gyve to the seyde Master in Gramer, and so create hym Master. Then shall the Bedell purway for every master in Gramer a shrewde³ Boy, whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the Scolys, and the master in Gramer shall give the Boy a Grote for Hys Labour, and another Grote to hym that provydeth the Rode and the Palmer." It was in this way that the newly fledged master approved his ability to teach in a grammar-school.

The two events which produced a profound change in the development of the European universities were the introduction of the Aristotelian corpus into the West and the activities of the great mendicant orders of Franciscans and Dominicans. We have already noted that by 1162 western Europe possessed the whole of the *Organon*, or Logical works of Aristotle. The remainder of the Aristotelian writings had an interesting history. Syrian scholars translated them into their own tongue, and when the Arab conquerors established the Caliphate of Bagdad, they founded a school of translators who rendered these Syriac versions into Arabic.

¹ *Bedel* or *beadle* = the Vice-Chancellor's mace-bearer and attendant.

² *Palmer* = a flat piece of wood used to inflict punishment by smiting the palm of the hand.

³ *Shrewde* = mischievous.

Naturally the text suffered greatly in the double process of translation, but errors grew more numerous when Latin translations of Arabic versions of Syriac translations of the Greek originals trickled into western Europe via Spain.

This, however, is only part of the story. Quite a number of neo-Platonic writings, which often possessed a strongly pantheistic flavour, were ascribed to Aristotle and the doctrines taught in them became associated with his name. The Arabs were no mean scholars and they began to produce commentaries on the works of Aristotle. The greatest of the Arabian commentators were Avicenna (980-1037) and Averroes (1125-98). The latter was responsible for the doctrine of the unity of the intellect, a view which asserted that there is a single intellectual principle operating throughout the whole human race. Christian thinkers strongly opposed this doctrine, since it seemed to them to contradict the belief in the immortality of the individual human soul.

When the Aristotelian writings and the Arab commentaries began to be studied in the University of Paris, the ecclesiastical authorities became thoroughly alarmed. Thus the Council of Sens, held at Paris in 1210, prohibited the reading of Aristotle under pain of excommunication, and in 1215 the Papal Legate, Robert Curzon, renewed the prohibition. In 1229 the Pope intervened and appointed three Parisian masters to examine the new works and to make a faithful translation of them. Owing to the difficulty of reconciling Aristotle with dogma, this was not done; but in spite of the prohibitions, the works of Aristotle were read and studied in the Faculty of Arts. It was not, however, until 1263 that Urban IV officially recognised the Aristotelian philosophy and permitted it to be studied in the schools.

Before this time, Augustinian philosophy and theology had been predominant in the schools. Although Augustine still remained the most important authority in theology, a large number of the masters at Paris and Oxford adopted the Aristotelian philosophy. This change had been largely brought about by the work of two great thinkers: Albert of Cologne (1193-1280) and his famous pupil, St. Thomas Aquinas (1226-74). The former succeeded in popularising Aristotle in the West. The latter, through his friend William of Moerbeke, Archbishop of Corinth, a distinguished Greek scholar, was able to obtain accurate translations of Aristotle, and produced the scholastic synthesis of faith and reason with which

By the close of the 13th century, even those who were most inimical to the Aristotelian philosophy had adopted its terminology and many of its methods. This did not come about without a struggle, and the critical year was 1270 when Siger de Brabant, the leader of the Picard Nation at Paris, boldly proclaimed that Averroes had interpreted Aristotle correctly. His conclusions were strenuously attacked by Aquinas, who was not so much concerned with what Aristotle did or did not say, but was bent upon synthesising what was true in Aristotle with the Christian faith. Averroism was condemned at Paris in 1270 and again in 1277. In the latter year, a similar condemnation was promulgated at Oxford.

Scholastic philosophy reached its culmination in the universities of the 13th century. It was both a philosophy and a teaching method, and it is the latter aspect which is of chief interest to the student of education. As we shall see, its method of presentation was strongly influenced by the form taken by the lectures and disputations of the mediaeval universities. Nineteenth-century writers on philosophy and education had many scathing remarks to make about the trivial matters discussed and the barren results of scholasticism. The present century has witnessed a revival of interest in mediaeval studies, and it is now realised that the greatest of the mediaeval thinkers had something to say which concerned not only their own time but future ages also. To the eager throngs of 13th-century students who crowded the lecture-halls of Paris or Oxford, the problems debated seemed anything but trivial. The standards of any age must eventually be judged by the works of its more advanced thinkers, and if we are to condemn mediaeval learning and culture by the mediocre scholarship and barbarous Latinity of its lesser exponents, then the present day would not appear so illustrious if university education was measured solely by the accomplishments of undistinguished pass-graduates. Leach was one of the first to point out that the standards of mediaeval learning were considerably higher than had previously been supposed.

During the life of its founder, the order of St. Francis was more interested in the winning of souls than in education, and was even inclined to view secular learning with strong suspicion. There was, however, amongst the Dominicans, even in their early days, a marked intellectual interest. The acceptance of the Aristotelian corpus and the works of other non-Christian writers raised the problem of assimilating these new influences with Christian belief

and tradition. Such a course appeared, especially to the Dominicans, as an absolute necessity if Christian civilisation was to be preserved. Though this was not always explicitly recognised, in particular amongst the Franciscans, the decision ultimately taken was fraught with results of the utmost importance. We have only to call to mind that it was two Dominicans, Albert and Aquinas, who secured for Aristotle a permanent place in the curriculum of the universities. The coming of the mendicants to the universities was destined to provoke some serious disturbances.

At Paris, the Dominicans were the first to appear, and from the start they received a somewhat uncertain welcome. The universities owed their foundation to the seculars, who, with the regular monastic orders, viewed the newcomers with suspicion which deepened later to actual hostility. The Dominicans came to Paris in 1217 and were followed a few years later by the Franciscans. A tavern riot, in which the civic authorities rather unwisely intervened, caused the Great Dispersion of 1229. The secular masters refused to teach and many of them retired to the smaller cathedral schools at Angers, Toulouse, and Rheims. Henry III of England invited to this country those who wished to emigrate and his offer was accepted by a considerable number of foreign scholars who settled at Oxford and Cambridge. As the professors had departed from Paris, the Dominicans were able to obtain two Chairs in theology in 1229 and 1231 respectively. The Franciscans also obtained two Chairs in the university.

When the seculars returned, their opposition to the mendicants grew intense and was still active even at the close of the century. The mendicants, however, had come to stay, since their cause was supported by the Papacy and their struggle directed by two such able leaders as St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas Aquinas. It was the opposition to the mendicants which was largely responsible for the development of the secular colleges of the University of Paris.

The Dominicans appeared at Oxford in 1220 and the Franciscans five years later. At first they received a kindly welcome and for a time lived harmoniously with the seculars. Eventually, the aggressive policy of the Dominicans brought about a quarrel with the secular members of the university. The root cause of the dispute was the policy of the Dominicans of extending their influence in the university without submitting to its regulations. For example, the friars claimed a dispensation from the obligation of graduating in arts before proceeding to the master's degree in theology. Events

reached such a pitch in 1313 that a lawsuit commenced which ended in an appeal to Rome. Although a compromise agreement was reached in 1320, the costs of litigation put the university badly in debt and it was saved from bankruptcy only by a levy made by the Convocations of Canterbury and York. At Cambridge the Dominicans were more successful in gaining their ends. The Franciscans profited by the unpopularity of the Dominicans, and, through the outstanding ability of Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, and especially Duns Scotus, gained an ascendancy at Oxford. The first of these teachers, although he never entered the order, was for many years reader at the Franciscan priory.

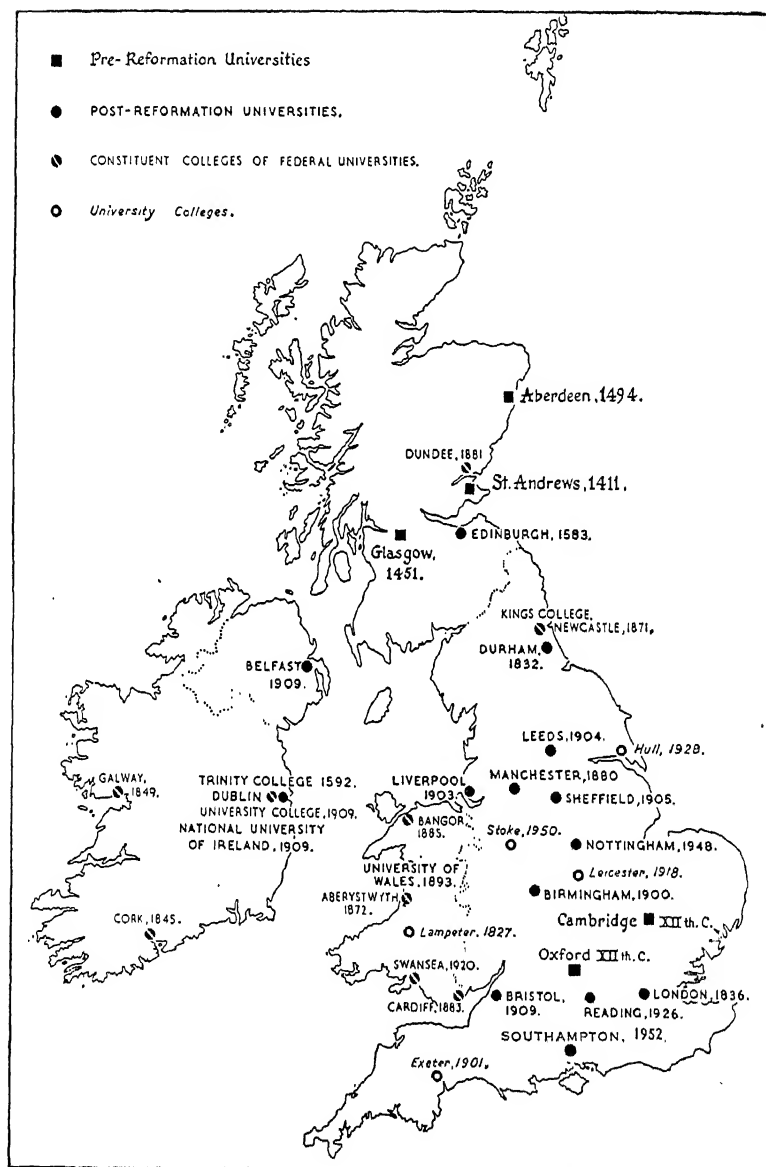
The Franciscan influence at Oxford was an important factor in developing the interests of the university along lines different from those of Paris. The policy of the early 13th-century popes had been to foster the growth of Paris so that it would become not only the university of France, but also the centre of theological studies for the whole of western Europe. Indeed, in the 13th century, Paris was the leading university in Europe, but its influence declined in the following century, and eventually it succumbed to the growing power of the French monarchy and was finally handed over to the jurisdiction of Parliament. As Paris declined, so Oxford began to take its place as the leader in European thought, but the attraction of theological studies was never as strong as at the former university. The important interests at Oxford were in the realm of mathematics, languages, and natural science. Roger Bacon once claimed that Oxford was the only European university at which the mathematical sciences were completely taught.

Although he has tended to be obscured by the fame of his pupil Roger Bacon, the real originator of this bias at Oxford was Robert Grosseteste, its first chancellor. Grosseteste was a remarkable personality. He was a distinguished linguist, and in the days when a knowledge of Greek was exceptional, he translated several of the works of Aristotle and the writings of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite from the original Greek. His theory of light as the essence of the spatial universe came very near to the modern conceptions of ether and energy, whilst his studies in optics led him to apply mathematical methods to natural science. In all this he had an apt follower in Roger Bacon. The scientific tradition was carried on into the 14th century by William of Ockham and his followers, who manifested that practical outlook and empirical approach which for so long characterised English thought.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, Cambridge was quite a small university in comparison with Oxford, but in the 15th century the reputation of Cambridge was much enhanced. Oxford had become infected by the teaching of Wycliffe and for this reason both Church and Crown favoured Cambridge. Attention was paid to the discipline of undergraduates at both universities. Statutes were promulgated prohibiting students from carrying arms and the disciplinary regulations were extended to those living in halls. Fines were imposed for breaches of the regulations. Gambling and practice with arms incurred a fine of fourpence. A farthing was exacted from students who shouted and sang when others were studying or wished to sleep. Those who came into the college after 8 p.m. in winter or 9 p.m. in summer, or spoke English in place of Latin, were fined a farthing. The penalty for sleeping out, or bringing in a friend for the night without permission from the principal, was one penny. Regulations forbade the wearing of extravagant and unbecoming dress, and behaviour at table was controlled by rigid rules. Certain offences were punished by flogging, which is surprising at a period when the average age of students was rising rapidly.

The teaching method of the mediaeval universities took two forms, that of the *lectio* and that of the *quaestio*. The *lectio* consisted in the reading and explanation of a textbook in the classroom. The lecturer read the text paragraph by paragraph, and at the end of each one commented on its content. Some lecturers read very rapidly whilst others were so slow and deliberate in their delivery that students could take down verbatim both text and commentary. This seems to have had a considerable effect on the sales of the booksellers, and several regulations of the early days of the universities require the lecturer to read at a normal conversational pace.

The *quaestio* was extremely important in the theological faculties. It can be regarded as an exercise in disputation between the professor and his pupils. There were two kinds of disputation. The ordinary disputations were closely connected with topics arising out of the lectures and were held several times a year. The problems debated were often of considerable complexity and it was possible for the disputation to range over several university sessions. The ordinary disputations of celebrated masters were committed to writing under the title of *quaestiones disputatae*. All the details concerning the procedure are not yet known, but much has been



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done by such writers as Mandonnet and Grabmann to enable us to construct a picture of what occurred.

The example of a disputation concerned with a simple topic and lasting two days will give a picture of the procedure. On the first day, with the master presiding, his bachelor answered difficulties (*obiectiones*) raised by other masters, bachelors, and scholars. On the following day, the master grouped the arguments and objections proposed on the previous day, and then in the *sed contra*, announced his own solution, quoting some authoritative text in support of it. He then established his own solution by means of a series of arguments. This was known as the master's determination (*determinatio magistralis*). The final step was to dispose of each objection in turn. The reader can easily verify this procedure by reference to the plan on which any "article" in the *Summa Theologica* of St Thomas Aquinas is organised.

In addition to the ordinary disputations, special disputations were held twice a year, usually in Advent and Lent. These were known as *disputationes quodlibetales*, since any student was at liberty to raise whatsoever problem he pleased. Obviously the problems were unrelated, but in the written report of the disputations, known as the *Quodlibeta*, some attempt was made to group them under their respective headings. Most of the *Quodlibeta* of the famous masters such as Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham, are still extant.

CHAPTER III

ENGLISH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE TUDOR PERIOD

In the 16th century, the course of English education was profoundly influenced by the twin movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The influence of the Renaissance was the earlier and its effects were already being felt in English schools in the 15th century.

Leach corrects the common error that the Renaissance was due to the introduction of Greek. "Through an unfortunate misrepresentation by the self-lauding reformers of the sixteenth century, the Renaissance has in the educational sphere come to be considered as synonymous with the introduction of Greek into the curriculum of schools, and particularly with Colet's statutes for the 'newe Scole of Powles' in 1510, in which for the first time Greek was suggested as a desideratum, though not demanded as a *sine qua non*, the High Master being required to be one who knew Greek, 'Yf swyche could be gotten.' . . . The revival of Greek was an effect, not the cause of the Renaissance. . . . It was not the introduction of Greek at Winchester and Eton, New College and Magdalen, and its appearance in the statutes of St. Paul's School, which made them the great schools and colleges of the day and their scholars the leading Humanists of their age. On the contrary, Greek was introduced in those colleges and schools because they were the advanced institutions of the day. Because they were scholarly and literary they took to Greek. It was not Greek which made them scholarly and literary." ¹

He quite correctly insists that the very term "Renaissance" is misleading. There was no rebirth of learning because learning had never died out. The old jibe of the 19th century that the Middle Ages were the Dark Ages has been answered by the work of modern scholars. The difference between the Middle Ages and the period which followed them was a difference of attitude and it may be summed up in the one word, Humanism. As he writes, "The true virtue of what is known as the Renaissance is much better

¹ A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 246-8, Methuen, 1915.

expressed in the term Humanism. It is not the introduction of Greek or the imitation of Cicero, the preference for the study of grammar over dialectic, or for the details of philology instead of the niceties of logic, which constitute the Renaissance. It was the substitution of humanism for divinity, of this world for the next, as the object of living, and therefore of education, that differentiated the humanists from their predecessors. For a thousand years the attention of educated mankind had been concentrated on its latter end, or on what was feared to follow it. Not life, but death, had been the subject of culture. Not how to prepare for life but how to prepare for death was the sole object of education. The humanist's progress consisted in the adoption of the dogma, 'The noblest study of mankind is man.'"¹

It is necessary to realise that the Renaissance was a very slow and gradual movement, and we must not expect that its far-reaching effects on the English schools were developed in the course of a few years. We can trace its beginning long before the close of the mediaeval period and its practical results in the foundation of the great collegiate schools of Winchester and Eton. The ordinary grammar-schools showed little outward change in their curriculum. They remained essentially Latin schools, but gradually the aim of Latin studies became not so much an end in itself as a means towards the study of the literature of ancient Rome. Greek was introduced, but in most of the schools it took second place to Latin. One of the practical difficulties in introducing Greek was the scarcity of good Greek scholars and teachers. In a few schools, Hebrew was taught. The first appearance of Hebrew seems to have been at Archbishop Holgate's school at York in 1547, where the master was to have "understandinge in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues." The first English teacher of Greek at Oxford was William Grocyn, who taught at Magdalen in 1491. It was introduced to Eton by William Horman, who was headmaster from 1485 to 1494, and then became headmaster of Winchester from 1494 to 1502. There is, however, sufficient evidence to show that it was not until Greek scholars became more numerous after the middle of the 16th century that Greek studies became more widespread in the schools. Even at Eton in 1560, the teaching of Greek seems to have been left to the discretion of the master.

Dean Colet's foundation of St. Paul's School in 1509 is an example of a typical Renaissance grammar-school. Leach considers

¹ A. F. Leach. *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 248-9, Methuen, 1915.

that it was a refoundation and enlargement of the school which for many centuries had been attached to the Cathedral of St. Paul's. On the other hand, J. H. Lupton asserts that the old school continued its independent existence to the beginning of the 17th century as a choristers' school.¹ However this may be, Colet's statutes, which were planned with reference to even the smallest details, represent a distinct advance in the conception of what a grammar-school should be.

Colet was a wealthy man, and although not a Greek scholar himself, his friendship with Erasmus and the leaders of the Humanist movement showed that he was thoroughly in sympathy with the new trends of thought. He made over the whole of his London estate, which in modern money exceeded £60,000, to the Mercers' Company in trust for his foundation. "The Honourable Company of Mercers of London, that is to saye, The Maister and all the Wardens, and all the Assistance of The Felowshyppe, shall have all the care and charge, rule, and governaunce of the Scole, and they shall every yere chose of their Companye Eleven, honeste and substantiall men, called The Surveyors of the Schole, whiche in the name of the hoole Felowship shall take all the charge and besinesse about the Schole, for that one year."²

The school was to be in charge of a High Master who should be appointed by the Wardens of the Mercers' Company. He was to be "a man hoole in body, honest and vertuous, and lerned in good and cleane Latin literature, and also in Greke, yf such may be gotten; a Wedded man, a Single man, or a Preste that hath no benefice with cure, nor service that may lett the due besinesse in the Scole." The High Master's stipend was £35 with a house and livery gown. Under him was a Surmaster with a salary of £18 and a house, and a Chaplain to sing Mass in the school chapel and "pray for the Children to prosper in good life and in good literature, to the Honour of God and Our Lord Christ Jesu." The chaplain should assist in the school and teach the children "the Catechyzom and Instruction of the Articles of the Fáythe, and the Ten Commandments in Englishe." For this he was to receive £8 a year; he lodged in the master's house and was given a livery gown of the value of 26s. 8d.

¹ *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 160, 2nd ed., 1909.

² The statutes are printed in full in N. Carlisle, *The Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales*, 1818.

Colet was fortunate in obtaining William Lily, whom he had known at Magdalen, as the High Master. The appointment of a layman as headmaster of a large school was uncommon, but it was by no means the first of its kind. Lily was succeeded in 1522 by John Rightwyse, a Cambridge scholar. There seems to have been a difficulty in finding a suitable successor to Lily, for one of the Cambridge scholars declared, "Who would put up with the life of a schoolmaster who could get a living in any other way?"

St. Paul's was designed as a day-school for the sons of upper-middle-class people. The number of pupils was fixed at 153, and they were to be "children of all Nations and Contres indifferently." The number 153 was an allusion to the Miraculous Draught of Fishes (John xxi. 11) and the holidays and half-holidays amounted to seven score and thirteen, which again added up to 153. Before a child was admitted, the master ascertained whether he could say the Catechism and was able to read and write. Each pupil paid 4d. to have his name placed on the register, and the admission pence were given to the poor scholar who swept the school and cleaned the seats. In every form, the head pupil was seated in a chair as the form president.

The school hours were from seven to eleven o'clock in the mornings, and from one to five in the afternoons. Prayers were said in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. Boys were to come provided with wax candles at the expense of their friends. These cost about a shilling a pound, eight times as much as tallow candles. This is another proof that the school was for the sons of the well-to-do. Cock-fighting was prohibited. Every 28th December, Holy Innocents' Day, the whole school proceeded to the cathedral to hear the sermon of the Boy Bishop, and after the High Mass each scholar made an offering of "a penny to the Childe Byshop, and with them the maisters and surveyors of the Scole."

Colet left instructions about the curriculum. Speaking of the general principles underlying school studies, he ordained, "As touching in this Scole what shall be taught of the Maisters, and learned of the Scolers, it passeth my witte to devyse, and determine in particular, but in general to speake and ssume what to saye my mynde, I wolde they were taught always in good literature bothe Laten and Greke and good autors such as have the verrye Romaine eloquence joyned with wisdom with clean and chaste Laten, other in verse or in prose." This ordinance clearly exhibits the Renaissance spirit.

In a letter of Erasmus written to his friend Justas Jonas, an interesting description of the school in its early days is given. "He divided the School into four apartments. The first viz., the Porch and Entrance, is for Catechumens, or the Children to be instructed in the principles of Religion ; where no Child is to be admitted, but what can read or write. The second apartment is for the lower Boys, to be taught by the Second Master or Usher. The third, for the Upper forms, under the Head Master ; which two parts of the School are divided by a curtain, to be drawn at pleasure. Over the Master's chair is an image of the Child Jesus of admirable work, in the gesture of teaching ; whom all the boys, going and coming, salute with a short hymn ; and there is a representation of God the Father, saying, 'Hear ye him' ; these words being written at my suggestion. The Fourth, or last apartment, is a little Chapel for Divine Service. The School has no corners, or hiding places ; nothing like a cell or closet. The boys have their distinct forms, or benches, one above another. Every form holds sixteen ; and he that is head, or captain of each form, has a little kind of desk by way of pre-eminence."¹

One of the immediate changes of the Renaissance was that produced in methods of teaching owing to the invention of printing. Books became more plentiful, and the oral instruction of mediaeval days was superseded by written methods with greater reliance on the textbook.

The Humanist renaissance produced two outstanding treatises on education. The first was the *The Booke named the Governor* written by Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531. It was described by Professor Laurie as "the first full exposition of the Humanistic point of view, not only in English but also in England."² Elyot was born in Wiltshire about 1490 and chose the law as his profession. He rose to some eminence as a lawyer and was appointed, by Cardinal Wolsey, Clerk to the Privy Council. When a young man, Elyot was a member of the distinguished circle of Humanist scholars who gathered at Sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea. Although he had not studied at the university, he received instruction at the hands of Linacre, one of the most accomplished Greek scholars of the age. He had first-hand knowledge of the classical authors and was

¹ Erasmus evidently made an error in his calculations, for 8 forms of 16 boys each gives a total of 128. We know that the five upper classes had 18 boys each, and the three lower 21 each, a total of 153.

² S. S. Laurie. *Studies in the History of Educational Opinion from the Renaissance*, Chapter v, C.U.P., 1903

strongly influenced by the Italian writers on education of the previous century.

The Governor was dedicated to the King, and its main theme was the education of "a gentleman which is to have authority in the public weal." Elyot emphasises the Humanist ideals which afford a discipline for the growing mind, and advocates, in addition to physical pursuits and training in skill at arms, the acquisition of such courtly accomplishments as music and dancing. Although Elyot was not averse to men of ability making their way into high offices of State, he was chiefly concerned with the sons of gentry who were destined for a life of public service. Like most Humanists, he began his scheme of instruction with the infant and he pointed out the importance of imitation from the earliest stages. He was in agreement with the principles of Erasmus, whose writings he had studied, and he drew attention to the three essential factors in the training of young children—the importance of developing the habit of clear and refined speech, the utilisation of play in the early stages of instruction, and the "direct method" of learning a foreign language, which in this case was Latin.

After the age of seven, Elyot would have the child taken from the company of women and given into the charge of a tutor which should be "an ancient and worshipful man" and one of such temperament and character that "the child by imitation following may grow to be excellent." As in the Middle Ages, very few of the sons of the nobility were sent to school and even those who did attend usually took their tutors with them. In addition to Latin, the tutor should give instruction in Greek, and special attention should be devoted to the reading of classical writers in both prose and poetry. In fact, Elyot regards the latter as more important than prose. "Poetry was the first philosophy that ever was known, and through it children have always gained their first lessons in right conduct."

At the age of fourteen the boy should begin his study of the writers on rhetoric, not only classical authors, but such works as those of Erasmus. The voyages of discovery had awakened interest in the newly found lands, and Elyot recommends a study of geometry and astronomy coupled with training in the use of maps. The Greek and Roman historians should also be studied, because from them the young man will gain his first experiences of military, political, and moral wisdom.

By this time the young man will have reached the age of seventeen and the time is ripe for him to begin the study of philosophy.

He should begin by reading the first two books of Aristotle's *Ethics* and then continue with the *De Officiis* of Cicero, the prophetic and historical writings of the Old Testament, and finally *The Institution of a Christian Prince* "the little book of the most excellent Doctor Erasmus." Elyot thinks that the common mistake of schoolmasters is to introduce their pupils to studies before they have arrived at the age when they can appreciate them. "Lord God, how many good and clean wits of children be now-a-days perished by ignorant schoolmasters!"

On coming of age, the young "governor" should study the laws of his country, not with a view to becoming a professional lawyer, but as a part of the liberal education suited to one whose life is to be spent in the public service. Side by side with academic studies, the young man should receive a training in outdoor pursuits such as wrestling, running, swimming, hunting, hawking, and, above all, archery. He recommends chess as an indoor recreation, but the youth should be warned against the perils of dice.

The second important Renaissance book on education is *The Scolmaster* of Roger Ascham. The author was a Yorkshireman by birth who came under the Renaissance influence at Cambridge where he took his bachelor's degree in 1534. Ascham distinguished himself in his Greek studies, and after some experience in teaching private pupils, he was appointed university lecturer in Greek. His Latin style was so excellent that he was also given the post of Public Orator and was in charge of the Latin correspondence of the university. In 1548 he came to court to supervise the studies of the young Princess Elizabeth. It is a tribute to his skill as a tutor that his pupil became one of the best-read monarchs of the age. *The Scolmaster* was not published until after his death in 1568.

Ascham was concerned with the education of the child, who at the age of seven entered a grammar-school. He considered the question of the pupil's reading a very important one, and he would have him go direct to the Latin authors instead of reading about them. He thought that the greatest mistake in current practice consisted in giving the child a few lessons in grammar and then plunging him into the writing of Latin composition. This resulted in the formation of bad linguistic habits which were difficult to eradicate. Ascham's own method of teaching Latin was as follows. He advocated the selection made by Sturmius of the *Epistles* of Cicero as a basis for the instruction. First of all the child ought to be taught the content of the passage. He should then make an

English translation and parse every word of the original. After this, he should make a final English version which he should show to his master. The latter would take his book from him and set him to turn the English translation back into Latin. When this has been completed, the child is to receive back his textbook and compare his Latin version with the original. Whenever he has done well, the master should praise him and say, "Here do ye well." ". . . For I assure you, there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit, and encourage a will to learning, as is praise."

Ascham believed in the child being taught on the translation method and he would not allow him to speak Latin since this would ruin his style. When the grammatical stage of learning the language has been completed, the master should turn his attention to improving the pupil's Latin style, and Ascham gives details of the different kinds of exercises which he thinks efficacious for this purpose. He has no patience with those who are content with the knowledge of one language, but thinks that where possible the pupil should also learn Greek.

Ascham has much to say on the subject of school discipline. In fact, in his preface he informs us that it was his strong feelings about discipline which prompted him to write the book. Some boys had run away from the severe discipline of Eton, and Ascham soundly condemned the barbarous floggings which were all too common in his day and even much later. His opinion was "that young children should rather be allured to learning by gentleness and love, than compelled to learning by beating and fear." He disagrees with the common view that children have a natural distaste for learning. Where this is so, the blame is to be attached to the schoolmaster. No boy should ever be punished because he is slow in learning, but he would not withhold corporal punishment in cases of moral delinquency. Ascham knew no psychology, but he was a shrewd practical schoolmaster with a kindly nature and a strong vein of common sense. His book was read by Mulcaster and Brinsley, and its influence can be traced in both their writing and their practice.

The effects of the Reformation were in some ways a disaster to English education. The Reformers as a whole were supporters of learning and encouraged the study of Greek as a means to the reading of the New Testament. It was the policy of the Tudor monarchs which caused the mischief. Henry VIII's breach with Rome led to the closing of the monastic schools, but the damage

done was comparatively small as these schools did not represent the main stream of English education. Moreover, Henry himself was an extremely well-educated man and had a proper regard for learning. The dissolution of the chantries was far more damaging. We have already mentioned that the majority of the chantries supported a grammar-school from their endowments. Henry VIII commenced the work of dissolution by the Act of 1545, but it is doubtful if more than two or three were actually dissolved by this law.

The real blow fell in 1547 when a similar Act of Edward VI completely abolished the chantries. It is quite true that in the preamble to the Act it was suggested that the endowments would be better used for education and for assisting the poor. It also stipulated that schools were only to be continued when the maintenance of a school was mentioned in the "first foundation and ordinance thereof." This meant the closure of a large number of schools, both grammar and other types. Even those which were permitted to remain were very badly hit. In most cases the lands of the chantry were confiscated and the school given a fixed annual sum which, owing to the rapid fall in the value of money in Tudor times, reduced many to severe financial straits. Elementary schools maintained by chantries were unable to continue. The Government threw the responsibility for elementary education upon the clergy. Gradually, elementary education fell into the hands of private individuals who were often, in character and attainments, unfit for the job. It was not until the 18th century, when the efforts of individuals and the philanthropic societies were turned to the education of the masses, that elementary education revived. Nevertheless, we shall see that there were a few survivors of the primary schools which ensured the continuity of elementary education.

The Tudors have often been lauded as patrons of education and the founders of our grammar-schools. To believe this is to ignore all the work which was carried out by the mediaeval schools. The more modern view, based on ample evidence, is rather that they were the destroyers of schools. "Never was a great reputation more easily gained and less deserved than that of King Edward VI as a founder of schools. If the ordinary educated person were asked to whom our system of secondary education was mainly due, and who was the founder of most of the grammar schools on which it chiefly rests, he would answer, without hesitation, Edward VI. The magnificent foundations of Christ's Hospital and Birmingham

Grammar School, and the numerous Edward VI Grammar Schools which stud the country, would rise up before his mind, and he would give the credit of them to their reputed founder. Even to those people who credit Wykeham with the foundation of our public school system in founding Winchester, and credit Henry VIII with the cathedral schools, such as the King's School, Canterbury, Edward VI still stands out as *par excellence* the founder of schools and patron saint of industrious schoolboys."¹

There is plenty of contemporary evidence to support the modern view. Thomas Lever, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, complains about conditions in the middle years of the 16th century. Lever refers to the avowed intentions of the Acts dissolving the chantries as "the alteration, change, or amendment of the same, and converting to good and godly uses, as in erecting grammar schools, to the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provisions for the poor and needy." This plain speaking, delivered in a sermon preached to the King and the nobles in 1550, was the means of saving the chantry school of Sedbergh. The second witness is Thomas Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons, who in 1562 drew the Queen's attention to the fact, "I daresay a hundred schools want in England, which before this time had been: and if in every school there had been but an hundred scholars, yet that had been ten thousand; so that now I doubt whether there be so many learned men in England, as the number wants of these Scholars "

It is because of the number of schools bearing the name of the reigning monarch that the Tudors have been considered patrons of learning. The King's Schools (Henry VIII), and Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth's grammar-schools, are practically all refoundations of schools which had previously existed. Moreover, it is very doubtful if the Tudor sovereigns were even the prime movers in the work of refoundation. As a rule they complied with the request of the town or district for the re-establishment of old grammar-schools. In addition, quite a number of schools were refounded by wealthy merchants or noblemen who, from loyalty to the sovereign, when they had obtained a charter, applied the royal title to the revived school.

For example, the Wakefield Grammar School was granted a royal charter by Elizabeth, 19th November 1591, as a result of a petition of the inhabitants of the town.. This school was probably

¹ A. F. Leach. *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 1, Constable, 1896.

a revival of an older school which is mentioned as existing in 1547 in connection with the chantry at the parish church. The initial paragraph of the charter runs as follows, "Elizabeth, By the grace of God, Quene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, defender of the faith, etc., to all men to whom thies present letters shall comme sendith greting. Bee it knowen unto you that wee at the humble sute made unto us by the Inhabitants of the Towne and parisshe of Wakefilde in our countie of Yorke for a free Grammar Scoole there to be erected and establisshed for ever for the contynuall teachinge instructinge and bringing up of children and youthe in good lernynge, namlie those belonginge to the said parisshe of Wakefilde, Of our special grace certen knowledge and meere motion Wee doe will graunte and ordayne for us our heires and successors that hereafter there be and shalbe one Grammer Scoole in the saide Towne of Wakefilde which shalbe called the free Grammer Scoole of Quene Elizabeth att Wakefilde for the teachinge instructinge and bringinge up of children and youthe in Grammer and other good lernynge to contynue to that use forever."¹

The Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Horncastle, Lincolnshire, was granted letters patent by the Queen at the request of Lord Clinton (afterwards Earl of Lincoln) in 1599. The text of the Queen's letter makes it clear that the foundation was at the request of Lord Clinton. "The Queen to all whom it may concern etc. Health. Whereas our well beloved and faithful Counsellor and Subject Edward Fynes knight of the most noble Order of the Garter Lord Clynton and Saye and our great Admiral of England, hath humbly prayed us that we would condescend that a Grammar School be erected founded and established in the Town of Horncastle in our County of Lincoln for the good Education and Instruction of Boys and Youth there . . . we will grant and ordain that henceforth there may and shall be a Grammar School in the Town of Horncastle aforesaid which shall be called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth."

There is an amusing incident connected with the charter of Otley Grammar School, Yorks. The school was founded in 1608 as the result of the will of Thomas Cave, a chapman or travelling merchant of Wakefield, who bequeathed the sum of £250 for the purpose of founding a grammar-school in the town from which his

¹ The old schoolhouse near the market is now the Cathedral School and is used as a secondary modern school. The building has recently been scheduled as an ancient monument.

family had sprung. The charter was granted by James I in response to "the petition of certain substantial inhabitants of the Parish of Otley." In 1606 the Rev. W. Harrison, Vicar of Otley, was sent to London by the governors to ask for a foundation charter. The form of the charter had been agreed beforehand, but Harrison inserted the last phrase of the following paragraph. ". . . We do name, constitute and appoint our well beloved William Harrison, Batchelor of Arts, being a learned, honest, religious, and discreet man, to be the first and present Schoolmaster of the said Free Grammar School of Prince Henry at Otley, to *continue in the said office and place for and during his natural life.*" Evidently his honesty did not prevent him from inserting the phrase in italics himself. The governors resented this action and reported that "itt was of his own contentment, but high offence to the Parishioners." At first they thought of seeking redress in the law-courts, but wiser counsels prevailed and in 1622 they persuaded Harrison to vacate his office, "for and in consideration of a certaine some of money to me in hand payde."

The foundation or refoundation of schools by wealthy individuals was a common tendency of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign and was also noticeable during the early Stuart period. In an earlier age, these benefactors would have shown their piety and public spirit by building a church or endowing a chantry. In a changed age, they exhibited the same virtues in providing for the education of future generations. In districts where a grammar-school was already in existence, such benefactors found a means of displaying their charity by enlarging the foundations in their neighbourhood.

Thus Thoresby, the well-known historian of Leeds, tells us that the wealthy cloth merchant of that town, John Harrison, not only built the beautiful Jacobean Church of St. John in 1634, but provided a new schoolhouse for the grammar-school in 1624. Speaking of the school, Thoresby says, "The famous Mr. Harrison removed it . . . to a pleasant Field of his own which he surrounded with a substantial Wall and then in the midst of the Quadrangle built the present Fabrick of the School."

The 16th-century grammar-schools, like their mediæval counterparts, stressed the study of Latin grammar, but now the grammar was beginning to be regarded as the first stage in the acquisition of a sound knowledge of Latin. The first Latin Grammar printed in English was written by John Stanbridge, who was usher at Magdalen

College School. It was a distinct improvement on the doggerel verse of Alexander of Villa Dei, and the declensions and conjugations were set out in a much clearer form than in the earlier Grammars, e.g. *Amo/as/at, Amamus/atis/ant*. Several of the larger schools adopted his Grammar. It is worthy of note that William Lily, the first High Master of St. Paul's School and the author of the celebrated Grammar which bears his name, came from Magdalen College School. The variety of Grammars published in the early 16th century caused considerable confusion in the schools, and resulted in the first definite act of State intervention in the affairs of the schools. Henry VIII, by royal proclamation, ordered Lily's Grammar to be used exclusively in all grammar-schools in the realm. "We will and command and straitly charge all you schoolmasters and teachers of grammar within this realm and other our dominions, as ye intend to avoid our displeasure and have our favour, to teach and learn your scholars this English introduction here insuing, and the Latin grammar annexed to the same and none other."

The Grammar was a composite work in which Erasmus, and Robertson the headmaster of Magdalen College School, shared. The early part of the Grammar for use with younger pupils explained the accidence in English, and later, William Haine, of Merchant Taylors' School, translated the remainder under the title of *Lily's Rules Construed*. The Grammar first appeared in 1515 and after various alterations and additions reached its final form in 1574, when it was entitled *A Short Introduction of Grammar, generally to be used: compiled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intend to attain the knowledge of the Latin tongue*.

Colet wrote the preface to the Grammar and in the following words the attitude of this great scholar and schoolmaster towards schoolboys is distinctly shown. "Judging that nothing may be too soft nor too familiar for little children, specially learning a tongue with them at all strange; in which little book I have left many things out on purpose, considering the tenderness and capacity of small minds. . . . Wherefore I pray you all, little babes, all little children, learn gladly this little treatise, and commend it diligently unto your memories, trusting of this beginning ye shall proceed and grow to perfect literature, and come at the last to be great clerks. And lift up your little white hands for me, which prayeth for you to God, to whom be all honour and imperial majesty and glory." In spite of these kindly words, Lily's Grammar caused multitudes

of schoolboys tears during the next two and a half centuries.¹ The Grammar treats exceptions at great length and deals with the declension of Greek forms, all of which must have made it a difficult book for beginners. Nevertheless, Lily had come to stay. In the Canons of the Church of England, in 1604, its use was prescribed and one of the questions to be asked at the bishop's visitation was concerning the use of the Grammar. Archbishop Parker, in his second visitation to the cathedral church of Canterbury, inquired of the dean and chapter, "Whether your schoolmasters teach any other grammar than such as is approved by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions." Lily's Grammar was used throughout the 17th century. It was slightly revised in 1758 under the title of the *Eton Latin Grammar*, and held its own until superseded in 1867 by the *Public Schools Latin Primer*.

The Grammar, however, did show certain improvements on earlier Grammars in arrangement and clarity. The declensions were better spaced and set out in clearer form than in Stanbridge's Grammar, e.g. "The seconde is when the Genitive case singular endith in i, the Dative in o, the Accusative in um, the Vocative for the most part like the Nominative, the Ablative in o. The Nominative plural in i, the Genitive in orum, the Dative in is, the Accusative in os, the Vocative lyke the Nominative, the Ablative in is: as in example.

Hic	Vir	Singulariter	Nominat.	hic magister	Pluraliter	Nomin.	hi magistri
His	Liber		Genit.	huius magistri		Ge.	horū magistrorū
Hæc	Colus		Dativo	huic magistro		Dati.	his magistris
His	Logos		Accus.	hunc magistrū		Accu.	hos magistros
			Vocativo	ô magister		Vocat.	ô magistri
			Abla.	ab hoc magistro		Ab.	ab his magistris
Present		Singular	Amo, amas, amat				
		Plural	Amamus, amatus, amant				

Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius or the Grammar Schoole*, published in 1612, is a mine of information about the work done in the 16th and 17th century grammar-schools. Brinsley enjoyed a brilliant career as the master of the grammar-school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, but was suspended from teaching, about 1619, on account of his Puritan views. His book is in the form of a dialogue between two schoolmasters and was "intended for the helping of the younger sort of Teachers, and of all Schollers." When Philoponus is asked how he would ensure that boys knew their grammar,

¹ The author's copy of Lily's Grammar is a leather-covered book, 5½ in. by 3½ in., and was in use at St Bees' Grammar School. On the fly-leaf, in a copper-plate schoolboy hand, under the date 1751, is written, "This work is strongly recommended for bothering a fellow's brains."

he replies, "The continuall use of the bookes of construing of Lillies Rules, by causing them to learne to construe, and to keepe their Grammar rules, onely by the helpe of those translations." A large part of the book is taken up by showing the best way of teaching the rules of Lily's Grammar, but Brinsley tells us a good deal about the other Latin work of the grammar-school.

The study of grammar was closely bound up with the making of vocabularies. Each day, the master dictated a list of words which the pupils learnt by heart. These were tested and revised frequently so that the pupils quickly acquired a store of Latin words and phrases. The *Colloquia* of Erasmus, 1516, was widely used and later the *Exercitatio Linguae Latinae* of Vives, 1539, found favour in many English schools. The latter was translated by Foster Watson in 1908 under the title of *Tudor Schoolboy Life*.

All this work was preparatory to the reading of Latin authors. Cicero was the most highly esteemed, and Vergil, Terence, and Ovid followed next. Caesar and Livy were read, but were not considered elementary texts as nowadays. Certain mediaeval Christian writers, and even contemporary works, were often included. Almost as important as construing a Latin author was the writing of a composition. This took the form of writing short, simple sentences in the junior classes, but with the older pupils Ascham's method was much used. Brinsley gives examples of the way in which letter-writing was taught. Finally, the pupils encountered the most difficult exercise of all, Latin verse composition. A large number of these verse exercises are still extant (including the youthful efforts of Edward VI), and some show the straits to which the young authors were put. When their Latin gave out, they often intercalated English words.

Latin was taught as a living language and, in many schools, in order to gain fluency, pupils spoke Latin all the time in class and at meals. Severe penalties threatened those who lapsed into English. Brinsley suggests the appointment of two prefects in each form to prevent the speaking of English. He admits that speaking Latin on all occasions is "exceeding hard," and "one will wink at another if they be out of the master's hearing."

Greek, as was previously said, was second in importance to Latin, and the methods of teaching the language were similar to those employed in Latin, though less intensive. When the teaching of Greek became more common in the latter half of the 16th century,

TIME-TABLE OF A TYPICAL ELIZABETHAN GRAMMAR-SCHOOL, 1598

(*Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. VII, pp. 262-3.)

Classes III, IV, and V were taught by the master; Classes I and II by the usher. In winter the school closed at 4 p m.

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
Class V 7-11 a.m.	Prose theme. Lecture in Cicero or Sallust or Caesar's <i>Commentaries</i> .	Verse theme. Lecture same as Monday.	Prose theme. Lecture in Vergil or Ovid's <i>Metamor- phosis</i> , or Lucan.	Lecture in Vergil, etc., same as Wednesday.	Verse theme Repetition of the week's lectures.	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon.
1-5 p.m.	Latin Syntax or Greek Grammar or Figures of Speech. ¹ Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared.	Latin Syntax, etc., same as Monday.	Latin Syntax, etc., same as Monday.	Half-holiday.	Repetition con- tinued Lecture on Horace, or Lucan, or Seneca's <i>Trage- dies</i>	Declamation on a given subject by several senior scholars. Catechism and New Testament
Class IV 7-11 a.m.	Lecture on Cicero's <i>de Senectute</i> or <i>de Ami- citiis</i> , or on Justin. ²	Lecture on Cicero, etc., as on Monday.	Lecture on Ovid's <i>Tristia</i> , or <i>de Ponto</i> , or on Seneca's <i>Tragedies</i>	Lecture, etc., as on Wednesday	Verse theme, and repetition of the week's lectures.	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon
1-5 p.m.	Prose theme. Latin Syntax or Greek Grammar or Figures of Speech. Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared.	Verse theme. Latin Syntax, etc., as on Monday.	Prose theme Latin Syntax, etc., as on Monday.	Half-holiday.	Repetition con- tinued Lecture on Ovid's <i>Fasti</i> .	Catechism and New Testament

Class III 7-11 a.m.	Lecture on the letters of Ascham, or Sturm's <i>Cicero's Letters</i> , ³ or Terence. Paraphrase of a sentence.	Lecture on Ascham, etc., as on Monday. <i>Vulgaria</i> in Prose.	Lectures on Palen- genius, or the Psalms of Hess. Paraphrase of a sentence.	Lecture on Palen- genius or the Psalms of Hess.	<i>Vulgaria</i> in Prose, and repetition of the week's lectures.	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon.
1-5 p.m.	Latin Syntax or Greek Grammar or Figures of Syzenbrote. ¹ Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared.	Latin Syntax, etc., as on Monday.	Latin Syntax, etc., as on Monday.	Half-holiday.	Repetition con- tinued. Lecture on Eras- mus' <i>Apophthegms</i> .	Catechism and New Testament.
Class II 7-11 a.m.	Lecture on <i>Colloquies</i> of Erasmus or on <i>Dia- logues</i> of Corderius.	Lecture, etc., same as on Monday.	Lecture on the Cato senior, or Cato junior.	Lecture, etc., same as on Wednesday.	Repetition of the week's lectures.	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon.
8 1-5 p.m.	Translations from English into Latin. Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared.	Translations as on Mondays.	Translations as on Mondays.	Half-holiday.	Repetition con- tinued. Lecture on <i>Æsop's Fables</i> .	Writing out the Catechism in English. Arithmetic.
Class I 7-11 a.m.	The Royal Grammar.	The Royal Gram- mar.	The Royal Gram- mar.	The Royal Gram- mar.	Repetition of the work of the week.	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon.
1-5 p.m.	The English Testa- ment, or the Psalms of David, in English.	As on Monday.	As on Monday.	Half-holiday.	Repetition con- tinued. Lecture on <i>Æsop's Fables</i> .	Writing out the Catechism in English. Arithmetic.

¹ J. Susenbrotus, a German, who died in 1543. Wrote an epitome of Rhetoric in 1540.

² Justinian's *Institutes*.

³ Sturm published a selection of Cicero's *Epistles*. He was Rector of the school at Strasbourg.

pupils read the Gospel of St. John and Nowell's *Greek Catechism*, construing both books into Latin. Few schools proceeded to the reading of Greek classical authors. We hear that Westminster was famous for its Hebrew and even experimented in introducing Arabic.

History and geography were taught incidentally in connection with the authors read. The only other subjects were writing and arithmetic and a little geometry and astronomy to the higher forms. The grammar-schools were inclined to shy at the teaching of reading and writing. These were considered subjects for the "petties," i.e. the little ones in the primary or the preparatory school. Every boy was supposed to be able to read and write¹ when he entered the grammar-school, though in practice it was often necessary to teach these arts to pupils. Brinsley believed in giving an hour's practice each day in writing, preferably at one o'clock, "when their hands are warmest and nimblest." Some grammar-schools sent their pupils, after morning or afternoon school, to a writing-master. As this was not usually possible for country schools, writing was often taught by a travelling teacher, who spent several weeks at each school. Arithmetic was of much less importance, and since the teaching was either at the end of the day or on a half-holiday, it was not popular with the pupils nor with the usher who had to teach it. Brinsley, in his *Grammar Schoole*, shows us the shortcomings of the average grammar-school pupil with regard to arithmetic. He writes: "You shall have schollers, almost readie to go to the Universitie, who yet can hardly tell you the number of Pages, Sections, Chapters, or other divisions in their books, to finde what they should. And it is, as you say, a great & foule want; because, without the perfect knowledge of these numbers, schollers cannot helpe themselves by the Indices, or Tables of such bookes, as they should use, for turning to anything of a sodaine."²

We have to remember that, when Brinsley wrote, most pages and chapters were numbered with the roman numerals. The arabic notation, although gaining popularity on the Continent in the 15th century, did not come into use in England until the following century. The first authentic use of the arabic notation

¹ Cf. Wakefield Grammar School. "None shall be admitted to be taught as scholars in this school, upon what pretext soever, unless he be able in tolerable sort to read English and be promoted to the accidence . . . and because this school is not ordained for petties but for grammarians, we will that all the scholars under the master's teaching shall be tied to the speaking of Latin."

² *The Grammar Schoole*, by John Brinsley, ed. by E. T. Campagnac, p. 25, University of Liverpool Press, 1917.

is said to be at St. Andrews at the close of the 15th century. Brinsley considers that it is quite easy to teach the roman notation and he suggests a method of doing it. He also refers to the arabic notation, calling it "the numbers by Figures" in contrast to "the numbers by letters," and he explains the principles of the decimal system. He thinks the understanding of these two notations is sufficient for the average pupil. "In a word, to tell what any of these numbers stand for, or how to set downe any of them; will performe fully so much as is needfull for your ordinarie Grammar scholler. If you do require more for any, you must seeke Record's Arithmetique, or other like Author's and set them to the Cyphering school."¹

Dr. Robert Recorde, to whom Brinsley refers, was a Tenby physician who had graduated at Cambridge. He is said to have been physician to Edward VI and Mary. He wrote four books on arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and astronomy, called, respectively, *The Ground of Artes*, *The Whetstone of Witte*, *The Pathway to Knowledge*, and *The Castle of Knowledge*. Recorde was the first English writer to introduce the common symbols for equality, addition, subtraction, and multiplication, and he explains the sign of equality as "a pair of paraleles or gemowe (twin) lines of one length, thus, =, because noe 2 thynges can be more equalle." He deals with two kinds of arithmetic: pen-arithmetic and arithmetic carried out with counters. The former is the type of arithmetic with which we are familiar, but counter-arithmetic was a means of reckoning numbers which could be learnt by those who could neither read nor write.² It was by means of counters that the ordinary tradesman kept his accounts. Pen-arithmetic was usually known as ciphering. It was generally taught to scholars proceeding to the university, but the art of casting accounts was useful to boys who would later be apprenticed. This distinction explains the references to arithmetic in the following Elizabethan schools:—

Tideswell, Derby, 1560. The master to teach grammar and, for the petties, the figures and characteristics of letters.

St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark, 1561. The master to teach children to write and read and cast accounts.

¹ *The Grammar Schoole*, by John Brinsley, ed. by E. T. Campagnac, p. 26, University of Liverpool Press, 1917.

² Foster Watson gives an interesting account of arithmetic with counters in his *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, pp. 301-3, Pitman, 1909.

Bungay, Suffolk, 1592. The schoolmaster and scholars to keep school every Saturday and every half-holiday until 3 p.m., "for writing and casting accounts with the pen and counters according to their capacities."

Stainmore, Westmorland, 1594. Instruction of children in reading, writing, and accounts.

Wellingborough, Northampton, 1596. Master and usher to teach Latin, and also reading, writing, and accounts

Aldenham, Herts, 1599. The usher to teach English, writing, ciphering, and accounts.

As an example of Recorde's pen-arithmetic, his method of multiplication throws light upon the practice of his time, and also upon the origin of our present symbol for multiplication. Suppose we have to multiply eight by seven. The reader should realise that the multiplication table was unknown at that date, so that the only way of multiplying, say, four by three, was to set down four three times and find the total by addition. Recorde tells us that the first step in his method is to set down the seven under the eight, and opposite them the differences between these two numbers and ten, *e.g.* $\frac{8}{7} \times \frac{2}{3}$. By addition, we find that twice three is six, so that six is our units digit. We then either subtract three from eight, or two from seven, which gives us five as the tens digit.

The same method applies to numbers over ten *e.g.* 12×13 , $\frac{12}{13} \times \frac{2}{3}$, except that instead of taking three from twelve, we add and thus obtain 156 as the answer. Larger numbers still can be multiplied together by using the method in stages, but this must be left to the reader's ingenuity. The method admits of a simple algebraic proof.

The subject ranking next in importance to grammar was the instruction given in religion and morals, and the value attached to religious education was enhanced by the Reformation. At Wakefield, the master swore, "The youth of this scole I shall diligentlie instruct in religion learning and good manners."

The statutes of Harrow insisted, "The schoolmaster shall have regard to the manners of his scholars and see that they come not uncombed unwashed ragged or slovenly; but above all things he shall punish severely lying, picking and stealing, fighting, filthiness or wantonness of speech and such like." The statutes of Newcastle Grammar School, 1600, directed that "youth should be well founded from their tenderest years in the rudiments of true religion and

instructed in learning and good manners." After the Reformation the religious teaching was based upon the Bible and the Catechism. The latter had been compiled by Dean Nowell and was practically identical with that contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Older scholars used Latin or Greek versions of the Catechism.

The Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, 1559, laid down the lines on which the religious instruction should proceed.

XLI. "That all teachers of children shall stir and move them to live and do reverence to God's true religion now truly set forth by public authority."

XLII. "They shall accustom their scholars reverently to learn such sentences or scriptures as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness."

XLIII. "Every parson, vicar, or curate shall upon every holy-day and every second Sunday in the year, hear and instruct the youth of the parish for half an hour at the least before evening prayer in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Belief, and the Lord's Prayer; and diligently examine them, and teach the Catechism set forth in the Book of Public Prayer."

In all the grammar-schools, the school session began and ended with religious exercises which varied from a few set prayers prescribed by the founder to an elaborate service.¹

All pupils were obliged to attend divine service on Sundays and holy days. Thus the statutes of Dronfield, Derbyshire, enjoin, "I ordain that the scholars do upon every Sunday and Holyday in the morning resort orderly to the school, and that they go thence into the church, two and two in rank, that they carry their service book with them, and answer the versicles in the Psalms as the clerk of the parish doth, that they kneel at such times of the celebration of Divine Service according as it is in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and that they stand up at the reading of the Creed, and bow at the sacred name of Jesus, and that as many as be of capacity do take in writing the notes of the preacher's sermons, and give account of them on Monday morning to the master."

Great attention was paid to the inculcation of good manners both in school and at the table. A. F. Leach tells us that the boys at Wells were given minute directions about their manners and behaviour. They were to cut their bread at dinner, not gnaw it

¹ Examples of school prayers and services are given in J. H. Brown, *Elizabethan Schooldays*, pp. 55-61, Blackwell, 1933.

with their teeth nor tear it with their nails. When drinking, their mouths were to be empty, not full, and they were not to pick their teeth with their knives.¹

Games and sport took a prominent place in school life. Most of the games were of the type that would keep the pupils' bodies fit and healthy, such as running, wrestling, leap-frog, and above all archery. In some districts a crude type of football was played which was condemned by Elyot, but thought by Mulcaster to be useful. Hand-ball and stool-ball, which were in a way ancestors of fives and cricket, were very popular.

When Harrow School was founded by John Lyon, parents were expected to provide their boys with "bowshafts, bowstrings, and a bracer." Bowls was usually forbidden, lest in the bowling-alleys the youth got into bad company. Mulcaster discusses the value of different sports and exercises, and we have seen that cock-fighting was one of the most popular pastimes. Nevertheless, it was strictly prohibited at some schools such as St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', and Manchester.

Some of the smaller schools were taught by one master, but usually there was also an usher, or assistant master. Very large schools had more than one usher. For example, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' had three, and Shrewsbury four, assistants. The master was in charge of the upper and the usher of the lower classes. The appointment of the master was sometimes in the hands of the founder and his heirs, or the governing body of the school, or the bishop, or a college at one of the universities. Upon appointment, he usually took a formal oath declaring that he would carry out his duties in a satisfactory manner. The statutes of Wakefield Grammar School enumerate the duties of the school-master in great detail. First and foremost comes the duty of instructing his pupils in religion, and he is directed to teach and examine his scholars in the principles of the Christian religion between one and two o'clock every Saturday. He is also charged to see that the pupils attend church on Sunday, "where his carefull eye shall overview their carriage and behaviour, their attention, also and diligence in noting the heads of instruction delivered by the preacher." On Monday morning he is to examine his scholars in the sermon and to deal with offenders who have been absent or negligent, "either by word, or by the rod, as the quality of the offence deserveth."

¹ A. F. Leach. *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 105, Constable, 1896.

He is instructed to teach Lily's Latin Grammar and the Greek Grammar generally used in the colleges of Cambridge. There also follows a list of the Latin and Greek texts which are to be studied. "These duties by the master thus performed, yet lies there upon him a last duty of informing his youth in good nurture and manners which are themselves an ornament to religion and good learning."

The duties of the usher are similar to those of the master, but, "It shall further appertain to the office and duty of the usher to instruct the younger sort of scholars in the rudiments of the Latin tongue, and in the Latin grammar. . . . The usher shall at his best leisure, set them copies or get them copies set by some of the scholars, and appoint them one hour for writing every teaching day afternoon in which their writing he shall oversee and instruct them."

When the pupils are proficient they are to be transferred from the usher's to the master's class. On appointment, the master and the usher swore an oath to carry out their duties diligently. The master's stipend was to be £26 13s. 4d., paid quarterly, and the usher's £10. This was rather more than the average stipend which worked out at £16 10s. and £9 respectively. In small country schools the stipend was a mere pittance, but the master's salary at a large school like Shrewsbury was £40. When these amounts are stated in modern terms (at present they would have to be multiplied by something over twenty), they compare favourably with the pre-war scales for teachers, especially as in most cases the master had a house and received capitation fees and other payments. As a rule the usher was appointed and dismissed by the master with or without the consent of the governors.

The qualifications required for the master varied with different schools. Sometimes these are described in vague and indefinite terms, such as, "a learned and painful schoolmaster," "a pious, learned, and sober man," "a true member of the Church of England as by law established, a good grammar scholar, and an expert writer, and arithmetician." Some statutes state specifically that the master must be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge. At Wakefield, the master must be an M.A. of Oxford or Cambridge; at Bradford, "a discreet and fit person, who should have taken the degree of M.A."; at Otley, "One mete man for knowledge religion and life, being well reported of and having taken the degree of Master of Arts or Batchelor of Arts." He must also be "perfect in ye Latin and Greek tongue; and a temperate man, fearinge God and of True Religion and Godly conversation, not contentious, not usinge or

bent to any outward Faculty or given to Drunk'ness, swearing, dyscing, cardinge or other unlawfull game." Some schools insisted that the master should be in priest's orders, *e.g.* Leeds, Skipton; and others that he should be single, *e.g.* Almondbury. In all cases he must be loyal to the Established Church and of good moral character. At Oundle, the Table of Orders states, "Neither the master or usher shall be common gamesters, haunTERS of taverns, neither to exceed in apparell, nor in any other ways to be an infamy to the School, or give evil example to the scholars, to whom in all points they ought to be themselves of honest continent and Godly behaviour."

One master and an usher were frequently not sufficient to staff the school and we find a kind of monitorial system in certain schools. Thus, at Manchester in 1525, the statutes state, "The High Master shall alway appoint one of his scollers, as he thinketh best, to instruct and teach in the one end of the scole all infants that come there to learn their A.B.C. primer and forthe till they begin gramyer, and in every month to choose another new scoller so as to teach infants." At Winchester, it was long the custom for senior boys to teach younger ones. This was all the more necessary, since boys were sent to the grammar-school at an early age. Brinsley thought seven or eight years was the best age, so that a boy would be ready to enter the university at about fifteen.

The masters maintained order in the schools by severe measures. In most pictures of 16th and 17th century schoolmasters and their schools, the master is depicted with a birch or rod. Brinsley was a very humane man and deprecated whipping for incapacity. "Now this extreme whipping, all men know what a dislike it breedeth in the children, both of the schoole, and of all learning, as that they will think themselves very happy, if the parents will set them to any servile or toiling business, so that they may keep from schoole. And it also workes in them a secret hatred of their Masters."¹ He would, however, use the rod for moral offences and he speaks of it as "God's instrument to cure the evils of their conditions, to drive out that folly which is bound up in their hearts, so to save their soules from hell, and to give them wisdome."² Brinsley recommends reproof, loss of place in the form, or the giving of a black mark which he terms the "blacke Bill" as punishments for minor offences. The master or usher may also keep the boys at their

¹ John Brinsley. *The Grammar Schoole*, Chap. xxvii.

² *Op. cit.*, Chap. xxix.

tasks while the rest play, but, knowing boys, he advises, "But herein there must be a special care, when they are thus restrained from play, that either Master or Usher, if it can be conveniently, have an eye to them, that they do their tasks."¹ As a last resort, appeal may be had to corporal punishment, but the master should know how to administer it properly. Care must be taken not to inflict injury upon the scholar by smiting him across the back or upon the head. "When you are to correct any stubborne or unbroken boy, you make sure with him to hold him fast; as they are inforced to do, who are to shoo or to tame an unbroken colt. To this end to appoint three or four of your Schollers, whom you know to be honest, and strong inough, or moe if neede be, to lay hands upon him together, to hold him fast, over some fourme, so that he cannot stirre hand nor foot; or else if no other remedy will serve, to hold him to some post (which is farre the safest and free from inconvenience) so as he cannot in any way hurt himselfe or others, be he never so peevisish."²

Many masters were not as kindly as Brinsley would have them be. Thus, at Otley in 1652, the master, Mr. Brown, was dismissed by the governors. The charges against him were that there was no proof that he was a graduate as he pretended to be and that "he strapt francis Tomlinson for takeinge pears out of his grandmother's orchard and beat him unmercifully; and that he did beat, Henry, the son of Jonas Flesher, pulled off the hair of his head, and punished him."

School hours were very long in the 16th and 17th centuries. At Eton, in 1528, the boys rose at 5 a.m., school started at 6 a.m., breakfast was at 9 a.m., and school was resumed at 9.45 a.m. Dinner was at 11 a.m. and, in the afternoon, school lasted from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. At Wakefield, in 1607, school was from 6 (sunrise in winter) to 11 a.m., and then from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. At Winchester, in 1550, school was for 7½ hours each day with two periods of prep, making in all ten hours. Unpunctuality was punished by whipping.

Holidays were shorter than in modern schools. Saints' Days were kept as holidays (Holy Days), and on the Rogation Days the whole school followed their elders round the boundaries of the parish. The pupils' memories of the boundaries were refreshed by whipping, bumping against trees, or being thrown into the stream where the boundaries crossed it.

¹ John Brinsley. *The Grammar Schoole*, Chap. xxix. ² *Ibid.*, Chap. xxix.

The school year was divided into four quarters, but the usual number of vacations was three: Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Their length varied, but averaged about three weeks at Christmas, and a fortnight at Easter and Whitsun. In addition, two half-holidays a week were common, though, as we have seen, many pupils had to spend this time in learning to write and compute. Altogether, the boy spent about twice the time in school that his modern counterpart does.

In the previous chapter we emphasised that the English schools were developed in close connection with the Church which exercised a very close supervision of education. By means of the licensing power, the Church, at the Reformation, had the practical control of education throughout the country. In 1553 Queen Mary ordered Bonner, Bishop of London, to "examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children and, finding them suspect in any ways, to remove them and place Catholic men in their rooms."¹

Elizabeth had a specially difficult problem to solve. On the one hand, she was faced by the "Recusants" who favoured the old order and did not accept the Elizabethan settlement. On the other, she was obliged to deal with the returned exiles of the previous reign whose desire was to see the Reformation carried further on Continental lines. Many of these became the Puritans of the later years of the 16th century.

In 1559 the Queen's Injunctions contained the order, "that no man shall take upon him to teach but such as shall be allowed by the Ordinary, and found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion."

The latter phrase implied acceptance of the Elizabethan settlement. In 1580 the Separatist movement had grown and the Privy Council ordered an examination of all schoolmasters and tutors by the bishop or his representatives. If they were found corrupt or unworthy, they were to be deprived of their posts and replaced by sound and fit men. The Archbishop of Canterbury issued the following two items of inquiry:

"IV. Item. What schoolmasters are within your parish, and what their names are, that teach publicly or privately within any man's house within your parish, of what state, calling, or condition

¹ Quoted by N. Wood. *The Reformation and English Education*, p. 54, Routledge, 1931.

soever he or they be, in whose house or houses any such schoolmaster or teacher is?

"V. Item. Whether any such schoolmaster, or schoolmasters, is reported known or suspected to be backward in the religion now established by the laws of this realm, that, are thought any way to be secret hinderers thereof?"¹

The reference to teaching in private houses was due to the activities of priests who were suspected of giving instruction in religion to the households of Roman Catholic gentlemen in which they served as tutors. The carrying out of these instructions was left largely to the local justices of the peace, who were in many cases unwilling to take action unless their attention was expressly drawn to the facts. Many Roman Catholics had availed themselves of occasional conformity to secure their safety, but after the Papal excommunication of Elizabeth they had to make a definite choice. In spite of the persecution, we do hear of cases where schools were opened and continued for some time until an informer forced the local magistrates to take action.

Canon LXXVII of the Church of England, 1604, ordained that "No man shall teach either in public school or private house, but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ordinary of the place, under his hand and seal, being found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion; and also except he shall first subscribe to the first and third Articles afore-mentioned simply and to the two first clauses of the said Article." In other words, the intending schoolmaster must first accept the royal supremacy and declare his belief in the apostolic character of the Established Church. The same attitude was prevalent throughout the Stuart period. The Act of Uniformity, 1662, required every schoolmaster to declare his conformity to the liturgy of the Church of England. A further Act of 1665 forbade Protestant Dissenters from teaching publicly or privately, under a penalty of £40. In fact, at the end of the 17th century, the Church exercised as great a control over schoolmasters as at any period of the Middle Ages. It was not until 1779 that Dissenters gained full freedom to teach in schools. The same right was not accorded to Roman Catholics until 1790. Even then,

¹ Quoted by J. E. G. de Montmorency. *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 94, C.U.P., 1902. On page 96, Montmorency gives the text of the licence issued by Archbishop Whitgift to William Swetnam to teach a school within the City of London.

both Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics attending the universities suffered under certain disabilities.

In the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, Roman Catholics found it impossible to have their sons educated in England. If they were sent to the ordinary grammar-schools and their religion was discovered they were usually expelled. The only solution of the problem was to send their children abroad to be educated. Allen had set up a school at Douai in the Low Countries for the education of priests. He had intended to include a grammar-school in his foundation, but circumstances would not admit of it for some years. Douai started its life in 1568, but after a short space of ten years the students were expelled by the townsfolk, and it was some years before they were able to return. Allen had expected this and had made arrangements for the college to be transferred to Rheims. By 1580 there were 200 students at the college or at the preparatory schools at Eu in Normandy, Pont-a-Musson, and Verdun. There was no place in the original college for younger pupils, and when Rheims was given up after the assassination of the Duke of Guise in 1588, the younger boys were sent to the Jesuits at Douai. The English Government was quite aware of what was happening and an Act of 1585 threatened with very heavy penalties any parent sending his child overseas to be educated. He was liable to a fine of £100, and his son forfeited the right of inheritance. Moreover, it was a serious offence to send money overseas to these children. In 1592 the college at Eu was moved to St. Omer, where it continued until the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1762.

Burnley Grammar School is a curious example of a school which outwardly conformed to the Elizabethan settlement but remained to all intents and purposes a Catholic school. The earliest mention of the school was in 1532, and from this we learn that it was a chantry school taught by Stephen Smith who is described as chantry priest and schoolmaster. When the chantries were dissolved, Gilbert Fairbank held this office, and, at the opening of the re-endowed school in 1559, he was appointed as headmaster. There is no indication that he changed his faith and his will suggests that he was still a Catholic. His successor, Lawrence Yeates (1566-80), was also an adherent of the old faith. "An enquiry into the condition of the Reformed Faith in Lancashire in 1591 revealed the facts that 'no house was worse than Mr. Yeates, the Schoolmaster of Blackburn,' that 'his wife, daughter, and maid were recusants,' the maid had 'done much hurt among the scholars,' and

that the Schoolmaster himself had harboured a papist recusant priest. Five of the pupils of Mr. Yeates at Blackburn fled overseas because of their zeal for Catholicism.”¹ If this was his record after he was appointed headmaster of Blackburn Grammar School, there seems no reason to doubt that he held the same beliefs when he was at Burnley. Contemporary records show that the majority of the governors were Catholics and that the school trained a number of boys who afterwards became priests, some of whom were executed under the penal laws. This Catholic bias, which was a reflection of the strength of Catholicism in Lancashire during Elizabeth’s reign, continued through the first half of the Stuart period. In 1646 the Puritans obtained a majority on the governing body, and for the rest of the century the Puritan influence was predominant.

It is very difficult to assess the provision of primary education during the 16th century. The records are scanty and widely dispersed, and mostly contained in parish church registers. No systematic study of these from the point of view of education has yet been made, and such a research would be a stupendous task. However, there are clear indications that primary education was more widespread than was formerly believed. Apart from the numerous instances where the grammar-school provided instruction in elementary subjects either by means of the usher or by senior pupils, there are cases where separate schools were built for elementary scholars. Sometimes they served the function of preparatory schools for the grammar-school. This was increasingly necessary, since in the latter part of the 16th century the grammar-schools had become more efficient, and the demand that pupils should be able to read and write before entering upon the grammar course began to be more widely made. At other times, the elementary school was an end in itself, being content to teach reading, writing, and accounts, and sending very few pupils on to the grammar-school.

Leach mentions forty-five schools which provided an elementary education, and this does not by any means exhaust the list. In addition to primary schools which survived the Reformation, there were certain schools, originally founded as grammar-schools, whose fortunes declined and which became in fact elementary schools. Further evidence is afforded by the inquiries into endowed schools

¹ W. Bennett. *A History of the Burnley Grammar School*, p. 13, published at the Burnley Grammar School, 1940.

undertaken in 1842 and listed in the Digest of Schools and Charities for Education. Amongst the non-classical endowed schools, the names of 168 schools of unknown date are given. These may be presumed to be the schools of an elementary character which survived the Reformation. Moreover, evidence is forthcoming which indicates that the number of people in the 16th century who were able to read and write English was far greater than has hitherto been thought. Professor Adamson points out "that the Paston letters (written during the 15th century) were written in English and this demonstrates that the reading and writing of English was not confined to those who had been pupils at grammar schools."¹ This was truer still of the next century. The Privy Council took severe measures against people who distributed handbills or fixed them to the doors of townsfolk's houses. This action is difficult to explain unless we assume that the knowledge of reading and writing was fairly common. All the English reformers laid great emphasis upon opportunities for reading the Bible in English, and they themselves wrote a large number of religious works in the vernacular. The supposition is that these were addressed to a sufficiently wide reading public as to make them worth while. The conclusion which seems best in answer to this problem is that in every town and in many large villages there existed one or more persons who gave instruction in reading and writing. In what cases this instruction was given privately and in what cases it was provided in a school are questions we have no means of answering accurately. Leach quotes the example of Falmouth in 1547 where the children of the poor were taught by the bellringer,² and Launceston where similar instruction was given by an aged man chosen by the mayor.³ Certain vestry records show that on occasions this instruction received rate aid. Thus, in 1561, the overseers' accounts of the City of Westminster contain the following entry, "To Bull for teaching a childe—viii d."⁴ These instances appear to be cases of instruction given by private individuals. Others, however, suggest the existence of some kind of primary school.

Montmorency instances the example of the vestry of Hackney who, in 1613, appointed a schoolmaster who was allowed to charge up to 4d. a week for teaching grammar to the children of the parish, and up to 2d. a week for teaching English reading

¹ *Short History of Education*, pp. 82-3.

² *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 31.

⁴ J. E. G. de Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

only.¹ Foster Watson quotes the example of St. Olave's, Southwark. The churchwardens, speaking of their Free School, in 1561, say: "We have great number of poor people in our parish who are not able to keep their children at grammar. But we are desirous to have them taught the principles of Christian religion and to write, read and cast accounts and so to put them forth to prentice."²

He also mentions the churchwardens' accounts of 1653 at Darlington, "Edward Holmes a poor scholar at the Petit School for half-yr's teaching 3s. 3d.," and "Dame Seamer for her wages for teaching a boy one year 4/-."³ Is the latter an early instance of a dame-school?

A. F. Leach gives several examples. From the Beverley accounts: "They agreed the same day [*i.e.* 1572] that the Governors shall appoint one Maister for to teach pettyes in this Borow; and to have 53s. 4d. allowed; and the Grammar Maister to be no more charged with teaching pettyes."⁴ This looks as though the master of the grammar-school had objected strenuously to the task of teaching small children to read and write. From the Rotherham accounts, 1635: "Item glasse for the Petty Schoole. 8d."⁵

The Clerk's School at Skipton is an interesting example of a pre-Elizabethan primary school which survived until 1814 when it was superseded by the National School. The school was founded by Ermysted in 1555, seven years after he had refounded Skipton Grammar School. That it was his intention to endow the Clerk's School for elementary instruction is clear from the foundation deed. The endowment was left for "the finding and maintaining of one Clerk sufficiently learned to teach Children the Spell and Read the A.B.C. called the ABsc, the Primer and Psalter in Latin and not in English, and teach them to sing plain Song perfectly, and to teach them daily and diligently upon every Week Day without taking of any Money . . . except one Penny of every Scholar at the Entry to put his name in the School Master's Book, and if the Scholar have not a Penny, to let him enter for nothing." The school seems to have been taught by the parish clerk. During the 18th century it received financial assistance from Lady Hastings and Lord Thanet, though later it was compelled through circumstances to admit some fee-paying scholars. The Clerk's School at Skipton

¹ J. E. G. de Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

² *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, p. 158.

⁴ *Early Yorkshire Schools*, Vol. I, p. 118.

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210.

is one of the rare cases in which the same founder was responsible for the establishment of both a grammar and a petty school.¹

We know that the Church included the instruction of the young as one of the duties of the incumbent of the parish and that the "school" was frequently held in the church porch or in a room above the porch. How far this instruction went beyond the teaching of religion and morals depended upon the individual clergyman.

One of the most interesting writers on education in the Elizabethan period was Richard Mulcaster. When, in 1561, the Merchant Taylors' Guild established the grammar-school of that name, Mulcaster was appointed Master at a salary of £10, a dwelling, and a small addition by way of fees. Amongst his pupils were Edmund Spenser the poet, and Andrews, Bishop of Winchester. In 1576 Mulcaster was appointed Master of St. Paul's School at a salary of £36 and residence. In his two books, the *Positions*, and the *First Part of the Elementarie*, he develops views considerably in advance of his age. He writes in English because "though I appeal to the learned who understand Latin, I wish to reach also the unlearned, who understand only English, and whose interests are to be the more considered that they have fewer chances of information." He also declares that "My purpose is to help the whole business of teaching even from the very first foundation, that is to say, not only what is given in the Grammar School, and what follows afterwards, but also the elementary training which is given to infants from their first entrance, until they are thought fit to pass on to the Grammar School."²

He thinks that education should start with reading and should then pass on to the arts of writing, drawing, and music, and he has much to say how these should be taught. If there had been little opportunity for elementary education, Mulcaster's suggestions would have been useless. He would not limit education to boys, but he would not advocate higher education for girls. "I do not advocate sending young maidens to public Grammar Schools, or to the Universities as this has never been the custom in this country."³ In addition to the elementary skills of reading, writing, and music, Mulcaster suggests needlework and housewifery. We know of a

¹ A full account of the school is given in A. M. Gibbon's excellent *History of the Ancient Free Grammar School of Skipton-in-Craven*, Appendix C, University Press of Liverpool, 1947.

² J. Oliphant *The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster*, p. 4, James Maclehose, 1903.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

few references to schools for girls in the Middle Ages and there are occasional mentions of schoolmistresses after the Reformation, but the education of girls, such as it was, took place mainly in the home. Amongst the wealthier people a girl was taught by a private tutor or governess, but in middle-class homes, and amongst the poor, the girl's mother was usually the only teacher.

What may be termed the technical education of the Tudor period was provided by the apprenticeship system. In the first chapter, the work of the gilds in founding chantries and endowing grammar-schools was mentioned. The merchant and craft gilds grew up during the 12th and 13th centuries. After the Black Death, the merchant gilds declined in importance whilst the craft gilds took their place. The latter tended to become exclusive by restricting the right of entry, so that the craft was a preserve for members and their relatives. In the Middle Ages, the apprentice who had completed his training could look forward to becoming first a journeyman, then, after a certain number of years, a master craftsman. From the 15th century onwards, the tendency grew for the journeyman to remain as a journeyman, and the masterships to be restricted to those born in the gild. At the same time, within the gilds themselves, a sharp social distinction between the poorer and richer masters began to manifest itself.

In London the more wealthy gild members could afford to wear the special livery of the gild, and gradually the whole control of the association began to fall into the hands of the "liverymen." The result was that the respective status of the apprentice and journeyman became more rigorously defined. A cleavage began to take place between the actual craftsman and the merchant who sold his produce. The merchants formed themselves into powerful associations, and in this way the important merchant companies such as the Grocers, the Drapers, and the Mercers developed. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the government of St. Paul's School was given to the rich Mercers' Company.

In 1563 the Elizabethan Parliament passed the Statute of Apprentices, which fixed seven years as the period of apprenticeship in all trades and industries, and restricted it to parents who held freehold of the annual value of forty shillings. The enrolling of an apprentice was a solemn ceremony. The would-be apprentice promised to serve his master faithfully and to keep secret the craft mysteries entrusted to him. He bound himself to good behaviour and to remain single during the period of his apprenticeship. The

master swore that he would receive the youth into his own house, feed and clothe him, and teach him the craft. The usual age for apprenticeship was twelve.

A written agreement between the parent and the master was drawn up, and when this was signed and sealed, the document was torn into two parts, one being kept by the parent and the other by the master. If any dispute about the terms arose, the two halves of the agreement were produced and, if their jagged or indented edges fitted together, that was proof that the document was genuine. Hence the name "indentures." The parent paid a fee at the signing of the indentures, and during the last years of the apprenticeship the master usually gave the youth a small amount of pocket money. At the end of the apprenticeship, the young man had to decide whether he would work for a master as a journeyman or whether he could afford to open an establishment of his own and become "free of his craft." Before he could do this, it was necessary for him to submit a piece of work of his own for inspection by the master and wardens of his craft.

Some of the members of the livery companies were men of great wealth and became public benefactors by endowing schools and colleges or providing scholarships from the grammar-schools to the universities. Thus Sir Thomas White of Reading instituted a number of scholarships at Oxford to be held by pupils of Reading Grammar School, and later in life (1555), he founded St. John's College, Oxford. Laurence Sheriff, of the Grocers' Company, bequeathed his estates to found Rugby School in 1567. Another member of the same Company, Sir William Laxton, left certain tenements in the City of London to endow a free grammar-school at Oundle in 1556. Another of London's famous merchants was Sir Andrew Judd who was born at Tonbridge. The school formerly attached to the Priory of St. Mary Magdalene had been dispersed at the Dissolution, and Judd determined to restore the educational facilities of the town by endowing a grammar-school. In 1553 he obtained a royal charter and left property in the City and in St. Pancras for his foundation, which was to be administered by the Skinners' Company. In the 19th century, part of this land was sold to the Midland Railway Company at an enhanced value, a transaction which ensured the financial stability of Tonbridge School at a time when rebuilding became necessary. Merchant Taylors' School was founded in 1561 by the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors. The moving spirits in the foundation were

Richard Hilles and Sir Thomas White, who were both liverymen of the company.

One effect of the Renaissance upon the universities was the foundation of new colleges. Corpus Christi was founded at Oxford by Bishop Fox of Winchester. His first intention was to found a monastery, but he was dissuaded from this by his friend Bishop Oldham, the founder of Manchester Grammar School, who prophesied, "What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing monks whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see." Corpus Christi was founded in 1516 and its statutes reflect the influence of the Renaissance. The studies of the students were to be mainly classical, and two readers in Greek and Humanity (Latin literature) were appointed. This was the first lectureship in Greek to be established at Oxford. It was ordered that the commentaries of the ancient fathers were to be used instead of those of the mediaeval doctors which "are far inferior in learning as in date." Before their admission, students were able to "write off a Latin letter, to compose fair verses, to have been initiated into logic, and to have some little training in plain song." At Cambridge, Fisher was the first Professor of Divinity, and it was his influence which encouraged Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII, to found St. John's College.

The outstanding Renaissance foundation was Christ Church, Oxford. Wolsey had contemplated building Cardinal College which should be the most magnificent home of learning in Europe, and, in order to endow it, embarked on the dangerous precedent of suppressing a number of smaller monasteries and using their revenues for his foundation. When Wolsey fell from royal favour, his foundation narrowly escaped suppression. Henry VIII stopped the work for a time, but in 1546 he allowed it to be continued and united the college, under the name of Christ Church, with the new bishopric of Oxford, transferred from Osney. This explains why the dean of Christ Church became the head of a college and of a cathedral chapter.

The Reformation affected the universities by reducing the number of their students and the endowments of the colleges. There was for a time a danger that the universities might suffer the same fate as the monasteries, but Henry VIII was himself no mean scholar and replied to his courtiers whose appetite had not been sated by the spoils of the religious houses, "Sirs, I judge no land in

England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities." The convents and halls of the religious orders which had formed an important part of mediaeval Oxford and Cambridge were suppressed. At first, Oxford showed considerable opposition to the religious changes, but Cambridge eagerly embraced Protestantism. For some time the attention of students and masters was focused on theological controversy rather than on sound learning.

With the accession of Elizabeth, the fortunes of the universities began to improve, but the Reformation had completely changed their mediaeval character. Oxford had hitherto been the leading university, but now Cambridge took this place, partly because it was a more staunch supporter of the Elizabethan settlement, and partly because Cecil Lord Burleigh, Elizabeth's trusted Minister, was its Chancellor throughout the greater part of the reign. The number of undergraduates preparing for secular careers greatly increased. The college system finally supplanted the halls and lodgings of mediaeval days. Students and masters were compelled to assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles and the royal supremacy.

A change took place in the type of student who entered the universities. The poor scholar of mediaeval times was fast disappearing, and as early as 1549 Latimer declared, in a sermon preached before Edward VI, "There be none now but great men's sons in colleges and their fathers look not to have them preachers." The system by which Fellows of the college acted as private tutors to groups of about half a dozen students was developing. This new departure was on the whole good since the universities had grossly neglected the teaching of students, but it also had its weaknesses in the tendency for the tutor to neglect the poorer scholar in favour of the richer. William Harrison wrote in 1587, "The manner to live in these universities is not as in some other of foreign countries we see daily to happen, where the students are enforced for want of such houses to dwell in common inns and taverns, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we live in such exact order, and under so precise rules of government, as that . . . Erasmus . . . did not let to compare the trades in living of students in these two places even with the very rules and orders of the ancient monks. . . . In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which many are found by the revenues of the houses and other by the purveyances and help of their rich friends. . . . They were erected by their founders at the first only for poor men's sons, whose parents were not able to bring them up unto learning; but now they have the

least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so encroach upon them. . . . In some grammar schools likewise which send scholars to these universities, it is lamentable to see what bribery is used; for, ere the scholar can be preferred, such bribage is made that poor men's children are commonly shut out, and the richer sort received. . . . Besides this, being for the most part either gentlemen or rich men's sons, they oft bring the universities into much slander. For, standing upon their reputation and liberty, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparel and haunting riotous company (which draweth them from their books unto another trade); and for excuse, when they are charged with breach of all good order, think it sufficient to say that they be gentlemen, which grieveth many not a little."¹

¹ From *Life in Shakespeare's England*. J. Dover Wilson, pp. 64-5, C.U.P., 1911.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLISH SECONDARY AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

The spirit of Humanism which had entered the ancient grammar-schools at the Renaissance like a breath of life had almost spent itself at the end of the 16th century. In their curriculum and methods of instruction the schools had settled down to a narrow, formal, and academic outlook which was out of contact with the growing demands of the age. The discovery and settlement of new lands resulting in a great expansion of commerce, the new outlook which was developing as a consequence of the growth of mathematical and scientific knowledge, the freshly awakened spirit of philosophy, and the rich contributions to life and thought made by perhaps the greatest period in the history of our literature, had little impact upon the schools, which concentrated upon the learning of Latin grammar and the rather pedantic study of a few classical authors. More and more, the grammar-schools occupied themselves with the task of preparing their pupils for entrance to the universities, from which they would emerge to become clergymen, lawyers, doctors, or even schoolmasters, and thus help to perpetuate the system. The moribund state of the universities was reflected in the schools.

Even before the end of Elizabeth's reign, dissatisfaction was being expressed with the "gerund-grinding" of the grammar-schools. As the schools and universities were increasingly felt to be out of touch with the growing interests of the outside world, new suggestions were put forward, in the shape of Academies which would supply a type of education lacking in the grammar-schools. As early as 1570, Sir Humphrey Gilbert proposed a "Queen Elizabeth's Academy" which should teach "matters of action meet for present practice, both of peace and war." Besides the classics, Gilbert advocated the study of logic and rhetoric, moral and natural philosophy, law, heraldry, dancing, music, and riding. These subjects were to be taught in English, since the vernacular was the tongue in use in all the operations of everyday life. Gilbert's proposals came to nothing, but they showed the way people were thinking. There were also several interesting attempts either to found new

schools or to readapt existing schools so that they would be in closer contact with the changing demands of the times.

One well-known example was the addition to the curriculum of Christ's Hospital. The foundation of this institution was the consequence of a sermon preached before Edward VI by Bishop Ridley. The King was deeply moved and ordered him "to take out of the streets all the fatherless children and other poor men's children that were not able to keep them, and to bring them up to the late dissolved house of the Greyfriars, which they devised to be a Hospital for them, where they should have meat, drink, and clothes, lodging and learning and officers to attend upon them." The work of reconstructing the Franciscan convent was taken in hand, and by November 1552 nearly 400 children were brought into residence. One of the last acts of Edward VI was the signing of a charter, 26th June 1553, which incorporated the five Royal Hospitals. The other four were those of St. Bartholomew, Bethlehem, the Bridewell, and St. Thomas, which were intended as refuges for the sick, maimed, and destitute.

Small as well as older children were admitted to Christ's Hospital, girls as well as boys, and teachers were provided to teach the alphabet, reading, and writing to the younger pupils. If any pupils showed little inclination to learning, as soon as their elementary studies were completed they were to be apprenticed. Many of the boys looked forward to leaving school and entering upon a career of adventure in the Indies or America. It was found necessary to curb this youthful enthusiasm, and a statute was promulgated forbidding children to be sent overseas without the consent of their parents. Those who made good progress in their lessons were to be retained in the school "in the hope of preferment to the Universitie." In later days these were known as the "Grecians."

In 1673 the Mathematical School of Christ's Hospital was opened to provide for the instruction of forty boys, generally known as "King's Boys," in grammar, arithmetic, and the art of navigation. Charles II promised to pay £1,000 annually for seven years and, after that, £370 10s. each year for apprenticing, to captains of the Indian Navy, those who had completed their course. Books, maps, globes, and mathematical instruments were provided, but in spite of the King's support and the active encouragement of Pepys, Halley, Sir Isaac Newton, and Samuel Travers, the school did not

make much headway. The lack of success of this experiment was largely the result of incompetent management.

Christ's Hospital originated as a charity school, and the familiar blue coat, yellow stockings, leather belt, and white neck-band were a badge of servitude, and not, as now, a mark of the antiquity of the foundation. Even at the close of the 18th century the school was still regarded as a high-class charity school. The original building was unable to accommodate all the children, and a daughter house was opened for the younger ones at Hertford. The regulations were gradually changed so that all classes of children, even those not connected with the City of London, could be admitted.

In the 17th century a number of private schools to teach navigation were opened, and some of the grammar-schools near the sea coast included mathematics and navigation in the time-table. Thus, in 1679, Dartmouth Grammar School appointed a master to teach English, navigation, and mathematics. Unfortunately, this broadening of the curriculum only affected a very limited number of schools.

The courtly academy for the education of the sons of the nobility, which flourished on the Continent, never really developed in this country. In 1640 a proposal was made in the House of Lords for founding an academy to train young noblemen and gentlemen, but once more nothing came of it. The English aristocracy preferred to have their sons educated by private tutors. It was towards the end of the 17th century that the differentiation between the great public schools and the remainder of the grammar-schools became more marked. Winchester, because of the scale of its foundation, and Eton, because of its royal patron, had always been pre-eminent amongst the English schools. Other schools, on account of their size or antiquity, or because of the social status of many of their pupils, began to occupy a more prominent position. They were frequently referred to as "the great schools," but the term "public school" had not yet attained its modern significance. One important development should be noted, namely the increase of non-foundation scholars admitted on payment of fees as compared with those on the foundation who received their tuition gratis. The same change was taking place in the smaller grammar-schools. Although compelled by their statutes to admit foundation scholars without payment, many of the schools, owing to depreciation in the value of money, found their endowments insufficient to meet the expenses of the school. The only solution was to admit more fee-payers,

and if the statutes forbade this, the school tended to sink into insignificance. Some schools were fortunate in possessing endowments in real property situated on the outskirts of London and the large towns. As the cities expanded, the property grew in value and offset, or more than offset, the declining value of money. Others, however, whose endowment consisted of a few fields in the heart of the country, or on the slopes of the Pennines, were very badly hit. This process was to continue for the next two hundred years, so that, in the mid-19th century, the Taunton Commission considered the term "free grammar-school" a complete misnomer.

Criticisms of the grammar-schools became more frequent in the 17th century, but they had little effect upon the existing institutions. They bore fruit in an entirely new type of school which will be discussed later. One of the most influential critics was Sir Francis Bacon. "The position of Bacon in the history of education, as in the history of human thought, is usually either much exaggerated or under-valued. On the one hand he was not the discoverer of a new method of thought, for he had predecessors as well as co-labourers. . . . Nor on the other hand was he a man who simply repeated what was a time-worn familiarity with all great thinkers."¹

Bacon's contention was that the universities and schools occupied themselves with words rather than things, and were dominated by the authorities of the past. He thought that the schools produced too many scholars who proceeded to the universities, and that while the professions tended to be overcrowded there was a lack in the country and towns, of both servants for husbandry and apprentices for trade. This view was expressed in a letter he wrote to Thomas Sutton, who proposed founding a hospital and school in the Charterhouse of Smithfield. Bacon's influence on Wolfgang Ratke and Comenius is well known. The latter was invited to England by the Long Parliament as a member of a commission for the reform of education. The Civil War made the sitting of the commission impossible, so that after waiting some months, until he saw the hopelessness of the situation, Comenius left for Sweden in 1642.

Milton's *Tractate of Education*, 1644, was still more trenchant in its criticisms of the traditional system. He considered that the error of the schools was threefold. They concentrated on formal grammar and exercises in composition, they paid no attention to

¹ Paul Monroe. *A Text-Book in the History of Education*, p. 477, Macmillan, 1907.

the literary side of language, and they confined themselves entirely to the language and literature of Greece and Rome. The *Tractate* was dedicated to Master Samuel Hartlib, who was the most enthusiastic advocate in England of the views of Comenius. In a letter to Hartlib, Milton denounced "the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful." Milton's cure as expressed in the *Tractate* was almost as bad as the evil it was intended to mend. He says, quite soundly, "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year." When, however, he describes the curriculum for a boy from the age of twelve to twenty-one, he gives a most impracticable programme. If carried out in practice, the result would have been mental indigestion, so many and unrelated are the studies advocated. Moreover, the whole of the complicated information was to be gathered from books mainly in Latin and in Greek. The most important contribution of the *Tractate* is Milton's well-known definition of the end of education: "I call therefore a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of Peace and War."

The third critic was John Locke, whose views were expressed both in his philosophical works and in his *Thoughts concerning Education*, 1692. Locke, although himself a product of Westminster School (Hebrew and Arabic were taught to the upper forms in addition to Latin and Greek), thought so badly of the public schools of his age that he preferred to rely on the services of a private tutor. "... You think it worth while to hazard your son's innocence and virtue for a little Greek and Latin. How any one's being put into a mixed herd of unruly boys, and there learning to wrangle at Trap or rook at Span Farthing fits him for civil conversation or business, I do not see. And what qualities are ordinarily to be got from such a troop of Play-fellows as Schools usually assemble together from parents of all kinds, that a father should so much covet, is hard to divine." Locke thoroughly disapproved of the studies and methods of teaching in the schools. "When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the Schoolmaster's Rod." The constant repetition needed in order to learn by heart extracts from classical authors,

calls forth his scorn. "Languages are to be learned only by reading and talking, and not by scraps of authors got by heart; which when a man's head is stuffed with, he has got the just furniture of a pedant, than which there is nothing less becoming a gentleman." When, however, Locke leaves criticism and comes to the constructive side of his programme, his suggestions are quite as impracticable as those of Milton. Like the latter, he took an encyclopaedic view and believed in education covering the whole of human knowledge and accomplishments. It is noteworthy that amongst the subjects he would have taught are French, arithmetic, chronology, history, and geometry. As the pupil grows older he should learn astronomy, ethics, the civil and common law, and natural philosophy. In addition, he should be taught certain accomplishments such as riding, fencing, wrestling, and dancing; and should be familiar with at least one trade.

The English grammar-schools were largely unaffected by the criticisms of the period and by the new ideas developing on the Continent. In justice to them, it is difficult to see how they could have made any major alterations in the traditional curriculum, bound as they were by their foundation-statutes and tied to the Church by the requirements of the licence to teach. After the Restoration, a new type of school arose which was able to exercise the freedom denied to the older institutions. The Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Act were aimed at Protestant Dissenters who carried on the profession of schoolmaster. At the same time Nonconformist tutors at the universities were expelled. Many of these tutors opened academies for training candidates for the ministry, but other pupils were accepted as well. During the 17th century, the academies were carried on more or less under conditions of secrecy.

Thus the academy at Rathmell, near Settle, Yorks, founded by Richard Frankland, the earliest institution of its kind in the north of England, had to move several times during its short existence, 1669-98. It seems that two distinct colleges were founded in the Newington Green district of London. The earlier one owes its origin to Theophilus Gale, who was ejected from his Fellowship at Oxford in 1660. One of his pupils was Isaac Watts, the famous hymnologist. This college was dissolved in 1705 at the death of Thomas Rowe, Gale's successor. The second college was due to Charles Morton, who was a distinguished mathematician. It was opened about 1675 and has sometimes been confused with

the earlier one. It numbered among its pupils Samuel Wesley, the father of the evangelist, and Daniel Defoe, the author. From these two men we learn a good deal about the curriculum followed. Wesley wrote: "This Academy were indeed the most considerable, having annex a fine Garden, Bowling Green, Fish Pond, and within a laboratory and some not inconsiderable rarities with air-pump, thermometer and all sorts of mathematical instruments." From Defoe we learn that, in addition to the classical languages, the pupils studied French, Italian, Spanish, mathematics, natural science, history, geography, logic, and politics.

The academy at Sherifhales in Shropshire, where Harley Earl of Oxford and St. John Lord Bolingbroke received their education, is well known. One academy, Gloucester, could boast of two famous pupils who occupied high offices in the Established Church. One was Secker, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, the other Joseph Butler, later Bishop of Durham, the most distinguished English moral philosopher of the 18th century. The Gloucester Academy was originally opened in that city in 1708, but was forced to seek more favourable accommodation at Tewkesbury in 1712. Its principal, Samuel Jones, developed oriental languages as a special study, for, in addition to the classics and mathematics, instruction was given in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. One of the later academies was Warrington, 1757-86. A very detailed description of the curriculum has been furnished. The course of studies covered three years. In the first year the pupils studied arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and French. The second year's course emphasised mathematics (trigonometry; instruction in navigation was given when desired) and natural science, together with "the easier parts of Astronomy applied to the use of Globes and the general system of the Universe." The concluding year was divided between natural science (chemistry), and morality and Christian evidences. The Academy also provided instruction in writing, drawing and design, bookkeeping, and geography. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen and later minister of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, was for a time one of the lecturers. In his *Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life*, 1765, he describes a curriculum somewhat similar to that adopted at Warrington. He emphasised that the range of studies should include not only those aiming at a university career or one of the learned professions, but also those subjects which would be useful for any department of life.

The reader will have noticed the very wide range of studies proposed in the academies. A later writer criticised their curriculum on the basis that "the grand error in almost every dissenting academy has been the attempt to teach and to learn too much." The encyclopaedic range of studies may have been due to the views of Milton, but it is more likely that the deciding factor was the variety of professions the students had in view, including that of teaching in similar establishments.

When the restrictions upon Dissenters keeping school were removed in 1779, the need for the older academies disappeared. Their place was taken by a large number of private schools opened in London and the large industrial centres, and modelled upon the older academies. These institutions had a free hand in experimenting with new subjects and fresh ideas and provided a pattern for the reform of secondary education in later years.

During the 17th century, the Jesuits attempted to open schools in England. Stanley Grange was started in 1633. One of the boys became a Protestant and informed the authorities, who could no longer turn a blind eye to the existence of the school. It was broken up, but re-formed on a smaller scale in 1638. There is also evidence that similar schools were opened in other parts of the country. On the accession of James II, the Jesuits were given permission to establish a school in the Savoy which contained "at least two hundred Catholick Scollers and about as many Protestants," but the Revolution of 1688 brought such ventures to an end.

Locke's denunciation of the grammar and public schools, although it had little effect in improving them, was of considerable assistance in emptying them of some of their most promising pupils. His advice to provide private tutors was followed by large numbers of the upper classes, who sent their sons, after a period of private tuition, to tour the Continent rather than to study at Oxford and at Cambridge. Private schools sprang up to cater for the needs of the middle classes. The effect of this is seen in the declining number of pupils at the grammar-schools and of students at the universities. Another effect was the widening of the distinction between the local and non-local grammar-schools, the latter becoming, in the 18th century, institutions for the education of the wealthier classes.

A very detailed account of the life and studies of an English grammar-school in the middle of the 17th century is presented by

Charles Hoole in his book, *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole*, published in 1660.¹ The author was born at Wakefield in 1610, and after being a pupil at Wakefield Grammar School, he studied at Lincoln College, Oxford. He returned from the university to occupy the post as master of the Free Grammar School at Rotherham, an appointment which he held until 1642. A few years later we find him in London as a very successful teacher of a private school in Aldersgate Street. In 1660 he became Prebendary of Lincoln, and ended his life as Rector of Stock in Essex. Thus his treatise contained the fruits of his experience as a practical schoolmaster and incorporated much that he had learned in his school-days from his master at Wakefield, Mr. Robert Doughty. In addition to his principal work, Hoole published a number of school books, including a version of Comenius's *Orbis Pictus*. He was also well acquainted with the pedagogical literature of his period, especially Brinsley's *Grammar School*.

The book is divided into four parts with titles as follows:—

- I The Petty School. Shewing a way to teach little children to read English with delight and profit.
- II The Usher's Duty, or a Platforme of Teaching Lillies Grammar.
- III The Master's Method, or the Exercising of Scholars in Grammars, Authors, and Exercises; Greek, Latine, and Hebrew.
- IV Scholastick Discipline, or the Way of ordering a Grammar Schoole, Directing the not-experienced how he may profit every particular Scholar, and avoid confusion amongst a multitude.

Hoole's idea of a petty school, although he thought of it mainly as a means of preparation for the grammar-school, is interesting because it also gave attention to the education of those pupils who would not proceed to study the classics. These should remain in school and spend their time in reading more English, and in writing and arithmetic. He declares, in a spirit reminiscent of Mulcaster, that the aim of this additional training is to ensure that the children "will gain such a habit and delight in reading as to make it their chief recreation when liberty is afforded them" (Chap. v). For this purpose he recommends such works as *The Practice of Piety*, *The*

¹ A modern reprint of Hoole's treatise has been edited by E. T. Campagnac, Liverpool, 1913.

Practice of Quietness, The Whole Duty of Man, to be followed by the reading of *The History of Queen Elizabeth*, or poetry, as Herbert's *Poems* and Quarl's *Emblems*.

Like Mulcaster, Hoole would like to see a petty school in every town and large village, where "all such poor boys as can conveniently frequent it may be taught gratis, but the more able sort of neighbors may pay for their children's teaching as if the school was not free, for they will find it no small advantage to have such a school amongst them" (Chap. vi). He suggests a salary of £20 per annum for the master, with permission to take boarders if he wishes. Hoole had examples of the kind of school he wished to see, for he continues, "And I am rather induced to propound such a thing because that late eminent, Dr. Bathurst, lately deceased, Mr. Gouge, and some others yet living did, out of their own good affection to learning, endeavor at their own charge to promote the like." The petty school should be divided into four forms, and the children of the upper form should take it in turn to be monitors. "Let them every evening, after all the lessons are said, give a bill to the master of their names that are absent, and theirs that have committed any disorder, and let him be very moderate in correcting, and be sure to make a difference betwixt those faults that are viciously enormous and those that are but childish transgressions. Where admonitions readily take place, it is needless trouble to use a rod, and as for a ferule I wish it were utterly banished out of all schools" (Chap. vii). There should be a master to every form and no class should exceed forty in number.

The usher's work is to teach the three lowest forms of the grammar-school.¹ It mainly consists in the teaching of Lily's *Latin Grammar*. Hoole knew how distasteful this study was to school-boys, and he recommends the use of the *Orbis Pictus*, the pictorial Latin primer produced by Comenius. We can hear the experienced schoolmaster speaking when he says, "There is a great disproportion betwixt a child's capacity and the accidence itself. Children are led most by sense, and the grammar rules, consisting in general doctrines, are too subtile for them. Children's wits are weak, active, and lively, whereas grammar notions are abstractive, dull, and lifeless; boys find no sap nor sweetness in them, because they know not what they mean, and tell them the meaning of the same rule never so often over, their memories are so waterish that the

¹ The work of the different forms is set out in tabular form by Foster Watson in *The Old Grammar Schools*, pp. 101-10, C.U.P., 1916.

impression (if any were made in the brain) is quickly gone out again" (Chap. ii).

The upper three forms are taught by the master. In the fourth form, pupils, after reading the Latin Testament, should be introduced to Greek, and learn to read from the Greek Testament. They should study rhetoric and write Latin verses. Hoole prefers Camden's *Greek Grammar*, "though perhaps it be not so facile or complete as some later printed, especially those that are set out by my worthy friends, Mr. Busbie of Westminster, and Mr. Dugard of Merchant Tailor's School" (Chap. i). Hoole would also make use of the delight that boys find in acting. "When you meet with an act that is full of affection and action, you may cause some of your scholars, after they have learned it, to act it, first in private amongst themselves, and afterwards in the open school before their fellows; and herein you must have a main care of the pronounciation, and acting every gesture to the very life." In the next form they should write Greek verses, and in the sixth they should begin the study of Hebrew. The school should possess a library of about 250 to 300 books, including Latin and Greek authors, grammars, dictionaries, works on rhetoric and on theology, medicine, and law. The type of library Hoole had in mind may still be seen at such schools as the Wakefield and Richmond (Yorks) Grammar Schools.

The last division of the book on discipline gives much information about the daily routine of the school. Hoole distinguishes between the "great" or collegiate schools, "classical" or grammar-schools, and "mixed" schools which taught both petties and grammarians. Many of the latter were unsatisfactory, partly because "the master is overburdened with too many petty scholars" and partly because many of the parents "will not spare their children to learn if they can but find them any employment about their domestic affairs, whereby they may save a penny." Another source of weakness is the constant change of ushers, who leave their schools "as soon as they can fit themselves for a more easy profession, or obtain a more profitable place."

We learn that these schools occasionally sent a bright pupil to the university, though this was more commonly the function of the grammar-school. The latter suffered from the competition of the "great schools" and had but few scholarships to offer. Hoole's remarks about the condition of English education anticipate the conclusions of the royal commissions in the middle of the 19th century: "Comparing all the schools which we have in England

with some that I read of in other countries . . . we evidently see how many places of education beyond the seas do quite outstrip us."

Many boys came to the grammar-school without having passed through a petty school. Hoole recommends that they should be sent to a writing-and-arithmetic master in the nearest town. Sometimes an itinerant teacher of writing would visit a country grammar-school, and, after giving the younger boys a grounding, would leave the master to give them further practice. "The best season for such a man's coming is about May Day, partly because the days are then pretty long, and partly because it will be requisite for such as are then getting their grammar rudiments, to learn to write before they come to translations."

School holidays generally consisted of a fortnight at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, respectively. School hours were as long as in Tudor times. Lessons commenced at six or seven o'clock in the morning and lasted until eleven. The afternoon sessions finished at three on Thursdays, four on Tuesdays, and five on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Saturday was a holiday.

Hoole was evidently a good practical schoolmaster who put into operation ideas he had obtained from Mulcaster and Brinsley, but we look in vain for any conceptions of a wider and more liberal character, for example those advocated by Milton or the Continental reformers such as Comenius or Hartlib. If the curriculum of so outstanding a schoolmaster was as restricted as Hoole's treatise shows, we wonder what the condition of schools run by lesser men must have been.

If the 17th century witnessed the decline of the grammar-schools, the 18th century displayed secondary education at its very lowest level. Two causes were contributory. One was the steady decline in the standards of both social and official life during the reigns of the first two Georges. There is no need to stress the wholesale corruption of public life under the long dominance of Walpole, the cold formality of the religion of the Established Church, and the deterioration in morals and manners of all classes of the community. All this occurred when the thin veneer of culture, which was shown so prominently in early 18th-century literature, concealed the real disintegration which was taking place in English life and manners. The 18th century was a most astounding period in history. At the top was a culture which has had few equals in its polish and refinement. The middle classes were self-satisfied and

sensual. The one quality which received universal condemnation was enthusiasm. Throughout the century the governing classes were acutely aware of the danger of revolution coming from below. The manners, morals, and life, of the submerged classes cause the modern student conflicting feelings of pity and disgust.

The other cause was the slow transition during which England, from being almost an entirely agricultural country, became the leading industrial nation of the world

The governments of the time did not understand what was happening, and failed to control or direct the course of the Industrial Revolution. Hence it was allowed to take its own course, until the evils which it engendered grew to such magnitude that at length government intervention became a necessity.

Yet, at the same time, this astounding century represented a most glorious epoch in the history of our country. It was an age when the Empire grew at a most rapid rate, and even the check to its growth occasioned by the American revolt was compensated by the acquisition of new territories in Australia and India. The restrained classical style in literature gave way to the warmth and emotional fervour of the Romantic revival of the early 19th century. Great things were accomplished in art, music, natural science, philosophy, discovery, and invention. Finally, the philanthropic and humanitarian movements prepared the way and were in turn fostered by a new outburst of religious fervour both inside and outside the Established Church, and laid the foundations of the social reforms and educational progress of the next century.

It was not, however, until the close of the century that these developments affected secondary education. The grammar-schools, bound by their foundation statutes, were unable to change their narrow classical curriculum even if they wished to. Some schools with meagre endowments became institutions which provided only an elementary education.

Carlisle, in his *Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales*, lists 475 schools. In addition to those schools which returned no answer to his questionnaire, eighty-two had either ceased to exist or had become primary schools by 1818. In his preface, he writes: "It is painful, however, to relate, that many of our numerous and ample Endowments have fallen to decay, by the negligence or cupidity of ignorant or unprincipled Trustees; who have silently, or by connivance, suffered the furtive alienation of the very Lands which they were called upon so solemnly to defend,

and which were in great measure ordained for the Education of their own Children." The following are typical of the comments made by Carlisle:—

Childrey, near Wantage: "It is at present 'a mere Day-school,' in which the children of the Parish are taught to write and read, by a Master who barely possesses these attainments himself."

(Vol. I, p. 33.)

Buckingham: "It is of little note in any respect,—none but the children of the Lower classes having been educated here, for time immemorial. There are six boys only in the School." (*Ibid.*, p. 47.)

Saffron Walden: "The School-room has lately been repaired by The Corporation, and One Hundred and Forty boys are daily taught therein on The National System of Education."

(*Ibid.*, p. 442.)

Bishop's Stortford: "The Grammar School of Bishop's Stortford no longer exists. The whole Establishment, together with the School-house, is in ruins. The Library, which is considered a scarce and valuable collection of books, is deposited at The Vicarage, but they are also going to decay." (*Ibid.*, p. 554.)

Banbury (the school of John Standbridge): "for many years past it has totally ceased—and the building in which it was kept, is now let to a Plush Manufacturer by The Corporation."

(Vol. II, p. 294.)

Monk's Kirby, Warwickshire (endowment £300): "The Master is most illiterate and unfit for the office. He attends occasionally at the School, where he has nothing to do, and there is no Usher appointed." (*Ibid.*, p. 600.)

Pocklington, Yorks (endowment £1,000-£1,200): "The Lower School-room is made use of as a Saw-pit and Barn,—that the Master has not attended for the last Twelve months—and that the Usher, being deaf, the Children have necessarily been sent to other Schools." (*Ibid.*, p. 864.)

A few schools, showing more courage and initiative than the rest, added such modern subjects as elementary mathematics, modern languages, bookkeeping, and dancing. As these were extras and involved the engagement of additional staff, special fees were charged to pupils taking these subjects. The attempt of the grammar-schools to improve their condition received a severe shock at the hands of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Eldon, in the decision

which he gave in the well-known Leeds Grammar School case. As in most schools, the number of pupils at Leeds had steadily declined, and during the years 1791-6 reached its low-water mark of forty-four. The Committee of Charitable Uses, which acted as the governing body of the school, suggested bad teaching and a deterioration in discipline as partial causes, but attributed the main cause to the inadequacy of the curriculum. The only subjects taught were Latin, Greek, and divinity, although the fact that John Smeaton, the famous engineer and builder of the Eddystone lighthouse, was a pupil of the school, suggests that some mathematics was taught to selected pupils. Leeds at this time was an example of one of the growing industrial and commercial communities springing up over a large part of northern England. The curriculum of the grammar-school was unlikely to attract the wealthy manufacturers and merchants of the town. Accordingly, as early as 1777, the Committee resolved "as soon as convenient with respect to Rents and Profits of School to appoint a Master for the purpose of teaching to Write and Account such Boys as shall attend at the Free School to learn Latin and Greek, and also that another Master shall be appointed to teach the French tongue and other Foreign languages, and that sufficient salaries shall be appointed for such masters."

Nothing, however, was done about the matter until the appointment of Mr. Whiteley as headmaster in 1789. A sub-committee, called to consider the introduction of the new subjects, reported that Mr. Whiteley did not agree and that he was supported by the Usher. The only way out of the difficulty was an appeal to the law-courts. In 1797 a Master in Chancery held an inquiry whether it would be "proper and for the benefit of the Charity to have any other Master or masters to teach writing, arithmetic, and other languages besides the Greek and the Latin." He quoted the testimony of the Committee that Leeds had "a very extensive Foreign Trade" and that the introduction of new studies would be useful to the townsfolk and increase the number of pupils. He added that there was nothing in the endowment which excluded the teaching of any useful kind of learning and he suggested adding a German and a French master, and one to teach mathematics. As for writing and arithmetic, there was a variety of schools catering for these subjects, and to teach them free at the grammar-school would harm these institutions rather than benefit the townsfolk.

The report did not satisfy the Committee and drew forth the protest from the masters that the "School was intended for a Grammar School only, and not for algebra, the mathematics or the modern languages." In view of this disagreement, the case was heard by Lord Eldon as Lord Chancellor. In his judgment, delivered in July 1805, he emphasised that the argument must stand or fall by the facts and not by expediency. The intention of the founder was to establish a grammar-school, and, according to Dr. Johnson, a grammar-school was defined as an institution "for teaching grammatically the learned languages." The court could not sanction "the conversion of that Institution by filling a school intended for that mode of Education with scholars learning the German and French languages, Mathematics, and anything save Greek and Latin." The policy of the Committee would turn the school into a commercial academy. "This is a scheme to promote the benefits of the Merchants of Leeds. It is not that the poor Inhabitants are to be taught reading and writing English, but the Clerks and Riders of the Merchants are to be taught French and German to carry on a Trade. I fear the effect would be to turn out the poor Latin and Greek scholars altogether."

Leach comments on the case as follows: "This decision carried dismay to all interested in the advancement of education and nearly killed half the schools in the country." In justice to Lord Eldon, it may be said that he had before him numerous examples of grammar-schools which were no longer grammar-schools, but which had in fact become primary schools. He also showed respect to the declared intentions of the founder and brushed aside the plea that had the founder lived in modern times his bequest would have been worded differently. Lord Eldon's attitude presents a striking contrast to many education authorities, central and local, who seem to ride roughshod over the intentions of founders as expressed in the foundation-deeds of schools.

Leach's comment is not fully justified, for even at Leeds we find that Mr. Whiteley himself appointed additional masters and volunteered to teach mathematics to the higher forms, and in 1806 the Committee resolved (a) "that the teaching under proper restrictions of branches of the Mathematics as are usually taught to young men proceeding to their admission to the University would induce Persons to send their Boys to the School to learn Greek and Latin and would thereby tend to promote the object of the Founder"; (b) no boy should learn any other science unless at the same time

"he pursued also Classical learning"; (c) "that no boy should start the learning of other sciences until he could construe the Latin Testament."

Subsequent decisions by Lord Eldon supported the judgment delivered in the Leeds Grammar School case, and he has been frequently charged with delaying the cause of reform for two generations. The truth is that he was determined to uphold the essential features of the grammar-schools as enunciated by their founders, but he was not averse to the introduction of other subjects provided the studies specified in the foundation were taught. The introduction of modern subjects in the very school in which the dispute had arisen makes his point of view sufficiently clear. Several large grammar-schools which possessed enough funds for the purpose obtained private Acts of Parliament authorising the introduction of subjects not mentioned in the foundation. An example is Macclesfield, which obtained a private Act in 1838, enabling the governors to establish a Modern Free School in addition to the grammar-school. Modern subjects (exclusive of the classics) could be taught subject to the consent of the governors. After an unsuccessful attempt in Parliament to reverse Lord Eldon's decision, the Grammar Schools Act of 1840 gave freedom to grammar-school governors to introduce subjects other than those provided for in the foundation.

The condition of the public schools was almost as deplorable as the grammar-schools, and their curriculum was just as restricted. Dr. Thomas James, who was headmaster of Rugby from 1778 to 1794 and who was a really able schoolmaster, has left us minute details of the 18th-century public-school curriculum. When Dr Butler, who had been an assistant at Rugby, was appointed to Shrewsbury, he sought advice from his old Head. James replied willingly and in great detail. Not only did he give advice about the methods of running a large boarding-school, but he also furnished detailed information about the work of the different forms at Rugby. Dr. Butler's famous grandson, the author of *Erewhon*, included this account in the life of his grandfather. From this we learn that the bulk of the work of the lower forms to the VIth was entirely classical. In the lowest form the boys learnt nothing but Latin grammar. In the second and third forms certain authors were studied and the pupils worked exercises in Latin prose and verse composition. Greek was begun in the third form, and throughout the school the unending grind at grammar, translation, Latin

and Greek prose, and verse exercises went on. Any other subjects were taught on what were supposedly holidays. On holidays the boys attended school from ten to eleven in the morning and two to three in the afternoon. On half-holidays they attended from two to three o'clock. In these periods the lower forms learnt writing and arithmetic, and the fifth form geography and algebra. It is probable that the latter subject was taught by Dr. James himself. At any rate, he afterwards confessed that this weekly mathematical period "wearied his body to excess and made it hot, or, at any rate, perspire too much." Some years earlier, in 1766, James had prepared an account of the work done at Eton, and we find it followed lines similar to those at Rugby.

The moral state of the schools came in for some sharp criticism. It was asserted that the life of the pupils was rough and brutal, and many parents from the wealthier sections of the community so dreaded sending their sons to the larger boarding-schools that they either utilised the services of private tutors or sent them on the Grand Tour. It was in this way that many of the polished gentlemen scholars of the 18th century were produced, a type well exemplified by Ashley Cooper, the "elegant" Earl of Shaftesbury, who was a pupil of Locke. Even in the best schools the administration was chaotic, the school under-staffed, and the boarding arrangements most unsatisfactory. The food was often scanty and ill-cooked. After lesson-periods little supervision was exercised by the masters. In some schools, after prep, the boys were driven into the dormitories, the doors locked and not opened until it was time to rise for morning meal and school. Bullying and fagging were almost universal. The latter custom, although it seemed so objectionable to the outsider, does not seem to have been objected to by the boys themselves, who took it as part of the nature of things that the smaller boys should look after the wants of their seniors. The picture of life at Rugby presented in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* is a true one. Cowper, who had been educated at Westminster, once wrote: "Great schools suit but the sturdy and the rough."

Discipline was usually maintained by flogging. Lamb's account of James Boyer, his old master at Christ's Hospital, presents a picture common to the age. He concludes his description of Boyer's ferociousness and brutality with the words, "Perhaps we cannot dismiss him better than with the pious ejaculation of C— when he heard that his old master was on his death-bed; 'Poor J.B.!—may

all his faults be forgiven; and may he be wafted to bliss by little cherub boys, all head and wings, with no bottoms to reproach his sublunary infirmities.' ” Flogging was not the only form of punishment at Christ's. Lamb's descriptions of solitary confinement in fetters, and public scourging, fill the modern reader with horror. Without attempting to defend the disciplinary methods of the 18th and early 19th centuries we have to bear in mind that the universal practice of flogging in schools was part and parcel of the attitude to life adopted at that time. An age which began with the use of the pillory and stocks for minor offences and hanged the small pilferer, which later sanctioned transportation to Botany Bay and suffered the sight of the bodies of criminals hanging on gibbets, was not likely to be unduly disturbed by the flogging of schoolboys.

Locke was at Westminster as a pupil of Dr. Busby, whose name has been handed down the ages as the type of the flogging school-master. Perhaps the flogging by Dr. Busby aimed at achieving something like the hardening and toughening process which Locke recommended in his *Thoughts on Education*. Two masters at Eton have been made famous by their flogging activities. One was George Heath, headmaster from 1792 to 1801. Tradition has it that on one occasion he administered ten cuts with two birches to each of seventy boys, and that as a result he was laid up with aches and pains for more than a week. This was probably his reply to the open defiance of his orders by the fifth form and some of the juniors who “shirked” the six o'clock absence and rowed up the Thames as far as Maidenhead. The other headmaster famous for his flogging was Dr. Keate. All kinds of legends have grown round the latter and it is difficult to discover how far they are true. There is, for example, very little foundation for the story that Keate, in explaining the meaning of the Beatitudes, said, “Blessed are the pure in heart. Mind that, it's your duty to be pure in heart. If you are not pure in heart, I'll flog you.” A better-authenticated story is that of Keate flogging the boys who had been sent to him for instruction as Confirmation candidates. The mistake can be easily explained. The list of the candidates was on a piece of paper of the same size and shape as that which bore the names of offenders. Many of Keate's old pupils have recorded that at heart he was really a kindly man and that his ferociousness was assumed. Keate was called to the headmastership of Eton at a very difficult and critical time. His predecessor was Dr. Goodall, who was appointed Provost of Eton in 1809. During Dr. Goodall's time,

discipline had become very relaxed and the boys had got completely out of hand. The school was ridiculously under-staffed, eight or nine masters for between five hundred and six hundred boys in the upper school. The average number of boys in the class of an assistant master was seventy. When Keate took over he had the tremendous task of creating order from chaos, and he employed the only means that the old-time schoolmaster knew. He was a first-class scholar, but he had the impossible task of teaching the upper fifth and sixth forms together, a total of 170 boys. His first problem was to enforce some kind of order, but he did not always succeed in this. On winter evenings, when the upper school was illuminated by the dim light of candles, the boys were able to hum tunes and throw bread pellets at one another without much chance of being discovered. No wonder that the masters were severe to cruelty under conditions such as these, and small wonder that the schoolboys regarded their masters as natural enemies and judged any form of escape, whether by lying or cheating, as fully justified. Keate took it for granted that every boy would lie to him, and so most of them did.

At times the pupils rose in actual revolt. Every great boarding-school has its story of schoolboy insurrection in the latter years of the 18th and the early years of the 19th century. Winchester led in rebellion, but was soon followed by Rugby and Eton. The school most affected by rebellions was Harrow. The great rebellion at Rugby in 1797 was so serious that the military were called out and the Riot Act read. It would not be true to say that all these revolts were caused by bad conditions. Even the most enlightened schoolmasters had to face them. Schoolboys have always been creatures of tradition, and when the school at Shrewsbury rose against Butler, although the reason given was bad feeding, it was really a protest against Butler's endeavour to tighten up discipline. James was troubled with two revolts at Rugby because he denied to his praepostors the right to flog. Keate had to face a very serious rebellion in 1818 when five boys smashed his desk to pieces with a sledge-hammer. He quelled this by his usual vigorous methods and was able to report in his diary that "the boys are as quiet as lambs." The last revolt at Eton took place in 1832.

Some writers, such as Gibbon and Goldsmith, wrote in praise of the public schools, but in spite of what they had to say, the fact remained that many of the schools declined noticeably in numbers. The prestige of an able headmaster temporarily resulted in a rise

in numbers which began to fall immediately a less capable man took his place. Between 1610 and 1800, Winchester fluctuated considerably. Although the "scholars" remained at the original number of seventy, the "commoners," who were as numerous as 123 in 1734, fell to eight in 1751. James at Rugby, Butler at Shrewsbury, Barnard at Eton, and Thackeray at Harrow, are examples of outstanding headmasters. When James was appointed to Rugby in 1778 he found the school nothing more than an ordinary county grammar-school. He left it as a first-class school. Samuel Butler always declared, in his rather perverse way, that James was a much better schoolmaster than Arnold.

The foremost headmaster of this time was Dr. Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury. A great deal is known about him from the biography written by his better-known grandson. The latter's *Life and Letters of Dr. Butler* throws a remarkable light upon the 18th-century public schools. Butler was appointed to the school in 1798. It was practically a dead school; some accounts say that it had declined to three pupils. Butler was an accomplished scholar and a magnificent teacher. Through his inspiring headmastership, Shrewsbury turned out many scholars who were a signal success at the universities. Although he was a great believer in the classics, he encouraged his boys to read widely in private, and his teaching was of a kind that he "certainly did succeed in making us believe that Latin and Greek were the only things worth living for."¹ In the days when examinations, even at the universities, were a farce, Butler instituted regular examinations in the school and got to know his boys and their capabilities. He was a great believer in the competitive spirit and spent much time in making out order-of-merit lists from which he could ascertain which pupils were worthy of "merit" money.

Although he was a quick-tempered man, he thoroughly understood boys. He tried to break down the barrier between boys and masters and, unlike Keate, he trusted boys. The great Charles Darwin was one of his pupils. In spite of Butler's skill and enthusiasm, Darwin did not take kindly to classics. He was interested in chemistry and in collecting minerals and insects. He tells us that because of his interest in chemistry he was nicknamed "Gas" by his schoolfellows. Butler rebuked him for his interest

¹Dr. Butler was the author of *Modern and Ancient Geography for the use of Schools*, and of *An Atlas of Modern Geography*, both of which were extensively used in the early 19th century.

in chemistry. In his autobiography, Darwin says: "Nothing could have been worse for my mind than this school, as it was strictly classical, nothing else being taught, except a little ancient geography and history. The school as a means of education to me was simply a blank. . . . The sole pleasure I ever received from such studies was from some of the odes of Horace, which I admired greatly."

Butler often tried to reason with his older boys, but he emphatically believed in flogging younger pupils, and he told parents that if they did not approve of his flogging small boys for idleness they could take their sons away from the school. In many ways Butler was limited by the traditions of the age in which he lived, but his strong and forceful personality raised Shrewsbury to the first rank of English schools.

The greater toleration of the 18th century allowed a few Roman Catholic schools to open. At first they were small institutions providing an elementary education. One of the best-known was "Dame Alice's School," taught by Alice Harrison at Fernyhalgh in the Fylde. Pupils came not only from the district but even from Liverpool, Manchester, and London, and these were lodged in the neighbouring cottages. One of the most prosperous preparatory schools was at Twyford, where the poet Alexander Pope received his early schooling. He distinguished himself by writing lampoons on the master and even scratched one on the window. It is said that he was flogged for this escapade and left the school. Meanwhile the Catholic colleges on the Continent had continued with varying fortunes. Douai entered upon the most flourishing period of its existence, while the college at St. Omer had just begun to prosper when the order expelling the Jesuits from France was promulgated. The French Government intended to hand over the whole institution to the secular clergy, but the Fathers and their pupils forestalled them by moving unexpectedly to Bruges which was then in Austrian territory. After the suppression of the Jesuits by Clement XIV the school sought refuge in Liège.

The two streams of Catholic education, that on the Continent and that in England, were brought together by the French Revolution. The thousands of refugees who fled to England had resulted in a great growth of tolerance, and when the Jesuits came to this country they were offered a home at Stonyhurst. The seculars had some difficulty in finding a permanent home, but in 1808 they were able to establish their college at Ushaw. The Benedictines opened

a school at Ampleforth in 1806. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed their difficulties with the exception of membership of the older universities.

The 17th century saw several important developments within the universities. The independent position which was being achieved by the colleges had been strengthened by the Elizabethan statutes of 1570, but the work of Archbishop Laud, whose name will always be associated with Oxford, put the finishing touch to this development. Laud became Chancellor of the university in 1630, and in 1636 gave it a set of statutes, under which it was governed until the middle of the 19th century. They superseded the confused collection of existing statutes, but strengthened the power of the colleges, and especially of the Heads of colleges, against that of the university. From this time, for about two hundred years, the government of the university was controlled by the Heads of colleges, who formed a close oligarchy. The new governing body consisted of the Heads of Houses, two Proctors nominated by the colleges in turn, and a Vice-Chancellor, who was always to be a Head. It was called the Hebdomadal Council, and its consent had to be obtained before any new statute could be discussed by the convocation of masters and doctors. Laud certainly improved the discipline of the university, and his detailed scheme of examination for the B.A. and M.A. degrees represented a considerable advance upon previous practice. Unfortunately, his statutes remained binding upon the university when conditions had greatly changed. The Laudian statutes did not affect Cambridge, which continued under the Elizabethan code until the middle of the 19th century. There the governing body was known as the *Caput Senatus* and was composed of the Vice-Chancellor, a Doctor from each of the three faculties, and a regent and non-regent Master of Arts respectively. The *Caput* was elected by the Heads of colleges, but the freedom of election became restricted, and at the beginning of the 18th century it was usual to vote only for those names on the Vice-Chancellor's list. Every grace had to be approved by the *Caput* before it could be submitted to the Senate.

Laud's work identified Oxford with the Royalist cause, and one of the first acts of the Puritans when they gained power in 1644 was to expel all those who were not in sympathy with the Parliamentary party. During the Civil War, Oxford had been the Royalist headquarters, and it only surrendered to Fairfax when Charles was finally defeated. Needless to say, during these turbulent times the

studies of the university suffered and only about fifty students graduated each year.

In the early part of the century, new colleges were founded, *e.g.* Wadham (1610) and Pembroke (1624) at Oxford, and Trinity at Cambridge was rebuilt. During the reign of James I the universities were granted parliamentary representation, which they retained until recent legislation deprived them of this privilege.

At the Restoration, the Fellows and Heads of colleges who had been expelled by the Puritans came back. The Act of Uniformity, 1662, required Heads of colleges to conform to the Book of Common Prayer, and those who refused were expelled. It was because of this that the Nonconformist academies, described earlier in this chapter, were opened.

Wadham College, Oxford, played an important part in the founding of the Royal Society. The Puritans had expelled the Warden and many of the Fellows and appointed John Wilkins, brother-in-law to Cromwell, as Warden. Wilkins was a very distinguished scholar, and after the Restoration was made Bishop of Chester. Amongst his friends were John Wallis, who became Professor of Mathematics at Oxford in 1648; Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, the historian of the Royal Society; and Seth Ward, who became Savilian Professor of Astronomy. These scholars were interested in the development of science, and held regular meetings at Gresham College, London, and Wadham College, Oxford. Other members of the "Invisible College" were Sir Christopher Wren, who had been a commoner at Wadham, and Sydenham, the founder of modern medicine. It was after a lecture by Wren in 1660 that the proposal to form what was later the Royal Society was made. Two of the most prominent members of the Royal Society in the Restoration period were Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton, who became Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge in 1669. It was owing to Newton that Cambridge gained a reputation in mathematics which has been maintained ever since.

During the 18th century the two universities, like the public schools and grammar-schools, reached their lowest point. Cambridge was a strong supporter of the Whigs, whilst Oxford was well known for its Jacobite sympathies. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, many members of the well-to-do classes preferred their sons to be in the charge of a private tutor rather than send them to the public schools and the universities. The admissions to Oxford and Cambridge fell rapidly, and an increasing number of students

left before taking their first degree. A considerable number of new professorships had been established during the last century, but some Chairs were so poorly remunerated that they failed to attract men of learning and ability. Most of the actual teaching was undertaken by the college tutors. The Fellows have been described as lazy and self-indulgent, and were frequently compared with the monks of the 15th century. Gibbon's description of their habits is well known. "They were decent easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder, their days were filled by a series of uniform employments; the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room, till they retired, weary and well satisfied to a long slumber. From the toil of reading or thinking or writing they had absolved their conscience; and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground, without yielding any fruits to the owners or the public. Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal stories and private scandal; their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth." The Fellows were in some respects to be pitied. Election to a Fellowship provided a poor student with what was relatively a good income for life, provided he remained celibate and lived in residence. Not all those obtaining election were such as to find fulfilment in a purely intellectual and academic life. The only escape was to obtain clerical preferment.

At the present day the Fellow has a choice of a considerable number of occupations. Teaching- or examining-work may be his preference, or he may take a part in the administration of his college, or become an active member of some of the boards and committees which regulate university affairs. He may engage in some line of research and record the additions he has made to the knowledge of his subject by publishing the results of his work. In the 18th century, however, no suitable outlet existed for his activities. His share in the management of his college was infinitesimal and was confined to acquiescence in the decrees of the governing body of the university. College tuition occupied only a fraction of his day, and even the most energetic must have found time hanging on their hands. If he wished to take part in activities outside the university his intentions were frustrated by the fact that non-residence might lead to the loss of his Fellowship. Occasionally the condition of residence might be waived to allow him to become tutor to some young nobleman. Small wonder, then, that many Fellows took the easiest way out of their difficulties by

settling down to a comfortable life, which their modest competence allowed them. It was possible for a Fellow to live in a fair degree of comfort on an income of £100 a year, although quite a number received less than this. For the more active, a Fellowship was merely a stepping-stone to a more lucrative appointment in the future.¹

Much has been said and written on the subject of professors who never lectured. Trevelyan tells us that "no lecture was delivered by any Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge between 1725 and 1773; 'the third and most scandalous' of the holders of that Chair died in 1768 from a fall while riding home drunk from his Vicarage at Over."² At Oxford, two-thirds of the

¹ That amusing publication known as the *Oxford Sausage* or *Select Poetical Pieces written by the most celebrated wits of the University of Oxford*, affords a commentary on what has been said above. Thus, in the parody on Gray's *Elegy* entitled *An Evening Contemplation in a College*, the following lines occur:

"Within those walls, where through the glimm'ring shade
Appear the pamphlets in a mouldr'ing heap,
Each in his narrow bed till morning laid,
The peaceful fellows of the college sleep.
The tinkling bell proclaiming early prayers,
The noisy servants rattling o'er their head,
The calls of business, and domestic cares,
Ne'er rouse these sleepers from their downy bed.
No chatt'ring females crowd their social fire,
No dread have they of discord and of strife;
Unknown the names of husband and of sire,
Unfelt the plagues of matrimonial life.
Oft have they bask'd along the sunny walls,
Oft have the benches bow'd beneath their weight:
How jocund are their looks when dinner calls!
How smoke the cutlets on their crowded plates!"

The poem called the *Progress of Discontent* relates how an undergraduate enters college and, "Our pupil's hopes, though twice defeated, Are with a scholarship completed." At length he obtains a fellowship, but he soon becomes discontented, and muses,

"These fellowships are pretty things,
We live, indeed, like petty kings;
But who can bear to waste his whole age
Amid the dullness of a college,
Debarr'd the common joys of life,
And that prime bliss—a loving wife?
Oh! what's a table richly spread
Without a woman at its head!
Would some snug benefice but fall,
Ye feasts, ye dinners, farewell all!"

The editor of the *Oxford Sausage* was Thomas Warton (1728-90), who was not only Poet Laureate but held the posts of Professor of Poetry and Camden Professor of History. He has been described as an accomplished critic of other men's poems.

² G. M. Trevelyan. *English Social History*, p. 366, Longmans Green, 1946.

professors never lectured, and those who did seldom had an audience. It is, however, only fair to mention that some Chairs were established for subjects not required for examination, and hence such studies only attracted a small number of students. There were some brilliant exceptions to the usual custom. Newton, the principal of Hertford, not only lectured, but insisted that his Fellows should follow his example. Blackstone was another exception, and his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* were based on lectures which he had delivered. Lowth, who was Professor of Poetry and Fellow of New College, became famous for his lectures on Isaiah.

The training of undergraduates was mainly in the hands of the college tutors. It is important to remember that, although the age of matriculation had been gradually rising, yet a large number of students matriculated at fifteen and a few at a younger age. Thus the bulk of undergraduates were boys in their early 'teens. They were too old for school discipline, but not old enough to take responsibility for their own conduct and studies. It was felt that they stood in need of a tutor and governor. One must not suppose, therefore, that the paucity of university lectures meant that no teaching of any consequence was done in the university. "The non-academic world, not interesting itself in the rather obscure relation between Colleges and the University, seldom takes the trouble to define its ideas as to different kinds of academic education. It rests for the most part content with a vague and incurious belief that University teaching is represented by the Professoriate; and if Professors do not teach, then there can be no University teaching, and therefore obviously no teaching in the University. This view ignores the College tutor: and although it is true that Colleges in general, as distinct from the University, have had their moments of educational inefficiency, it is by no means safe to assume that at any period within the last two centuries Oxford has been untaught because her Professors were silent or unheard."¹ Examinations were a complete farce. Lord Chancellor Eldon describes his examination in 1770 for a first degree. He presented himself in Hebrew and history. The first question asked was: "What is the Hebrew for the place of the skull?" When he replied, "Golgotha," he was then asked: "Who founded University College?" In deference to the ancient legend, Eldon answered, "King Alfred," whereupon the

¹ A. D. Godley. *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 38, Methuen, 1909.

examiner declared, "Very well, sir, you are competent for your degree."

Vicesimus Knox, who was admitted to St. John's College, Oxford, in 1771, describes how the forms of the mediaeval disputations were still maintained. The candidate for the B.A. degree was obliged some time during the four years he spent at the university to "oppose" and "respond." This process was usually known as "doing generals." The topics for disputation were handed down from generation to generation and consisted of "foolish syllogisms on foolish subjects, of the foundation or significance of which the respondent and opponent seldom knew more than an infant in swaddling cloaths." On the day of examination, the respondent and opponent took their places in a large, dusty room full of dirt and cobwebs. Here they had to sit opposite to each other for two hours. On rare occasions an examiner would enter, listen for a few minutes to a syllogism, and depart without saying a word. "The disputants would then return to the amusement of cutting the desks, carving their names, or reading Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* or some other edifying novel." To complete his test for the degree, the candidate was obliged to "answer under bachelor," a form of disputation similar to the earlier one, and to present himself before the examiners, who questioned him on the matter contained in a few little books of questions and answers which the candidate had spent three or four days in learning by heart. The examiners were Masters of Arts chosen by the candidate and were frequently his pot-companions. "If the vice-chancellor and proctors happen to enter the school . . . a little solemnity is put on." Otherwise, "the examiners and the candidates often converse on the last drinking bout, or on horses, or read the newspapers or a novel."

Cambridge never sank as deep in lethargy as Oxford, and was the first to begin internal reforms. "In 1747-48 the first 'Tripos' list was published, and the name had a mediaeval origin. In the 15th century, the 'ould bachelor' who disputed with the candidates had sat on a three-legged stool and was known as 'Mr. Tripos'. . . he had been in the habit of writing frivolous verses on the subject of disputation. These were known as 'Tripos Verses' and survived after the 'ould bachelor' had disappeared from the scene. In 1747 the custom was begun of printing the candidates' names in order of merit on the back of the sheet of verses, and hence the name Tripos came to be applied to the examination itself."¹ Cambridge

¹ S. C. Roberts. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

introduced written examinations about 1722. At Oxford the Public Examinations Statute added a written examination to the oral and introduced the distinction between pass and honours. The reforms at Oxford were due to Dr. Cyril Jackson of Christ Church (1783-1809), Dr. Parsons, who was Master of Balliol from 1798, and Dr. John Everleigh, the Provost of Oriel. The *viva-voce* test was retained, but the written examinations began to carry more weight.

In spite of the prevailing deadness, however, there was still some life left in the ancient universities. Nearly twenty Chairs, chiefly in science and mathematics, were established during the 18th century, and at Oxford the Ashmolean Museum was founded about 1682, when Elias Ashmole bequeathed to the university his collection of natural-history curios, coins, and pictures. The exhibits were housed in the upper room, whilst the lower room and basement served as lecture rooms for the professors of philosophy and chemistry. Unfortunately, the endowment was small and the chemical laboratory was practically derelict by 1710.

At both universities, although certain reforms with regard to studies and examinations could be effected, any radical changes were frustrated by statutes, the Laudian at Oxford and those of 1570 at Cambridge, and both had long outlived their usefulness. In fact, nobody knew exactly what the statutes enjoined, but what little was known about them showed how impossible it was to obey them. Hence members of the university took a solemn oath to observe the statutes, knowing full well that they could not carry out their obligation.

The statutes of Trinity, Cambridge, ordered that "there are to be only three College washerwomen, one for the fellows, another for the scholars, and a third for the chaplains, etc. Undergraduates that miss a single chapel, if they are under 18, are to be publicly birched in Hall in the presence of all the fellows; if above 18, they are to be fined one halfpenny. The College lectures are to be delivered in Hall at 6 a.m. Every member of the College is to repeat a barbarous Latin prayer upon his knees, before he leaves his bed-room in the morning to attend chapel, and likewise a similar one at night; and there is to be a Prescribed Latin service in the College chapel, which, by the bye, is quite different from the ordinary Liturgy. Certain students are to be appointed under the name of 'Bible-clerks,' to read the Bible aloud during dinner-time in Hall, and all the students are in the meantime to remain perfectly

silent. No person during term-time is to speak any other language than Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, except to a stranger. No student is to stand covered in the College court, or elsewhere in the College, when a M.A. is present; and they are not to drink together in Hall, except at breakfast. Bachelors as well as undergraduates are to wear violet-coloured gowns.”¹ Until such obsolete statutes had been superseded, and that was accomplished during the 19th century, no substantial progress could be made.

¹ Quoted by Albert Mansbridge. *The Older Universities of England*, pp. 148-9, Longmans Green, 1923.

CHAPTER V

SCHOOL REFORM AND STATE INTERVENTION IN SECONDARY EDUCATION -- 1805-95

The condition of the schools related in the previous chapter raised a whole crop of critics in the early 19th century. Their criticisms took two main directions; they were aimed either at the intellectual training provided by the schools, or at the moral effect of the schools upon the pupils.

The average educated Englishman of the time was not unduly worried about the restrictions resulting from a purely classical curriculum. The real criticism sprang from the radical reformers and, although at first based on educational grounds, it began to be mixed up with the views of the opposing political parties. The Edgeworths believed that even if the classics were efficiently taught, the school which confined itself to these studies was on the wrong lines. Jeremy Bentham and his followers objected to the way in which Latin was taught and the amount of time spent in learning it, which they thought could be spent more profitably in studying politics or law or science. Cobbett, as one might expect, complained of the bookish, unreal character of the education given in the schools and preferred to educate his own children at home. Writers of this school of thought contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* and *Westminster Review*, the leading Liberal periodicals of the country. The former started the attacks in 1809 by criticising the devotion of the schools to Latin and Greek, and called for the inclusion of modern studies, languages, geography, mathematics, chronology, and experimental philosophy. In 1810 the *Review* turned its attention to the moral aspect, and Sidney Smith, himself an old Winchester scholar, violently attacked Winchester, Eton, Charterhouse, and all similar schools, charging them with tyrannical control of their boys. Bullying and fagging were the particular aspects selected by the critics. In 1830 the *Edinburgh Review* returned to the attack and, speaking of Eton in particular, said: "The most precious years are spent, not in filling the mind with solid knowledge; not in training it to habits of correct and patient thought; but in a course of half-studious idleness, of which the only lasting trace is the recollection of misspent time." The renewed attack

was more prolonged than its predecessor, very largely because the unrest of the period of the Reform Bill displayed itself in the criticism of all accepted institutions. The Fellows at the public schools were compared with the rotten boroughs which had been destroyed by the Reform Act. The masters were called aristocratic dunces, and it was asserted that at Eton, "the most celebrated public school of England," a boy's classical studies were a complete failure because he was never trained to appreciate the literature of Greece and Rome. He was confined to the study of a wretched textbook of selections and an even worse grammar book. The consequence was that the boy left school absolutely ignorant of mathematics, science, modern languages, and history. Unfortunately, party politics obtruded into the controversy, as it has done many times since, and there was a tendency for the Liberals to lose sight of the educational ends for which they stood.

The *Westminster Review* spoke of the aristocrat as a slave to the institutions which fashioned him. "They render him as much as possible an instrument of misery, both to himself and to his fellow-beings." The *Quarterly Journal of Education* compared the tone of Eton to the morals of the corrupt courts of Charles II and Louis XV. The general conclusions of the opponents of the public schools were that these institutions were so hopelessly bad that it was not possible to reform them and suggested that experiments should be tried out in other types of school.

During this controversy, the attackers were met by a spirited defence which became identified with the Conservative party, just as the attack was due to the Liberals. In 1821 a Bill was presented to Parliament to undo the effects of Lord Eldon's decision in the Leeds Grammar School case and to allow English, writing, and accounts to be included in the curriculum of the grammar-schools. The Bill was rejected mainly because of the opposition of Vicesimus Knox, who published a treatise entitled, *Remarks on the Tendency of Certain Classes in a Bill now pending in Parliament to Degrade Grammar Schools*. In this he put up a vigorous defence of the grammar-schools. In another of his works, *Liberal Education*, 1791, he had argued that the present system in the public schools was good because it had grown up as the result of the experience of many generations. Canning declared that without her public schools England would never have reached the position she now held, for it was due to the schools and the universities that the great men of the past had received the training which enabled them to fill

the prominent positions in Church and State so successfully. As the controversy became more acrimonious, the political sympathies of the opponents became the more obvious.

The Nonconformists, who had been allowed to enter the teaching profession in 1779, although still excluded from the universities and public schools, might have been expected to carry on the traditions of the academies of the 17th century, but they did not rise to the opportunity. When the Congregationalists opened Mill Hill in 1807, it was modelled very largely on public-school lines, but its curriculum included mathematics and other subjects. Thus French was taught by a Frenchman; drawing, English reading, history, and geography, though included, were given a very small place in the time-table. The Society of Friends founded a number of schools at this time, and Bootham School, York, opened in 1823, showed a desire to break away from a purely classical curriculum. Mathematics and English were studied, and some attention was given to geography. The school also possessed an observatory. The most interesting experiment was that conducted at Hazelwood, near Birmingham, in 1819, by Thomas Wright Hill and his three sons: Rowland, who introduced the penny post; Matthew Davenport, the reformer of the Criminal Code; and Arthur. Later the school was moved to Bruce Castle, Tottenham. At first the experiment was a great success. Hill was influenced by the educational ideas of Pestalozzi and his plan was remarkable for the breadth of the curriculum and the scheme of self-government adopted in the school.

The Hills tried to avoid the harsh methods of obtaining class order that were usual in the older schools, and sought to enlist the co-operation of the pupils through interest. Plenty of freedom was allowed the pupils in the choice of subjects for study, and the scheme of self-government adopted was based on a written constitution. Offenders were tried and awarded punishment by the boys themselves and, in order to foster a sense of responsibility, older pupils were allotted important duties in connection with the running of the school. In addition to the classics, the subjects taught included spelling, parsing, shorthand, geography, and mathematics. Special attention was given to French, and the boys of the top class were taught geography in French by the French master. The physical aspects of education were not neglected and visiting masters taught fencing, dancing, and music. Boys were trained in gymnastics and swimming, and those who had a practical bent were encouraged

to choose such activities as art and music, map-making, surveying, and printing. At first the school attracted much attention. Then public interest began to flag and it became almost forgotten. Adamson speaks of the school as "illustrating the neglect into which the ideas of English educators have sometimes been allowed to fall, until they have been revived as sheer novelties under a foreign cachet."¹ Its main practical importance lies in its influence upon Dr. Arnold. The almost complete failure of the scheme was due to two factors. One was the innate conservatism of the average Englishman of the middle classes, who, however much he might grumble and demand a change, desired one that was much more moderate and which did not involve a complete break with the past. Another cause of the decline in interest was the mistrust that the average Englishman has for theory. The scheme of the Mills was based upon scientific principles derived from the theories of Pestalozzi and the work of the Edgeworths,² and of Bell and Lancaster. It is generally true to say that the reforms in secondary education in the 19th century were due in no small measure to the work and personality of great schoolmasters like James and Butler and, later, Arnold and Thring

¹ J. W. Adamson. *English Education, 1789-1902*, p. 51, C.U.P., 1930.

² The Edgeworths exercised a remarkable influence on educational ideas of the early 19th century. Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744-1817) married four times and had eighteen children. Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) undertook the education of her half-brothers, an occupation which lasted until she was fifty years of age. The father served as a Royal Commissioner on Irish Education, and in 1809 he proposed the formation of an association to establish secondary schools throughout the country. Their joint work was *Practical Education*, published in 1798. This book was a pioneer in child-study since it was based on a careful and systematic account of the development of her children kept by Edgeworth's second wife. The eldest member of the Edgeworth family had been brought up on the theories of Rousseau, but in his case the experiment was not successful. Hence, in *Practical Education*, Rousseau's theories were modified, but the influences of Locke, the American writer Benjamin Thompson, and Joseph Priestley are clearly discernible.

Maria was responsible for sixteen chapters of a theoretical nature, the father for six, mainly practical; and the sixth member of the family, Lovell Edgeworth, wrote the chapter on the teaching of chemistry. The book emphasised Rousseau's view that it is essential to study the child and adapt the curriculum and teaching methods to his ever-changing needs and interests. The writers contended that learning is an active process; that it should be rendered attractive, and that play and handwork occupations should be prominent factors in the education of children. Edgeworth himself was keenly interested in mechanical inventions; hence it is not surprising to find that he illustrates his exposition by examples from mechanics and that he stresses the utilitarian value of studies.

Practical Education was followed in 1809 by *Professional Education*. Maria was antagonistic to fairy stories. She preferred that the child's mind should be filled with useful knowledge presented through the medium of the story. In support of her belief, she wrote the six volumes of the *Parent's Assistant* and the *Moral Tales*, both of which had a wide circulation. Her literary reputation, however, rests on her novels dealing with Irish life.

They achieved a reform which was permanent but which was brought about by their high ideals, force, and earnestness of character, rather than by their views about the nature of public-school education.

Arnold's work at Rugby has been described by many writers, some who hold him up as the ideal schoolmaster, and others who, living in a later period, are severely critical.¹ Much that was once attributed to him as original is now recognised as being derived from other sources, but when due allowance has been made for the limitations which were a consequence of his upbringing and of the age in which he lived, there is no doubt that he was instrumental in creating the prestige which the public schools of this country now enjoy. There is no space in a work of this size and character to enter upon the details of Arnold's career, but certain aspects of his work were so important an influence that they cannot be passed over.

Thomas Arnold was a pupil of Winchester when the distinguished Dr. Goddard was headmaster. The latter exercised considerable influence upon his pupil and many of the ideas which Arnold put into practice at Rugby were the result of his early years at Winchester. From the college, Arnold passed to Corpus Christi, Oxford, where he gained a great reputation as a scholar, being placed in the first class in *Litterae Humaniores* in 1814, and winning successively the Vice-Chancellor's prizes for Latin and English essays. He was elected a Fellow of Oriel, and after his ordination and marriage settled at Laleham in Middlesex, where he undertook private tutoring for some years. While at Laleham, the headmastership at Rugby fell vacant in 1828 and Arnold's candidature was warmly supported by the Provost of Oriel, who wrote: "If Arnold were elected, he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England." Rugby, at the time of Arnold's election, had grown, under the able administration of James, from a typical free grammar-school to a large boarding-school. From the very start, its non-local character was emphasised and it developed as a boarding, rather than a day school. A few years before Arnold's election, the school buildings had been considerably enlarged. Arnold's reputation as a great schoolmaster was not due to his introduction of new methods of teaching nor to any attempt to widen the existing classical curriculum. Indeed, he firmly believed in

¹ e.g. Strachey in *Eminent Victorians*, and Bertrand Russell in *Education and the Good Life*.

the value of the classics as a sound foundation for any educational system, but in his hands the traditional studies gained a new significance. He looked upon them as opportunities for giving a truly liberal education. He once wrote: "The knowledge of the past is valuable, because without it our knowledge of the present and of the future must be scanty: but if the knowledge of the past be confined wholly to itself: if instead of being made to bear upon things around us, it be totally isolated from them and so disguised by vagueness and misapprehension as to appear incapable of illustrating them, then indeed it becomes little better than laborious trifling, and they who declaim against it may be fully forgiven." The classics were for Arnold the vehicle by means of which history, literature, philosophy, geography, ethics, and politics could be taught. He believed that: "Every lesson in Greek or Latin may or ought to be made a lesson in English: the translation of every sentence in Demosthenes or Tacitus is properly an exercise in extemporaneous English composition: a problem how to express with equal brevity, clearness, and force in our own language, the thought which the original author has so admirably expressed in his." Dean Stanley, who was one of his pupils, tells us that his lessons remained as ever-living memories to those who heard them.

"A black cloud was on his brow when he spoke of Tiberius or Augustus or Napoleon, of the soulless Epicureanism of Horace or the coarseness of Juvenal; and few of his pupils have lost his enthusiasm for the often misrepresented and vilified Cicero, or for the best and holiest of kings, St. Louis of France." Ancient history was not merely ancient history when taught by Arnold. He thought of it as a means of bringing home to his Rugby boys those great lessons in citizenship which mean so much to our modern English civilisation. Modern history was employed in much the same way. It was not, however, as a teacher that Arnold became a lasting influence in English public-school tradition. As an administrator he was greater still. The evils of public-school life mentioned in the previous chapter were to be found at Rugby, but Arnold was distinguished as an administrator by his possession of that most precious gift of tact. He realised that he could not transform the school at once and was content to move slowly but surely, building upon what was good in public-school life rather than introducing revolutionary changes. He found fagging a universal custom, but instead of abolishing it he made use of it.

The introduction of the prefect system was not Arnold's invention, though some have spoken as though it was. At Eton, in Elizabeth's time, praepostors had been responsible for a good deal of the daily routine work of the college. Westminster and St. Paul's had also used older boys for a similar purpose. Charterhouse, at the beginning of the century, had adopted a monitorial plan based on that of Bell and Lancaster. It was Arnold's own experience at Winchester under Goddard that influenced him most. Goddard had used his older scholars to help in disciplining the younger, and, although he did not organise the system in the way that Arnold did, yet the root principle was there. Arnold built up his system partly upon the institution of fagging, partly upon the prestige enjoyed by the sixth form. He once told the sixth, "I want you to feel how enormous is the influence you possess here on all below you." On another occasion he said, "You should feel like officers in the army whose want of moral courage would be thought cowardice. When I have confidence in the VIth, there is no post in England for which I would exchange this; but if they do not support me, I must go."

Unlike Keate, Arnold's attitude to a boy was, "If you say so, that is quite enough for me; of course I take your word." Eventually the tradition grew that it was a shame to tell Arnold a lie because he always believed it. Arnold's conception of a great school was essentially a Christian one, but, unlike some people with high ideals, he could be absolutely ruthless if the occasion and his duty demanded it. One boy whom he considered had a bad influence upon the rest was expelled immediately. He told the school, "It is not necessary that this should be a school for 300 or even 100 boys, but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen." Like Butler, he made use of the rod, but he never punished a boy unless his fault was a moral one. Arnold attached tremendous importance to the influence wielded by his prefects, and he took great pains in choosing them. Any abuse of their powers was severely reprimanded, but when their powers of giving punishment were questioned he gave them strong support. He held regular meetings of the prefects and discussed with them measures to raise the general tone of the school. Speaking of his use of the prefects, he said, "He, therefore, who wishes really to improve public education would do well to direct his attention to this point and to consider how there can be infused into a society of boys such elements as, without being too dissimilar to coalesce thoroughly with the rest, shall yet be so superior as to raise the character of

the whole. It would be absurd to say that any school has as yet fully solved this problem. I am convinced, however, that, in the peculiar relation of the highest form to the rest of the boys, such as it exists in our great public schools, there is to be found the best means of answering it. This relation requires in many respects to be improved in its character; some of its features should be softened, others elevated; but here, and here only, is the engine which can affect the end desired."

Again, "Those who having risen to the highest form in the school, will probably be at once the oldest and the strongest and the cleverest; and if the school be well ordered, the most respectable in application and general character." Arnold's prefect system has since his day been introduced into countless schools, but it has only been a success when inspired by the same lofty ideals as held by its founder. Where prefects have been regarded as a kind of police force for the headmaster and the staff, the system has met with a well-deserved failure.

Perhaps Arnold's greatest influence was due to his truly Christian character and example. He thought of the school as a Christian community whose centre and inspiration was the school chapel. His own sermons had a far-reaching effect on his listeners. Dean Stanley said, "I never heard or saw anything which gave me so strongly the idea of inspiration." They were not dogmatic, but rather expressed an earnest desire to apply the teaching of Christianity to the problems of the schoolboy in his everyday life. Arnold's work came to an end by his sudden death in 1842, but his influence lived on. Not only did it leave a permanent mark upon Rugby School, but his reputation spread to other schools through pupils and members of his staff who accepted posts in other institutions. Thus many great schools continued the Arnold tradition and the prestige of public schools became higher than ever before. This led to a demand for more schools of a similar character, and a feature of this period of the 19th century was the opening of a number of large proprietary schools, which to a large extent took the public schools as their model.

The new schools reflected the changed political, economic, and social conditions which had come into existence after the Reform Bill. For the first time the middle classes achieved political power, and new careers were being opened to them. There were really three divisions within the so-called middle class. The upper division consisted of wealthy individuals who were not members of the

old land-owning class--bankers, financiers, merchants, and factory owners who had been enriched by the Industrial Revolution. The middle section comprised the smaller manufacturers and merchants, professional men, clergy, and junior officers in the Services. The lower middle class contained shopkeepers, farmers, and even a number of skilled artisans. This tripartite division of the middle class exercised considerable influence on the educational provision of the latter part of the 19th century. Thus the recommendations of the Taunton Commission with regard to the grading of secondary schools were not only due to German influence, but were no doubt based on the actual structure of society at the time. Is it too fanciful to suggest that the present tripartite division of secondary education is a faint echo of earlier social conditions?

The middle classes were acutely aware of the advantages of education. As R. H. Tawney wrote: "They looked to the schools to provide . . . a common platform enabling their sons to associate on equal terms with those of families who, if increasingly outdistanced in income, still diffused a faint aroma of social superiority."¹ The middle classes, whose income largely depended on industry, looked to the schools to provide their sons with a sound intellectual training which would fit them for entry into industry, commerce, or the professions. In addition, they demanded an effective moral training. The public schools and the ancient grammar-schools, as the reports of the Clarendon and Taunton Commissions were to show, could not meet these requirements. The private schools, established in large industrial towns, did not offer a satisfactory alternative. The criticisms of the *Edinburgh Review* were really the reflection of middle-class feelings. To a certain extent, the reforms of Butler, James, and Arnold, provided a solution to the problem of the middle classes. The existing public schools, however, were unable to offer the number of places required, and in any case they were too expensive for the majority of the middle class. It became clear that more boarding-schools of the public-school type were needed. The development of the railway system solved the problem of communication and enabled the middle classes to send their sons quickly and cheaply to schools situated at a considerable distance from their homes.

The earlier schools of this type were day-schools, such as the Liverpool Institute, 1825, King's College School, 1829, University

¹ "The Problem of the Public Schools" in the *Political Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, 1943, p. 123.

College School, 1833, the City of London School, 1837, and the Liverpool College, 1840. It was due to Arnold's influence that the later schools were boarding-schools. Amongst them were Cheltenham College, 1841, Marlborough College, 1843, Rossal School, 1844, Wellington College, 1853, Epsom College, 1855, Haileybury College and Clifton College, 1862, Malvern School, 1863, and Bath College, 1867. These schools were less expensive than the large public schools and, although their curriculum was mainly classical, yet in most of them considerable time was given to mathematics, science, and modern languages.

The establishment of the schools of the Woodard Foundation was connected with the middle-class movement. Canon Woodard, when he became curate of New Shoreham in 1846, was impressed by the lack of educational facilities for the sons of local tradesmen and especially of sea captains, who lived there. In 1848 he published a pamphlet entitled *A Plea for the Middle Classes*. He urged the provision of "a good complete education for the middle classes at such a charge as will make it available for most of them." He was convinced that until the middle classes were educated it was wasteful to spend money on the education of the poor. Hence he conceived the idea of covering the country with a system of schools built and equipped through the generosity of wealthy benefactors. Woodard's appeal for funds met with a satisfactory response, and by 1849 his first two schools had been established. The first, St. Nicholas' Grammar School and Collegiate Institution, the future Lancing, was for the sons of the gentry. It removed to Lancing in 1857. St. John's was a middle-class school for the sons of well-to-do tradesmen. It eventually moved to Hurstpierpoint and became permanently established there in 1853. The school for the lower middle class was moved from Shoreham to Ardingly in 1870.

Canon Woodard regarded education as primarily religious education, and he believed that only in a boarding-school could religious ideals be developed. Although at one time he entertained the idea of founding day-schools, he eventually decided in favour of boarding-schools. He made little contribution to the problem of the curriculum. As Dr. K. E. Kirk writes: "Woodard's contribution to the cause of education was a contribution of bricks and mortar rather than of intellectual inspiration."¹ The demands of the middle classes for modern studies forced Woodard's hand and he founded

¹ K. E. Kirk. *The Story of the Woodard Schools*, p. 75, Hodder and Stoughton, 1937.

the Military and Engineering School at Leyton in 1850 for those boys of St. Nicholas' who wished to take up a career in the Services or to enter the engineering profession. Woodard had a strong admiration for Arnold and introduced the prefect system into his schools. Within a comparatively short space of time most of the new foundations reached a standard in public esteem not far below that of the older schools.

While Arnold was busy in transforming the life at Rugby, the controversy about the public and grammar schools was still continuing. One of the bitterest of the critics of the public schools was M. J. Higgins, who had been at Eton for a short time. He chose his old school as his special target. Higgins has been described as a genial giant in appearance but possessed of a most bitter tongue. He turned his energies to contributing articles attacking Eton to the periodicals, especially the *Cornhill Magazine*. Writing under the pseudonyms of "Mother of Seven" and later as "Pater-familias" he wrote letters couched in bitter invective attacking the public schools in general and Eton in particular, and charging them with every fault imaginable. At the same time, Sir John T. Coleridge gave a lecture on Eton at Tiverton in 1860, and in the course of his address criticised the college along the same lines but in a far more reserved fashion than Higgins. The *Edinburgh Review* and the *Westminster Review*, on behalf of the Liberal party, once more joined in the attack, and the torrent of criticism, invective, and abuse, brought about a crisis. The Government realised that something had to be done, and in 1861 a royal commission, usually known as the Clarendon Commission because of its chairman, Lord Clarendon, was appointed to investigate the matter. Other members of the Commission were Lord Devon, Lord Lyttelton, the Hon. E. Twistleton, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. H. H. Vaughan, and the Rev. W. H. Thompson. The public schools complained that they were inadequately represented on the Commission, but the results of the inquiry do not show any antagonism on the part of the Commissioners. The field of reference of the Commission was to inquire "into the nature of the endowments, funds, and revenues belonging to or received by" a selected number of schools and colleges. It was also to inquire into "the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, and the studies pursued and instruction given there." The Commission pursued its work for three years and issued its report in 1864. Nine schools were chosen for the inquiry: Eton, Winchester, Westminster,

Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury. All of these except St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' were boarding-schools. Other important schools such as the newer proprietary schools and Uppingham, already being made famous by Thring, were omitted.

The original intention of the Commissioners was to examine the schools themselves, but this raised a storm of protest. Only two of the schools allowed them to enter. The schools were very jealous of their autonomy, and they feared that to allow the Commissioners into them would be a step towards further Government interference. This attitude forced the Commissioners to adopt other methods of obtaining information. They addressed questionnaires to the headmasters, interviewed witnesses, and obtained the opinions of persons who had special knowledge of public-school education. The Commissioners reflected the views of the time and, with certain modifications, upheld the classical curriculum. They were very impressed by the Prussian Gymnasium with its idea of a general liberal education. The Gymnasium in Prussia corresponded to the public school of England in that it aimed at educating boys for the universities and the learned professions. It was due to the work of von Humboldt, who was the chief of the Prussian Bureau of Education, 1808-10. Humboldt was a distinguished classical scholar who saw the value of blending the Humanistic aims of the classical world with the ideals of the modern. Accordingly, he thought of Latin, Greek, mathematics, and German as the main subjects of the curriculum; but other studies and accomplishments, he believed, should find a place in school instruction. Thus some time would be given to history, geography, natural science, religious instruction, drawing, and writing. Hebrew and modern languages were regarded as optional subjects.

The Commissioners therefore were in agreement with the main classical courses provided by the schools, but they considered that the curriculum lacked breadth and flexibility. The teaching of the classics to the abler pupils was on the whole good, but the average pupil left school with a very low standard in classical knowledge, and an even lower one in English, arithmetic, mathematics, and general knowledge. Far too many boys left school at nineteen who could not construe a simple passage in Latin or Greek without the assistance of a dictionary, almost ignorant of the history and geography of their own country, and of modern languages, having

great difficulty in writing correct English, unable to work the simplest example in arithmetic or an easy rider in Euclid, knowing nothing of physical science, and never having had any practice in drawing or acquaintance with music. In such cases their intellectual education must be considered a failure, though their principles, character, and manners might be everything that could be desired. "Of the time spent at school by the generality of boys, much is absolutely thrown away as regards intellectual progress either from ineffective teaching, from the continued teaching of subjects in which they cannot advance, or from idleness, or from a combination of these causes."¹

In spite of recent improvements, the Commissioners felt that modern languages, mathematics, history, and geography still held an unimportant place in the curriculum because too little time was devoted to them and they were not counted for promotion. They pointed out that this was a very serious defect because a large number of men who have little aptitude or taste for literary subjects may show considerable interest and ability in science, especially if it deals with external and sensible objects. The fact that due weight was not given to modern subjects, mathematics, and science, was not altogether the fault of the schools. It was difficult to obtain good teachers of these subjects. This was especially true in the case of modern languages. The choice lay between English teachers whose knowledge was imperfect or foreigners who had difficulty in controlling their classes. The situation with regard to history was equally difficult, and the opinion expressed by Dr. Moberley, headmaster of Winchester, is well known: "I wish we could teach more history, but as to teaching it in set lessons I should not know how to do it."

On the constructive side, the Commission was influenced by the practice of the Prussian Gymnasium. The Commissioners recommended that the classical languages and literature should remain the chief studies in the schools, and emphasised that the main advantage in learning the classics was to gain a greater command over the English language. In addition, every boy ought to be taught arithmetic and mathematics, at least one modern language (French or German), one of the natural sciences, and either music or drawing. He should also leave school with a general knowledge of ancient history, have some acquaintance with modern history, and a command of pure grammatical English. When they reached

¹ *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Vol. I, p. 26.

the higher classes, it was recommended that those pupils who wished might be allowed to spend less time on the classics and more on mathematics, modern languages, and science. On the other hand some pupils might desire to specialise more fully in classics. The Commissioners spoke very highly of the work of the public schools in training character, in inculcating a love of healthy sport and exercise, and in fitting pupils both to control themselves and to govern others.

As regards administration, the Commissioners recommended the reconstitution of the governing bodies of the schools, the defining of the powers of the headmaster, and adequate representation of the assistant masters on the school councils.

The Report was followed by the Public Schools Act of 1868 which completely ignored the recommendations of the Commissioners as regards curriculum and confined itself to administrative matters. It was felt by the Government that the inquiry had caused sufficient resentment and that reforms had better be left to the good sense of the schools themselves rather than be the subject of further Government intervention. The Act ordered the schools either to accept a constitution framed by the Commissioners or to draw up one for their approval. The new governing bodies were to include members nominated by the universities and the learned societies.¹ They were to possess considerable powers in fixing the amount of school fees, and the number of pupils, and in determining the curriculum and the kind of religious instruction to be given. The headmaster was to be appointed by the governing body and he should have the power of appointing and dismissing the assistants. The two day-schools, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors', were left out of this scheme.

The Liberals were furious that the rest of the recommendations were not included in the Act, and fought tooth and nail against what they described as "one of the most delusive and reactionary measures ever put before the country." They urged the inspection of public schools, to be met with the reply that to adopt Government inspection "would be to degrade the great public schools of England down to the level of village schools." The Government was

¹ For example, the governing body of Charterhouse was to consist of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a member elected from each of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, one nominated by the Royal Society, one by the Lord Chancellor, one by the Lord Chief Justice, one elected by the headmaster and assistant masters, three by the governors of Sutton's Hospital, and four co-opted members.

probably wise not to press for further intervention but to leave the schools to put their own houses in order. The autonomy of the schools was saved, and in the following years many of the recommendations of the Commission were adopted and the curriculum became more varied and flexible. Thus, at Eton, Dr. Hornby introduced teaching in French, German, history, physics, chemistry, and zoology, and boys who were in the upper forms were given considerable choice in selecting the subjects they wished to study.

Perhaps the most striking effect of the Commission was to be seen in the developments at Harrow. There are records which prove the existence of a school at Harrow as early as 1384. It was flourishing at the time of Mary, and the records of Caius College, Cambridge, contain the names of three undergraduates who had attended the school at Harrow in the days of Elizabeth's reign. The school was refounded by John Lyon (*de novo erigere*) in 1572, and the Lyonian Statutes were drawn up in that year and elaborated in 1591 (*Orders, Statutes and Rules*).¹ The original statutes sufficed for the government of the school until 1868, by which time they had outgrown their usefulness. The Act of 1868 reconstituted the Board of Governors, and the out-of-date statutes were replaced by regulations more suited to modern conditions. The changes were not completed until 1874. The most important innovation was the establishment of a Modern Side under B. E. Bowen, who is best known to the general public as the writer of the Harrow School Song, *Forty Years On*. Boys allocated to the Modern Side studied Latin, but their curriculum included history, modern languages, mathematics, and natural science. Bowen was well supported by his headmaster, Henry Montagu Butler, who ensured that the Modern Side should not be a soft option by ruling that only boys who had a good record on the Classical Side should be admitted.² Butler's successor, J. E. C. Welldon, did not continue this policy, and much to Bowen's disgust treated the Modern Side as a refuge for those who had not been successful in their classical studies. Eventually, in 1893, this led to Bowen's resignation from the control of the Modern Side, though he continued to teach the upper forms until his death in 1901. Bowen's experiment had,

¹ The statutes of 1591 are given in full by E. D. Laborde in his *Harrow School*, Appendix A, Winchester Publications, 1948.

² Bowen's ideas on the Modern Side are given in the "Memorandum on the Modern Side," in W. E. Bowen, *Edward Bowen*, pp. 103-15, Longmans Green, 1902.

however, been entirely successful and it was imitated in other public schools.

The Clarendon Commission focused attention upon secondary education as a whole, and as a natural consequence the Schools Inquiry Commission of 1864, generally known as the Taunton Commission, was appointed. The object of the Commission was to inquire into the education given in those schools which had been included neither in the Clarendon Commission nor the Inquiry into Popular Education conducted by the Newcastle Commission, "and also to consider and report what Measures (if any) are required for the Improvement of such Education, having especial Regard to all Endowments applicable, or which can rightly be made applicable thereto."

The inquiry lasted four years and the report was issued in 1868. It was an exhaustive investigation of every type of secondary education and no pains were spared to make the report as complete and accurate as possible. Girls' as well as boys' schools were included, private and proprietary schools as well as endowed schools. The inquiry was conducted along three main lines: the oral examination of witnesses (religious denominations, examining bodies, representatives of the professions, school masters and mistresses, the legal profession, and any other persons having a special knowledge or interest in education), circulars of questions seeking for written information in detail from the school authorities, and finally, through assistant-commissioners, who personally investigated certain selected districts. Among the assistant-commissioners were J. G. Fitch and James Bryce. In order to obtain a comparison with the methods and results of the systems of education in some parts of Europe, Canada, and the U.S.A., Matthew Arnold was sent to inquire into secondary education in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, and the Rev. James Fraser, afterwards Bishop of Manchester, performed a similar task in regard to the United States and Canada. Information about Scotland was obtained from an inspection of the schools in nine cities and towns by Mr. Fearon.

The work of the assistant-commissioners revealed an astounding state of affairs. The provision of secondary education was hopelessly inadequate, especially in the large centres of population. One of the districts selected for special study was the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the report of Mr. (later Sir) J. G. Fitch was typical

of the situation.¹ The inset map facing this page shows clearly the uneven distribution of secondary schools.

In 1861 the population of the West Riding and the city of York was 1,548,229, and it was estimated that the number of boys who should be receiving education above the primary stage was 20,533. The actual number in attendance at the endowed schools was 1,836, and Fitch recorded that in no instance was the available school accommodation fully occupied. Large towns, such as Huddersfield, did not possess an endowed school and its inhabitants relied on private and proprietary schools. The number of grammar-schools in the area was given by the Charity Commissioners as sixty-five and of these five had ceased to exist. Of the remaining sixty schools, only twenty-nine gave some kind of classical education. The rest were in reality rather inefficient elementary schools. "Of the fact of the general decadence of the endowed grammar schools within the country there can be no doubt. The schools are not popular; they do not possess the confidence of the parents . . . the class of parents whose children may be presumed to stay long enough at school to make any use of Latin, and who are above the status of the labouring poor, generally prefer private schools; and that while these are numerous and well attended, the old foundations, with all their historical prestige and their wealth, do not attract the classes for whom they are intended."²

In the whole of the riding, "There are three grammar schools . . . which are conspicuously in advance of all the rest in numbers and reputation. They are St. Peter's in York, Leeds, and Doncaster. These Schools lay themselves out for higher education, and their curriculum is designed to prepare boys for the universities. All are under the care of accomplished and energetic men, are increasing in numbers, and are obtaining distinction at the universities."³ There were a large number of reasons to account for the decay of the endowed schools. In the country towns the governing bodies had become nothing less than a small group of self-elected trustees who seldom met and who took insufficient interest in matters which concerned the schools. They had little control over the headmaster, who in turn had a minimum of control over his assistants.

Thus, at Normanton, there was a body of not less than twenty trustees who were responsible for the administration of an endowment of £10 per annum. Many of the members lived at a distance,

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, pp. 1-423.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

community gradually broke down when the scholarship system was extended as a consequence of the Act. But the Act of 1902 still regarded the secondary school as an institution of a different character. It was perhaps too much to expect, at that time, that education should be viewed in stages so that the secondary stage would be a natural sequence to the primary. The Balfour-Morant Act did not go so far as to create a national system of education, but it laid the foundation on which others would be able to build.

Strong support had been given to the Act by the Fabian Society, owing to the influence of Mr. Sidney Webb, who, whilst criticising some of the details, supported its main proposals. London had been left outside the operation of the Act, and it was largely due to the work of Sidney Webb that in 1903 the London County Council became the authority for all types of education in its area.

The Liberals were not content to acknowledge defeat. The rate conflict prophesied by Dr. Clifford and Mr. Lloyd George began. Many Nonconformists refused to pay their rates and distraint was made on their property. This campaign of passive resistance continued for many years. Looking back, one always wonders why the passive resisters did not also refuse to pay their taxes as well, since the latter provided the money from which the Government grant to the voluntary schools was paid. In Wales, certain towns refused to have anything to do with the Act and some counties decided not to pay any money from the rates to the voluntary schools. In 1904 the Government passed the Education (Local Authorities Default) Act which stated that if the L.E.A. did not make adequate grants to the voluntary schools in its area, the Board of Education would deduct an equivalent sum from its grant to the L.E.A. and pay it direct to the managers of the voluntary schools. Lloyd George threatened that if the Government put the Default Act into operation, the whole of Wales would be thrown into educational chaos, since the Welsh authorities would refuse to carry on elementary education and would close the council schools. Mr. Balfour called his bluff and applied the Act to two defaulting authorities. No action of any importance followed since it was realised by Mr. Balfour's opponents that the general public was unlikely to tolerate an action which made the school children victims of a political wrangle. When the election of 1906 was fought, the Liberals included the repeal of the Education Act of 1902, along with the Chinese Slavery and the Big and Little Loaf propaganda, as part of their political programme. The result of the

and consequently the governing body never met and no supervision was exercised over the headmaster. Fitch found that worthy gentleman "leisurely reading *Bell's Life in London*, while eleven children were following their own devices. The vicar of the parish, who is absolutely powerless in the matter, has for years desired to get a good National School, but has found it impossible, because this worthless school already existed in the parish."¹

In some districts the trustees were so satisfied with the shocking conditions of the school that they refused to make any improvements. The trustees of Haworth wrote to Fitch, saying: "... the trustees consider the present state of the school adapted for all classes of society in the township of Haworth. That the trustees are satisfied with the present state of the school, and do not contemplate any plans for its improvement."²

In the large towns the trustees often had many other duties which limited the time they could spend on the affairs of the schools. Sometimes the statutes required that the headmaster should be a clergyman, so that many competent teachers could not obtain promotion. "In another school in the district, the masterships are held by two clergymen, who have not been on speaking terms for fifteen years. Each of these gentlemen took me privately aside to assure me that the other was not to be trusted, and that it was impossible to work harmoniously with him. The headmaster accounted for the ignorance of the upper forms by complaining of the stupidity of the methods adopted in the lower classes, methods over which he, the headmaster, had no sort of control. The usher, on the other hand, assigned as a reason for the worthlessness of his own teaching, that it was of no use to prepare them for a course so absurd and useless as was pursued in the upper classes."³

Most of the schools had been free schools, but nearly all of them were now charging fees under some pretext or other. On the plea that the endowment was for Latin and Greek only, all other subjects had to be paid for. "The absurdest results follow from such arrangements as these. In one case I have seen a class of children, including some of nine or ten years of age, painfully employed in reading all day, and wholly unable to use a pencil or a pen, because their parents did not choose to pay the writing fee. In another there are children who reach a still greater age without ever receiving an exercise in arithmetic, for a similar reason. . . . Not infrequently,

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

when questioning the highest class of a school on geography, or history, or on grammar, I have noticed a number of children preserve a dead silence, and on inquiring further, have learned that these were the pupils who did not pay for the particular subject, and therefore did not learn it.”¹ In some schools an invidious distinction was made between the foundation scholars and those who paid fees. “At Easingwold, I found a school along the middle of which was a partition breast high, dividing the scholars into two groups. The master’s desk was fixed in an elevated position and dominated both divisions of the school. He explained to me that the free scholars were on one side and the paying scholars on the other. He had erected the partition, he said, in defence of his own interests, for unless he kept the two classes of pupils—the ‘sheep and the goats,’ as he familiarly called them—habitually apart, the more respectable parents would object to pay, and perhaps remove their children altogether. I learned that while he was bound to admit a certain number of free scholars, it had been his custom to receive others on the footing of private pupils, and that even in the playground there was no intercourse between them.”²

The best schools worked to gain university scholarships and their curriculum was exclusively classical. Some of them had created English departments. “At Leeds there is an English department or lower school in which a reduced fee of £4 4s. 0d. per annum is charged. There are, at present, 50 boys in it, the room being adapted for double that number. The boys constitute an entirely distinct school, receiving no lessons in common with those of the classical school. They learn a little Latin; and French is also well taught by the master, who is a clergyman, and has resided some years in France. He has entire charge of the school, and is unassisted, except by a writing and arithmetic master, who gives lessons for certain hours in the week. . . . It is evident that an English department, thus constituted, has not a fair chance of success, and does not correspond to the needs of such a town as Leeds or to the resources and prestige of the great school of which it forms a part. It is impossible to have proper organisation in a school composed of 50 boys of all ages under one master.”³

Even in those grammar-schools which had retained Latin and Greek, the teaching was of poor quality. “On the whole, the

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 144.
² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

classical learning prescribed by statute in the large majority of the grammar schools may be safely pronounced a delusive and unfruitful thing. It is given to very few in any form. It is not carried to any substantial issue in the case of five per cent of the scholars. It is more often taught to keep up a show of obedience to founders' wills than for any better reason. It is so taught in the majority of cases that it literally comes to nothing. Finally, it furnishes the pretext for the neglect of all other useful learning, and is the indirect means of keeping down the general level of education in every small town which is so unfortunate as to possess an endowment."¹

Small and old grammar-schools were handicapped by the conditions of their buildings. Some had no playgrounds and were without proper apparatus. "Maps and diagrams are rare, and blackboards rarer still. In all proper equipment and teaching apparatus the average grammar school is so deficient that an inspector under the Privy Council would generally withhold the grant on the ground that the room was insufficiently furnished. . . . Any money spent on improving the school fittings is necessarily deducted from the master's stipend, and therefore he has the strongest inducement to acquiesce in a state of things which otherwise he would think very unsatisfactory. Bare and dirty walls, shaky and inconvenient furniture, and outer offices which are not even decent, are rather the rule than the exception."²

The teaching of the subjects outside the classics was generally bad. Very little attention was given to oral reading which "is almost always slovenly, indistinct and tasteless." Arithmetic was taught in a formal and unintelligent manner. In most schools, very little attention was given to the study of English. Only rarely did physical science form any part of the curriculum. "It is excluded from the course of instruction in schools, because it was excluded from the education of the masters, who naturally think that alone to be worth knowing which they themselves know."³ There are a few exceptions. "Leeds is the only grammar school in which I have found a resolute and systematic attempt to teach science. Here there is an excellent laboratory and a class is well drilled in chemical manipulation and analysis."⁴ Even here, chemistry was taught rather because of its value to those boys entering the woollen industry than as a branch of liberal education.

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 176.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

No adequate system of examinations existed to test the work of the schools. It is true that the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations and those of the College of Preceptors existed, but they tested a few selected individuals rather than the school as a whole.

Fitch found only one endowed school which had retained its grammar-school status and which admitted girls. This was at Rishworth, but although there were fifty-five boys and fifteen girls at the school, the boys remained until fifteen years of age and were prepared for the universities, but the girls were required to give up their schooling at fourteen. "It does not offer even to one of these girls, though some of them are children of professional men, and all of persons in a respectable position, the opportunity of qualifying herself as a governess or of proceeding to a place of higher education."¹

The Commissioners found but twelve other schools in England where girls were admitted. It was only when a grammar-school sank to the status of a primary school that it catered for girls. Thirty-five of the West Riding schools were merely primary schools, and poor ones at that. "In regard to school appliances, as well as in organisation, method, and intelligence, the smaller endowed schools are generally inferior to National Schools. Nevertheless, their existence hinders the establishment of such National Schools, and thus deprives many towns and villages altogether of proper elementary teaching; of the advantages of inspection, and of the sympathy and experience of persons who would otherwise subscribe and feel an interest in the progress of the scholars."²

Fitch concluded that only three schools were in the first class: Doncaster, Leeds, and St. Peter's, York. Three others might be developed to become such: Ripon, Sheffield, and Giggleswick or Sedbergh. He did not think there was room for both the latter schools. "Giggleswick is the richer; it is more central; and it is in a far more hopeful condition, whether we consider the state of its buildings, its staff of teachers, or the zeal and intelligence of its governing body. It is not too much to hope that it may one day become for the North of England what Rugby is to the Midland districts. As to Sedbergh, I despair of putting it into any class at all. In its present state it simply cumbers the ground."³ Fitch was right about Giggleswick, but he had gravely misjudged Sedbergh,

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

as those who know the splendid work done at the latter school can testify.

Twenty-six other schools, he considered, might be developed into good schools of the second class. Among these were the schools at Bradford, Rotherham, Sheffield, and Wakefield, and Archbishop Holgate's at York. The remainder he thought were unfit to be secondary schools. "Their only hope of usefulness lies in the acceptance of their position as primary schools, and in arrangements which will enable them to do that work well."¹

A considerable number of exhibitions to the universities existed, but the Commissioners found that the value of these scholarships was restricted by obsolete conditions. Often the exhibition was confined to candidates from a particular district, and in many cases for a number of years none from the district had been forthcoming. This was a waste of a valuable endowment which could not be applied to any other locality on account of the founder's will. Some machinery was needed through which such exhibitions could be open to candidates from other schools, or even to the whole country.

"A rare instance of elasticity is afforded by the foundation of Lady Elizabeth Hastings in 1739, who left valuable estates for exhibitions, now ten in number, to Queen's College, Oxford, for scholars from 12 schools, viz., eight in Yorkshire,—Leeds, Wakefield, Bradford, Beverley, Skipton, Sedbergh, Ripon, and Sherburn; two in Westmoreland,—Appleby and Heversham; and two in Cumberland,—St. Bees and Penrith, and the foundress wisely provided that if any of these decayed, others might be substituted in their place. Though the foundation is only 130 years old, the need for such a provision has already been shown. Accordingly Beverley, Ripon, Sherburn, and Skipton have been replaced by Hipperholme, Giggleswick, Pontefract and York."²

The method of choosing the exhibitors was curious.—Certain rectors and vicars were constituted as examiners and were to meet at the best inn in Aberford, Yorks, before 8 a.m. on the Thursday in Whitsun week. The candidates assembled at the same inn the night before, so as to be ready to sit the examination on the following day. The examiners chose the ten best papers and sent them to Queen's College, where the eight best of the ten were selected. These eight names were written on slips of paper, put into an urn by the

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 216.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 175-6.

Provost, and well shaken up. The first five to be drawn were awarded the exhibitions. Lady Hastings apologised for the method of selection, saying: "And though this Method of choosing by Lot may be called by some Superstition or Enthusiasm yet as the advice was given me by an Orthodox and Pious Prelate of the Church of England as leaving something to Providence . . . I will this Method of Ballotting be for ever observed!" Alas for Lady Hastings' wish! A modern age is averse to "leaving something to Providence" and therefore, in 1859, a new system of examination was introduced. The Hastings' Exhibitions (value £115 per annum and tenable for four or five years), are now awarded on the results of open competition between candidates from certain selected schools.

The findings of Fitch in the West Riding were comparable to those of the other assistant-commissioners in various parts of the country. "Thame had two masters receiving 300*l.* between them, one of whom had a good house also. Mr. Fearon found one boy in the school. . . . At Whitney the head master contented himself with teaching Greek to one boy. Reading had three scholars, and there was no hope of the school reviving under the then master. . . . At Whitgift's Hospital, Croydon, the late master (who died last year), Mr. Fearon was informed, found no pupils attending the school when he came, and never had any at all during the 30-odd years that he was master."¹ The value of the Whitgift endowment was £500 per annum.

Bryce made an unexpected find at Bispham. The school was an old house with thatched roof through which the rain penetrated, dropping upon the desks and leaving a pool upon the floor. The room measured 30½ feet by 14½ feet, and was 7½ feet high, and the number of pupils on roll was seventy. When he visited the school, only twenty boys and twelve girls were present, but the air was so foul that he was obliged to keep the door open whilst he examined the children. No Latin was taught, and the reading and spelling were good, but the arithmetic was taught in an old-fashioned way. "But the characteristic feature of the school was one which I had least expected to find in such a place. The small and wretched room was filled in every available corner by stuffed beasts and birds; geological diagrams hung upon the walls: shelves were loaded and drawers filled with collections of fossils and minerals.

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, pp. 225-6.

In answer to my look of surprise, the master explained that he was an ardent naturalist; he had collected all these things himself, and used them in his teaching, giving a lesson to the whole school four afternoons in every week.”¹

Bryce remarked that such a master would not be found in a government school. If he had been found there, he would certainly have taught the three R's better and would have had a more suitable schoolroom. “But his time would have been too completely absorbed in bringing the children up to the “Standards” of the Revised Code, to let him stray into the regions of natural history, which he taught so excellently well, and to the so great profit of the neighbourhood.”

Among the private and proprietary schools—more than 10,000 in number scattered throughout England—the Commissioners found a few that were really excellent, but the general condition of the private schools was most unsatisfactory. They reported that “the account given of the worst of the endowed schools must be repeated in even more emphatic language to describe most of the private schools.”²

The proprietary schools were of recent origin and included many first-class schools giving special attention to mathematics and modern languages, others were second-class boarding-schools for the sons of farmers; some had developed from Mechanics' Institutes, like the Leeds Boys' Modern School, founded in 1845; others were schools erected by religious denominations, such as Woodhouse Grove, near Bradford, founded by the Wesleyans, the Congregational School of Silcoates near Wakefield, the Friends' Schools of Ackworth and Bootham, York, and the Jews' College at Finsbury. A few schools were founded in the interests of certain professions—such as Epsom, opened for the sons of medical men. Some of the schools had been a failure and others had become endowed, like Marlborough College, the Woodard Schools, and Bradfield College. “The educational character of proprietary schools stands very high. Some of them rank with the most famous of the Grammar Schools as places of preparation for the Universities; and the military and civil department of Cheltenham College is equally distinguished in the competition for admissions to Woolwich.”³

Mr. Bryce spoke highly of the Roman Catholic college at Stonyhurst, “Its teaching is avowedly directed to bring every boy

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 692. ² *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 285.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

up to a certain level rather than to raise a few to a very high pitch of excellence.”¹

Although Fitch condemned most of the Yorkshire private schools, he admitted, “I have wholly failed to discover any example of the typical Yorkshire boarding-school with which Dickens’ *Nicholas Nickleby* has made us familiar. I have seen schools in which board and education were furnished for 20*l.*, and even 18*l.* per annum, but have been unable to find evidence of bad feeding or physical neglect.”²

The Commission paid great attention to the reports of the assistant-commissioners who were sent to other countries. Fraser reported that the New England high schools could not compare with our best schools, but the Americans are well supplied with secondary schools of a lower grade. “Whatever be the defects of the system, it has the one great merit of being alive. The teachers have the gift of turning what they know to the best account; they are very self-possessed, energetic, fearless; they are admirable disciplinarians, firm without severity, patient without weakness, their manner of teaching is lively and fertile in illustration; classes are not likely to fall asleep in their hands. . . . They fall short of Prussia in completeness and culture. But they seem to have succeeded in supplying every citizen with as much education as is indispensable for the ordinary duties of life, and in opening to him the door for more if he desire it.”³

Matthew Arnold’s description of Prussian secondary education produced the greatest impression. The Commissioners reported: “When we view it as a whole, the Prussian system appears to be at once the most complete and the most perfectly adapted to its people of all that now exist. It is not wanting in the highest cultivation like the American, nor in dealing with the mass of middle classes like our own, nor does it run any risk of sacrificing everything else to intellectual proficiency like the French. It is somewhat more bureaucratic in its form than would work well in England, but it is emphatically not a mere centralised system, in which the government is everything. . . . In Prussia the education department is simply the instrument which the people use to procure the fulfilment of their own desires. The Prussians believe in culture, and who may have originally created the educational machinery, that machinery has now been appropriated by the people

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, p. 321. ² *Op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 262.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 53.

themselves. . . . The result is an unrivalled body of teachers, schools meeting every possible need of every class, and a highly cultivated people.”¹

The Commission then outlined the organisation of the Prussian system of secondary education. The highest grade of school was the *Gymnasium*, which was more like our best classical schools than any other schools in Europe, or indeed in the world. Below these were the *Realschulen*, which existed in three grades. The first grade provided a nine-year course, without Greek, but with compulsory Latin. Special attention was given to French, mathematics, and natural science, and English was compulsory for boys entering business. In addition, the mother tongue, divinity, history, and drawing were taught, and in the school-leaving examination a boy had to pass in every subject. The second-grade *Realschulen* provided a seven-year course so that a boy could leave school at sixteen. Latin was not obligatory. The third-grade *Realschulen*, or *Burgerschulen*, had a shorter and less complete course.

The recommendations of the Commission followed very sound lines. They were willing to learn from other countries, but they felt that the system of secondary education adopted in England must have its roots in English institutions of the past and be suited to the English temper and character. “It would probably be both useless and impracticable to attempt simply to transplant into England systems that have flourished elsewhere. We have not the universal energy and restlessness of the Americans, nor the long training of the Scotch, nor the singular aptitude for organisation of the French, nor the strong belief in the value of culture which makes education so universal an object of desire in Prussia. But there is no reason why, if we cannot do precisely what our neighbours have done, we should not do something of a corresponding character. The wants of England are not exactly the same with those of America, France, or Prussia; nor even, where the wants are identical, will the proper means of supplying those wants always coincide. But without quitting the course usually observed in dealing with English institutions, we have no doubt that the right result in the matter of education may be defined now and reached hereafter.”²

The Commission believed that a national system of secondary education could alone be adequate and that the nucleus of this already existed in the shape of the present endowed schools, because

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

of their long tradition and their public position. Hence, the first step should be to make the best possible use of the schools. They enunciated as a general principle that three grades of secondary school were necessary. This was based on the length of time that parents were willing to allow their children to attend school. From this point of view, schools could be classified according to whether the leaving-age was eighteen or nineteen, sixteen or fourteen. These distinctions would correspond roughly to the social divisions in the nation. The majority of boys who needed a third-grade course should have a day-school adapted to their needs in the immediate neighbourhood. Those who needed a higher type of education would attend a high school in their district with a boarding attachment. In this system it would be necessary to establish preparatory schools for the higher-grade secondary schools, but there was no need for this provision for the third-grade schools.

Special attention was directed to the curriculum of each grade, and vocational education was severely condemned. This did not imply the exclusion of practical subjects which, though useful in a vocational sense, could be made instruments for the general education of the intellect. The three main subjects in a liberal education were language, mathematics, and science; and the primacy was given to language. "Nor is equal clearness of thought to be obtained in any other way. Clearness of thought is bound up with clearness of language, and the one is impossible without the other. When the study of language can be followed by that of literature, not only breadth and clearness, but refinement becomes attainable. The study of history in the full sense belongs to a somewhat later age; for till the learner is old enough to have some appreciation of politics, he is not capable of grasping the meaning of what he studies."¹

The Commissioners thought that Greek should be taught only in first-grade schools. French or German, or both, should be taught, and English literature and history should receive careful attention, but would hold a subordinate position in the time-table. Science could be a valuable discipline if pupils began with those sciences which depended largely on observation, *e.g.* botany, and then progressed through physical geography to elementary physics and chemistry.

The Commissioners were seriously disturbed about the meagre facilities provided for the higher education of girls, and they

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, p. 546.

protested against the "long established and inveterate prejudice that girls are less capable of mental cultivation, and in less need of it than boys; that accomplishments, and what is showy and superficially attractive, are what is really essential for them; and in particular, that as regards their relations to the other sex and the probabilities of marriage, more solid attainments are actually disadvantageous rather than the reverse."¹ In forming their opinions about the education of girls, the Commissioners were greatly impressed by the evidence of Miss Buss and Miss Beale, of whom we shall hear more later.

Mr. Fearon summed up the situation by saying that "the appropriation of almost all the educational endowments of the country to the education of boys is felt by a large and increasing number, both of men and women, to be a cruel injustice."² It was recommended that in the reorganisation of endowments, a fair share should be employed for the education of girls.

The recommendations of the Commission were very drastic. In the first place, the constitutions of the endowed schools would have to be thoroughly revised. In this revision, a school would not be treated as an isolated unit, but would be considered in its relations to other schools in its area. New endowed schools should be created in areas where they were needed, and all the schools should be placed under permanent supervision. To carry out these proposals new administrative machinery would be necessary. A central authority was the first requisite and this could best be supplied by an enlarged and reconstituted Charity Commission presided over by a Minister of Education. The Charity Commission should have power to make schemes for the reorganisation of endowed schools and submit them for approval to Parliament. It should appoint inspectors, audit the school accounts, and convert all charities which are "mischievous, or intended for purposes now obsolete" to educational purposes. As the machinery for local administration did not exist, it would have to be created. The country would be divided into provinces corresponding to the divisions of the Registrar-General, and the Charity Commission would appoint an Official District Commissioner for each area. He would be one of the trustees for every educational trust and would personally inspect every secondary school at least once in every three years. Associated with him would be six or eight unpaid District Commissioners appointed by the Crown from the

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, p. 546.

² *Ibid.*, p. 567.

local residents. The District Commissioners would prepare schemes for all the schools in their districts and submit them to the Charity Commission. Towns with over 100,000 inhabitants could form their own boards if they so wished

The governing bodies of schools were to be reorganised. Besides the Official Commissioner, they should include representatives of parents, ratepayers, or various public bodies, and members co-opted from the original governors. The governors should be responsible for the school property, appoint or dismiss the headmaster, fix the salaries of the assistants, and have a certain amount of control over fees and the curriculum. The headmaster should have power to appoint and dismiss the assistant masters

The creation of an examining council was recommended. It should consist of twelve members, two elected by each of the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and six appointed by the Crown. The examining council would not only conduct examinations in the schools, but should draw up rules and appoint examiners to examine and issue certificates to candidates for the teaching profession. "Lastly, the council would do a very great service to education by making an annual report, giving as complete a picture as possible of what was being done, and of what is still needed to be done."¹

The Commission decided that the idea of a free grammar-school was obsolete and recommended a scale of fees according to the grade of the school, with a large number of scholarships awarded by competitive examination.

The Commissioners asserted that "the reorganisation of endowments is the beginning, but only the beginning, of a systematic provision of education above the elementary. When that beginning has been made, the largest part of the work will still have to be done."² They had in mind the organisation of a national system of secondary education so that schools of different grades would be within reach of all classes of society. It seemed as though at last England was to possess a thoroughly well-organised system of secondary education, but it was not to be so. The time was not yet ripe and the opportunity created by the Schools Inquiry Commission was neglected. One reason, according to Matthew Arnold, was the prevalence of class interests. Probably a more potent influence was the almost universal mistrust of Government intervention, a legacy from the earlier part of the century. Another cause

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, p. 651.

² *Ibid*, p. 652.

was one of administration; local authorities for the provision and administration of schools did not exist. It should be remembered that the School Boards did not come into existence until 1870, and the county councils were not created until the Act of 1888. The Commissioners were distinctly ahead of their time. The majority of educated people, including the schoolmasters, had no very clear ideas about the aims and purposes of secondary education, but were, rather, bound by the tradition of the past. It needed nearly half a century before the goodwill of the people, for which the Commissioners pleaded, was to be obtained.

The immediate result of the Commission was the passage of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, which put into operation some of the administrative proposals of the report. Mr. Forster introduced in the Commons a Bill embodying the recommendations about examinations and the setting up of a body for the registration of qualified teachers. It won general approval, but the rush of legislation compelled the Government to drop it.

The Government postponed the proposal to create local authorities for administration and occupied itself entirely with the reorganisation of the central authority. This took the form of an Endowed Schools Commission created for three years only. In 1873 its life was prolonged for another year, and in 1874 its powers were merged with those of the Charity Commissioners.

This was partly due to the inconvenience of having two distinct bodies to deal with charitable trusts. The newly organised Charity Commission was not only concerned with secondary schools, but, after the Elementary Education Act of 1870, was busy with drawing up schemes for endowed elementary schools. This aroused considerable resentment and, by the Act of 1873, all elementary schools with an endowment of less than £100 per year were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Education Department. The seven public schools which were the subject of the Clarendon Commission's investigation were exempted from the control of the Charity Commission; also choristers' schools connected with cathedrals and those concerned with the professional training of ministers of religion. Schools founded after 1819 could be dealt with only by consent of their governors. With these exceptions, the Commission had power to prepare schemes for endowed schools. The usual procedure was to act on the invitation of the governors. If action were urgent, they could prepare their own scheme, but in such a case the governors, the corporation, or twenty ratepayers,

had the right to petition Parliament against the action of the Commission.

The work of the Commission went on slowly. By 1884 only half the work was accomplished; 595 schemes had become law, but 660 schools were still unaffected. Even as late as 1895, the Leeds Grammar School was not working under a revised scheme drawn up by the Commission, and Huddersfield possessed no secondary schools at all.

One important part of the work of the Commission was to apply many endowments which had not specifically been designed by the founders for boys' schools, to establish girls' schools. "The Bradford Grammar School, for instance, in 1868 contained fifty-eight boys who were receiving a poor classical education in an atmosphere of 'general languor and feebleness.' 'I could see among the boys no evidence of interest in their work, or of desire to do it well.' Without adding any endowment, the new scheme was a means of transforming this institution into two schools of 530 boys and 300 girls, receiving the best education of the day. In the ten years previous to 1871 it sent only five boys to the universities and gained only one scholarship. 'In the ten years previous to 1893 it sent 108 boys, took 73 scholarships, 44 first classes, 4 fellowships, and 10 university scholarships and prizes. And a vast proportion of those honours were taken by boys who had been in public elementary schools.' " ¹

The Leeds Girls' High School is another example. The school was founded in 1876 through the efforts of the Yorkshire Ladies Council of Education and the Leeds Ladies' Educational Association. The Leeds Girls' High School Company, Ltd., was formed with a nominal capital of £10,000. The aim of the company was "to establish and maintain a High Class Day School for the Girls of Leeds, which shall be to them what the Grammar School is to their brothers." In 1898 the Charity Commission turned its attention to the endowment of the Grammar School and decided that the term "young children, youths, and scholars" used by the founder included girls as well as boys. Hence, the Commission agreed to part of the Grammar School endowments being used for the education of girls. £12,000, and the interest upon it, was set aside to purchase the site on which the present school stands.

¹ Helen Wodehouse. *A Survey of the History of Education*, p. 198, Edward Arnold, 1929. Also see, W. Claridge, *Origin and History of Bradford Grammar School*, Chaps. ix and x, J. Green, 1882.

One feature of 19th-century development in secondary education was the increasing attention given to the provision of high schools for girls. Very few schools existed in the 18th century for the education of girls. Well-to-do parents either employed governesses to train their daughters or sent them to private schools where the main instruction was in languages, deportment, and accomplishments. The movement to provide good secondary schools for girls was really part of the much wider movement for the emancipation of women, and it began with the attempt to secure suitable training for governesses. About 1841 the Governesses' Benevolent Association was formed with the object of assisting private governesses who were in temporary difficulties. At first the Association did not make much headway until the Rev. David Laing accepted the post of honorary secretary. He at once set to work to reorganise the Association and added an employment agency and a teachers' registry. It was soon seen that many of the applicants were unfit for their work and it was proposed to award a diploma on the result of an examination. Professor Denison Maurice and his colleagues at King's College, London, volunteered to teach and examine women who wished to become governesses. In 1848 Queen's College, Harley Street, was opened for women, and Professor Maurice became its first principal. Miss Buss and Miss Beale were among the early students of the college.

As Queen's College gave instruction according to Anglican principles, it was felt that a similar institution was needed for Non-conformists. In 1849 Mrs. John Reid founded the undenominational college in Bedford Square, which in 1860 became the Bedford College for Women, of which George Eliot was one of the students. Queen's College received its charter in 1853 and Bedford College in 1869. Miss Buss and Miss Beale were the pioneers of secondary education for girls in the 19th century. The former became headmistress of the North London Collegiate School in 1850, and the latter principal of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, in 1858. The North London Collegiate School was mainly a day-school and became the pattern on which the schools of the Girls' Public Day Schools Company modelled their schools. This company started in 1872 and opened its first school at Chelsea in 1873. By the end of the century, thirty-three schools had been built and provided high-school education for more than 7,100 girls.

Although the curriculum of the new girls' schools was to a great extent modelled on that of the boys' schools, the pioneers of the

movement for secondary education for girls took advantage of the recommendation that modern subjects should be included. Thus, at the Cheltenham Ladies' College, Miss Beale included history in the curriculum and, although Latin was still retained, she emphasised the study of German on the ground that it was a good substitute for the classics because it had a complicated grammar. In the North London Collegiate School, Miss Buss introduced French, history, and natural science. It should be noted that the leaders of the movement claimed that girls were equal in intellectual ability to boys and insisted that they should sit for the same examinations on the same terms as boys.

Another pioneer was Miss Emily Davies, who had been a member of the committee of Bedford College. She presented to the Taunton Commission a petition signed by twelve prominent women teachers urging that the foundation for women of a college connected with one of the ancient universities was the greatest educational need of the time. The petition was supported by prominent educationists, scientists, and important figures in the worlds of literature, art, and politics. As a result, Miss Davies secured a house at Hitchin in 1869, and started off with six students. In 1873 the college removed to Girton, just outside Cambridge, and in 1880 Newnham College was established. Newnham will always be associated with the name of its first principal, Miss A. J. Clough (1820-92). Miss Clough had previously taught in schools at Liverpool and Ambleside. She was well known in the north of England where she was instrumental in organising classes for women, under the charge of university lecturers. In order to develop this work, the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women was formed and held its first meeting in Leeds in 1867. During the seven years of its existence, Miss Clough was its secretary, and it was at the invitation of the Council that Mr. James Stuart lectured in the north and as a result the University Extension movement (described in Chap. xiii) was launched.

When Henry Sidgwick, the Cambridge philosopher, opened a house for women students at Cambridge, it occurred to him that Miss Clough, whose work in the north of England had become widely known, would be the most suitable person to take charge of it. She accepted the post in 1871 and threw herself whole-heartedly into the work. After the experience of occupying two temporary residences, Miss Clough planned the establishment of a permanent hall. Accordingly a company was formed, and in 1875 the new

building was opened at Newnham. Within a few years it proved too small for the increasing number of students, and additional buildings became necessary. In 1880 the foundation was recognised as Newnham College. At first the policy adopted at Newnham was different from that followed at Girton. Miss Davies aimed at securing the admission of her students to the university examinations on the same terms as the men. Miss Clough, on the other hand, was content to arrange special women's courses. Eventually the policy of Girton prevailed and both colleges claimed admission to university examinations for their students.

Meanwhile, a similar movement was taking place at Oxford. In 1879 Somerville Hall and Lady Margaret Hall were both started, each with nine students. Miss Wordsworth, principal of Lady Margaret Hall, opened St. Hugh's Hall in 1886 for twenty-five students who were not able to afford the high fees of Lady Margaret Hall.

Miss Beale, Miss Buss, and Miss Davies were called as expert witnesses to give the Schools Inquiry Commission information about secondary education for girls. Another result of their work was the formation of educational associations of women in different parts of the country, such as the Yorkshire Ladies' Council of Education at Leeds, the Ladies' Educational Society at Liverpool, and the National Union for Improving the Education of Women in London. The work with private governesses was carried on by Miss Charlotte Mason in 1887 by the formation of the Parents' National Education Union, which later opened schools of its own. In 1892 she opened her "House of Education" at Ambleside, to be a training-centre for governesses and to provide courses for mothers in the theory and practice of education. Miss Mason was a prolific writer, and in her books expounds a complete system of instruction for children between the ages of six and twelve.

Yet another consequence was the admission of girls to university examinations. They were allowed to sit for the Cambridge Local examinations in 1865. In 1862 Miss Garrett applied to sit for the London Matriculation. The Senate refused her request, and it was not until 1869 that girls were admitted to the examinations of the University of London. Oxford opened its examinations to girls in 1870. The year 1880 saw women admitted as degree students in the University of London and the newly formed Victoria University of Manchester; in the latter university, for some years, women students could be admitted only after adequate provision had been made for male applicants.

So far, degrees were not open to women at the older universities, but in 1887 Miss Agnaton Ramsay of Girton was the only student at Cambridge to attain the first division of the first class in the classical tripos. This was followed by a memorial addressed to the Senate asking for the degree to be granted to women. The Senate refused, and later, when Miss Fawcett of Newnham was placed before the Senior Wrangler in 1890, it again rejected the proposal to admit women to full membership of the university. Oxford rejected a similar memorial in 1896 by 215 votes to 140. Women were admitted to full membership at Oxford in 1920 and to full membership of the University of Cambridge from the Michaelmas Term 1948. They had been admitted, at Cambridge, to the titles of degrees in 1921.

An extremely important influence upon secondary education in the later years of the century was the impact of the elementary system upon the secondary schools. In the words of the Spens Report, there was a tendency for elementary education to throw up experiments in post-primary education. In the early part of the century, the rapid development of elementary education, first under the National and the British and Foreign School Societies, resulted in experiments in providing instruction of a higher type than elementary. Sometimes this instruction was of a practical character, and at others it approximated to that envisaged by the Taunton Commission for the third-grade schools. Although the issue of the Revised Code of 1862 tended to check the movement in schools which received the Government grant, many voluntary schools organised a "higher top" to the elementary school or arranged for older boys to be sent to a central village school. The recommendations of the Taunton Commission in regard to the third-grade schools prepared the way for an extension of this tendency.

The first decade after the passage of the 1870 Act was chiefly concerned with the provision of elementary education in those districts where it was deficient, but the voluntary schools were still free to experiment, and two interesting examples of schools providing a higher top were to be found at Lancaster and Oswestry. The attempts made by the Education Department, between 1870 and 1880, to expand the elementary curriculum and to secure regular attendance, resulted in an increase in the number of children who remained at school after the age of thirteen. In 1882 a seventh standard was authorised to meet the needs of these children and later ex-standard classes had to be formed. For ease in administration, it

became convenient to group these pupils together in one central school, which eventually became the Higher Grade School. Many of these schools organised a science course in order to earn grants from the Science and Art Department. In some districts, older pupils remained in the elementary school and attended a special science class within the school in order to obtain grants.

Certain School Boards in London and the larger towns displayed great interest in developing higher-grade schools. Sheffield opened a Higher Central School in 1878 and similar schools developed in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Bradford. Because of the grants from the Science and Art Department, all these schools developed with a definite science bias. Leeds presents a very good example of the movement described above. Some years before the Act of 1870, the headmaster of the Leeds Parish Church School began to develop his school as a higher-grade school. Science was introduced in order to earn the grants of the Science and Art Department, and this led to the erection of a separate school in 1870, known as the Church Middle-Class School. It was recognised as an Organised Science School by the Science and Art Department in 1895, and, after the 1902 Act, the Board of Education recognised it as a Secondary School. Owing to financial difficulties it was taken over by the Leeds Education Committee in 1907. The school was inspected by Mr. A. P. Laurie, assistant-commissioner of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895. He reported: "If this school is to regain its position in Leeds, the headmaster will have to reform the teaching both in science and in art, and in manual instruction, and the committee of the school will have to spend a considerable sum of money in proper equipments."¹ From this school, Mr. Laurie went to the Leeds Higher Grade School, of which he says, "This school is the most interesting in Leeds in many ways, representing as it does the entering of a new power into the existing system of Secondary Education."² This school was opened in temporary buildings in 1885 and transferred to a new building some four years later. Mr. Laurie spoke very highly of the work of Dr. Forsyth and his staff, but he made a criticism which was applicable to most schools of this type.

He wrote: "The school, however, is suffering from two grave defects, both of which are an inheritance from bad traditions, and are likely soon to disappear. In the first place, the school having

¹ *Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, 1895, Vol. VII, p. 158.

² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

been organised by the school board, has necessarily suffered from the traditions of elementary schools as to the size of classes, and we consequently find that the classes are much too large, sometimes numbering as many as 60 children. . . . The other serious defect is due to the fact that the school is depending for its income very largely on the grants it earns from the Science and Art Department. The result of this is, in the first place to give an undue bias to science as opposed to other subjects on which grants can be earned; in the second place, to require the children to store up an undue amount of information upon scientific subjects which they are too young to digest and which are necessary if grants are to be earned.'

Later he said: "It is impossible to convey in a report the impression which this school makes upon one of efficiency, energy, and vitality, and I think no one who has spent some time inside it can fail to realise that we are here in the presence of a new educational force which has already developed to a vigorous and lusty youth and that it is impossible to say what may be the limit of its growth, or how soon, to quote Dr. Forsyth himself, 'the organisation which was originally devised for the elementary education of the country, passing with great strides across the realms of Secondary Education, may soon be battering at the doors of the ancient universities themselves'. . . this higher grade school represents a new educational movement from below, and a demand from new classes of the population for Secondary Education which has sprung up in a few years."¹

Another factor was the influence of the reports of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1882-4. The result was that parents were encouraged to send their children to the higher-grade schools if they were able to keep them at school until fourteen or fifteen years of age. The Cross Commission of 1888 produced conflicting opinions about the higher-grade schools. Some witnesses, while stressing the importance of establishing an efficient system of secondary education, thought this would be better achieved by developing the endowed schools rather than by increasing the number of higher-grade schools. It was also argued that by withdrawing the "cream" of the pupils from the elementary schools, harm would be done both to the teachers and to the scholars of the latter. In reply it was stressed that practical convenience demanded the grouping of the older children in special schools in order to use the supply of available teachers economically. These differences

¹ *Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, 1895, Vol. VII, pp. 161-2.

of opinion were expressed through a majority and a minority report. The latter strongly encouraged the building of higher-grade schools "which would prepare scholars for advanced technical and commercial instruction." The majority, however, considered that the growing extension of elementary education into the secondary sphere would mean that "a portion of the cost of the education of wealthier persons would be defrayed out of the rates."

Bradford was also one of the pioneers in the provision of higher-elementary education. At the time of the Bryce Commission of 1895 the city possessed five higher-grade schools which, after the passage of the 1902 Act, became secondary schools of the town. The Leeds Higher Grade School also became a municipal secondary school under the name of the City of Leeds School. It was closed temporarily during the Second World War and afterwards reopened as the Central High School which provides for grammar-school, technical, and commercial streams. It is still in an experimental stage and may be altered considerably in the near future.

We must leave for a time the account of the progress of higher-elementary education to consider a further important influence upon secondary education in England. To do this it will be necessary to glance at educational progress in Wales.

The growth of Welsh secondary education in the Middle Ages was in many respects similar to that of England. Until the 15th century all Welsh schools were attached to the Church, but with the foundation of Oswestry Grammar School about 1407, the Welsh Independent Grammar Schools came into existence. In the following century a number of similar schools were founded or refounded by the Tudors, in pursuance of their policy of assimilating Welsh life, customs, law, language, and education, to those of England. Just as in England, song-schools and schools of an elementary character existed. The latter were often preparatory schools for the grammar-schools, but, again, as in England at the same period, some grammar-schools included an elementary department. Thus, in the statutes of Oswestry, 1577, the master is directed to provide "an able and efficient usher in the sayd schoole for the teaching of the younger sort to read the A.B.C., the English prymer and the gramer comonly called the King's gramer." During the 17th and 18th centuries a similar deterioration to that in the English schools occurred in the Welsh grammar-schools. The middle years of the 19th century saw an awakening of interest in secondary education. It began with the foundation in 1848, by

Sir Thomas Phillips, of the Collegiate School at Llandovery, which was followed in 1853 by the opening of the girls' schools at Llandaff and Denbigh. Between 1850 and 1869, the year of the Endowed Schools Act, the Court of Chancery and the Charity Commission revived a number of old endowed schools. The Taunton Commissioners investigated the state of secondary education in Wales and reported that twenty-four classical and semi-classical endowed schools existed and provided for the education of 961 boys. As a result of the work carried out by the Endowed Schools Act, the number of schools in 1880 had risen to twenty-seven, with 1,540 boys. Also three girls' schools had come into existence. While this slow progress was being achieved, the Reform Act of 1868 produced a great wave of political enthusiasm which advocated Home Rule for Wales, or, at least, special consideration for Welsh affairs. The result of the General Election of 1880 persuaded the Government that something would have to be done, and as a consequence they decided to appoint a Departmental Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Aberdare.

The terms of reference of the inquiry were "to inquire into the present condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, and to recommend the measures which they may think advisable for improving and supplementing the provision that is now, or might be made available for such education in the Principality." The inquiry revealed a lamentable state of affairs. The population of Wales and Monmouthshire in the census of 1881 was 1,570,000. The number of boys receiving some type of secondary education was:—

In endowed grammar-schools	1,540
In proprietary schools	209
In private schools	2,287
			<hr/>
Total			4,036
			<hr/>

The only three girls' schools were those at Denbigh, Llandaff, and Dolgelly. The grammar-schools were capable of accommodating 2,846 pupils, but the poorness of the attendance was due to their remoteness from the large towns, the inadequate instruction given, the apathy of the parents, and the prejudice of a population containing a very large number of Nonconformists against schools which were Church institutions. Another factor which made for the

unpopularity of the schools was that in many cases the headmaster was an Englishman with little sympathy for the Welsh language or culture. The endowments were very unequally distributed in relation to the population. Proprietary schools, which had been greatly developed in England, were rare in Wales, but private schools were fairly numerous. Seventy-three were girls' schools with a total of 1,871 pupils. The only county which had anything like sufficient endowments for its needs was Denbigh. To sum up, the proportion of educational endowments of Wales to those of England was as one to three.

The report was enthusiastically received in Wales and bore fruit immediately in the establishment of university colleges at Cardiff and Bangor. Some delay was experienced in regard to intermediate education (*i.e.* intermediate as being between elementary education and that provided by the university colleges), but at length the recommendations of the inquiry were embodied in the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889. The Act created, as the local authority in education, joint education committees for every county and county borough. Each committee consisted of five members, three nominated by the county or county borough council, and two persons "well acquainted with the conditions of Wales and the wants of the people," who were selected by the Lord President of the Privy Council. The Charity Commission was represented on the committee by an assistant-commissioner who was without the power of voting. The duty of each local authority was to submit a scheme for intermediate and technical education for its area. They were to take into account the educational endowments that could be utilised and might levy a rate not exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the £ if recommended by the county council to do so. The Treasury would make a parliamentary grant not exceeding the contribution from the rates, and this would be paid on the results of an annual inspection and report on each school.

The schemes of the local authorities were to be approved by the Charity Commissioners and the administration of the schools was left in the hands of the governing bodies, on which the county councils were represented. The Act was well received and its provisions were being carried out within six months of its acceptance by Parliament. A number of general conferences of the joint education committees took place and led to the proposal for a central examining board to co-ordinate the work of the committees and inspect and examine the schools. It was not, however, until

1896 that the Central Welsh Board for Intermediate Education was instituted. Many of the endowed grammar-schools were adopted by the education committees, but some of the larger preferred to remain outside the county organisation. The results of the reorganisation were soon apparent. By 1898 the county schemes covered ninety-six schools, of which seventy-nine were newly constructed. Of these, twenty were girls' schools and forty-eight mixed. The number of girls receiving secondary education had risen from 263 in 1880 to 3,372 in 1898.

While affairs in Wales were being reduced to order and system, educational administration in England was growing more and more chaotic and unwieldy. The Education Department was responsible for elementary education as a whole, except for certain schools of an elementary character with endowments worth more than £100. The higher-grade schools, which were secondary schools in everything except name, also came under the authority of the Education Department except in so far as they received grants from the Science and Art Department. The great public schools were independent and the endowed grammar-schools were subject to the Charity Commission except in so far as they also received grants from the Science and Art Department. The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries made grants to certain universities and to one county council for agricultural education in its area. In all this multiplicity of departments there was little co-ordination, and constant overlapping. Nor was local administration in any better state. The endowed schools possessed their separate governing bodies. There were 2,568 different School Boards and 14,238 other authorities (school-attendance committees and boards of managers). It was felt that some kind of Government action was necessary to bring order out of confusion, but the extent to which Government intervention might grow was a matter for controversy. The waste and overlapping due to too many cooks led to an attempt in 1892 to introduce legislation enabling counties to organise secondary education as they had done in Wales. The attempt failed, but owing to the resolutions passed by the Bradford Independent Labour Party in 1893 and the recommendations of a conference on secondary education in England called by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, the Government resolved to appoint a Royal Commission on Secondary Education in 1894. Its chairman was Mr. (afterwards Viscount) Bryce and its report was published in 1895. Before we examine the Bryce Commission and its recommendations it will be

necessary to turn our attention to the development of elementary education. But before leaving this period it will be of interest to consider the achievements of another outstanding headmaster, Thring of Uppingham.

Edward Thring was born at Alford in Somerset in 1821. From Ilminster Grammar School he was sent to Eton, then under the stern rule of Dr. Keate. As a foundation scholar of Eton, Thring went in due course to King's College, Cambridge, in 1841. He showed promise of exceptional ability, and after remaining at Cambridge until 1847 as a Fellow of King's, he was ordained and served as a curate at St. James's, Gloucester. His parochial experience led him to believe that a clergyman's parish work is an excellent apprenticeship to the profession of a schoolmaster. It was due to his teaching experience in the National Schools of Gloucester that Thring formed the opinion that the highest teaching skill is needed in the education of the younger children. After a breakdown from overwork, Thring took a curacy at Marlow, where he did some private tutoring. He declined the offer of an assistantship at Eton, but in 1852 he applied for the vacancy at Durham School. The headmaster of Uppingham was appointed and this led Thring to apply in turn for the vacancy at Uppingham. On being appointed in 1853, he said, "I think I have found my life work to-day." At the time of Thring's appointment, Uppingham was a small country grammar-school which had been founded by the Archdeacon of Leicester in 1584. A similar school controlled by the same governors had been founded at Oakham. Thring wanted to rebuild Uppingham and turn it into a large public school in which he could work out his own ideas of what a public school should be. He was definitely opposed to the large classes which were to be found in most public schools of the time. He considered that thirty boarders was the maximum a master and his wife could look after, and that a form should never exceed thirty. The ideal public boarding-school would not consist of more than ten or eleven houses, each containing about thirty boys. If the school were larger than this, the headmaster could not know each individual personally and would be dependent on others for his information. The idea of a multilateral school containing 2,000 pupils would have appeared to Thring as an educational monstrosity. He had definite ideas about the boarding arrangements. The long dormitory such as he had experienced at Eton was something to be avoided. He believed in each boy having his separate cubicle and study. In a large school

a variety of interests, tastes, and abilities will be found amongst the boys. Thring firmly believed that every boy could do something well, and it was therefore the business of the schoolmaster to find out what this something might be, and of the school to provide a variety of studies and occupations. He was also convinced of the importance of games and physical education, and in 1859 he opened the first school gymnasium in England. Shops for woodwork and metalwork were built and the school was provided with a swimming-bath and opportunities given for school gardens. Like Arnold, he attached great importance to the school chapel. From the moment of his appointment, Thring was working for the realisation of his ideal, but he had to face enormous difficulties. He was not a wealthy man and he put every penny he could spare into the rebuilding of the school. In 1857 the debt on the school had grown to £2,680, but still he persevered with his schemes. He had to meet with opposition from his governors, who did not want Uppingham superior to Oakham.

When the governors refused to support him in building the school chapel, Thring set to work and raised the necessary funds through subscriptions, and the chapel was finished in 1865 at a cost of £10,000. The governors also refused to co-operate with him in the rebuilding of the schoolroom, but he obtained support from his staff, who believed in him to such an extent that they were willing to invest their savings in the venture. Even as late as 1858, only one of the governors had troubled to visit the school to see how the work was progressing. The result of this reconstruction daunted Thring in striving after his ideal. Then came a cruel blow. The Endowed Schools Act was passed in 1869 and the Commissioners claimed that Uppingham came under their jurisdiction. Thring fought this claim, for he believed that Government intervention in the affairs of the public schools would curtail their freedom and independence and prevent them from developing along their own individual lines. This led Thring to form the idea of presenting a united front to the threat aimed at the independence of the schools. Accordingly he suggested that a meeting of the headmasters of the most important endowed schools be held to consider what steps should be taken to meet the situation. The result was the constitution of the Headmasters' Conference in 1869. The first members of the Conference were Uppingham, Repton, Sherborne, Tonbridge, Liverpool College, Bury St. Edmunds,

Richmond (Yorks), Bromsgrove, Oakham, the King's School (Canterbury), Felsted, Lancing, and Norwich. The older public schools soon joined in and, as further schools asked to be admitted, certain conditions of eligibility for membership were drawn up. The member schools had to be satisfactory from an educational standpoint, must send an adequate number of boys to the universities, and have a headmaster and governing body who were independent. At first the members were limited to 150 schools, but in 1937 the limit was increased to 200 and the rules for admission modified. Direct-grant schools were admitted, and even maintained schools, if "the Committee is satisfied on the general question of the freedom of the School and the Headmaster." When the Fleming Committee inquired into the public schools in 1944, it accepted as a working definition of a public school a school represented on the Headmasters' Conference or on the Governing Bodies' Association. When the Government proposed a central examination council, the Conference in 1873 urged the universities of Oxford and Cambridge to form a joint board to inspect and examine schools and grant certificates.

Thring went through a very anxious time in 1875 when enteric fever broke out in the school. It seemed as though the school would be broken up, but he saved the situation by evacuating it to a site near Aberystwyth. The school returned to Uppingham in 1878, where Thring remained as headmaster until his rather sudden death in 1887.

Thring did much to broaden the curriculum of the school, as we have seen. He was not a musician himself, but he had a great belief in the refining and stimulating power of music, and with the assistance of one of the masters he built up a strong musical tradition at Uppingham. The mornings at Uppingham were given up to the compulsory subjects of the curriculum—classics, mathematics, and English—but in the afternoons the boys were granted a good many options and were encouraged to enter the workshops, referred to previously. Thring was also interested in the art and technique of the teacher, and to help new-comers to the profession he wrote his *Theory and Practice of Teaching* in 1883; a book that for many years after was studied by intending teachers.

CHAPTER VI

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE AGE OF PHILANTHROPY

It is a great mistake to think that, before the work of the great philanthropic societies of the 18th century, England was unprovided with schools giving elementary instruction. On the other hand, one must not hasten to the opposite extreme and assume that the provision of primary education was in any degree adequate to the increasing population of the country. That many primary schools existed is certain, but we have no means at present of ascertaining their number.

Adamson writes, "The practice, by a few private persons in different parts of the country, of maintaining or founding purely elementary schools for the poor, which had been begun under Elizabeth, continued, and the number of such schools probably increased during the century which followed. For example, at Lambeth in 1661 Richard Lawrence, a Commonwealth soldier, founded a charity school for twenty boys. During the period 1671-81, Dr. Busby, headmaster of Westminster School, gave five or six pounds annually for instructing the poor children of the parish. The Blue Coat School, Westminster, founded in 1688 . . . educated and clothed, and, finally, apprenticed fifty boys. In 1697 Colonel Colchester, one of the five original founders of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, was maintaining at Westbury on Severn a school in which sixty-seven boys and girls learned writing and reading, the horn book,¹ primer and New Testament."²

¹ The Horn Book was a development from the Prymer. The latter was originally the people's prayer book of pre-Reformation days, containing those parts of the Breviary suitable for the laity. The 15th- and 16th-century prymer not only contained instructions on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, etc., but were generally prefaced by the alphabet, lists of vowels and consonants, and lists of syllables, e.g. ab, eb, ib, etc. The Horn Book appeared as early as 1450 as a kind of abridged prymer. The alphabetic preface to the prymer, together with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, were printed on a card and attached to a wooden tablet. The card was protected by a sheet of horn. The handle of the tablet made the affair look like a bat, and no doubt schoolboys used it for this purpose as well as for learning to read. Girls often worked out their own little prymer with needle and coloured wools. These samplers contained the alphabet, vowels and consonants, texts, prayers, verses, and illustrations of various kinds. Eventually the name "prymer" was given to any type of introductory textbook.

² Adamson, J. W. *A Short History of Education*, p. 197, C U.P., 1919.

At Leeds there was, in addition to the grammar-school, a Free School which was conducted in the chantry on Leeds Bridge until 1728. This chapel was bought by the trustees of the grammar-school in 1579 and used as a reading-school. It may have served the purpose of a preparatory school for the grammar-school. Thoresby states that he received part of his education from "the Reverend Mr. Robert Garnet, M.A. of Christ's Col. Cambridge," at "a private grammar school at the North-end of the Great Stone Bridge." This is generally accounted a reference to the Free School. He adds that "the higher Story is for Writing and Arithmetick lately taught by Mr. Robert Kettlewell." The Minutes of the Committee of Pious Uses at Leeds contain the following entries:—

"1675 Robert Kettlewell, gent., allowed and approved to keep a writeing school in the Schoole at Leedes bridge end . . .

"1676 John Moore, gent., ditto.

"1677 Joseph Pickles, gent., ditto.

"1694 Mr. John Rotton admitted vice Lawson [?] deceased but to keep it in good repair.

"1698-9 Mr. Robert Jackson to have use of the school and to agree with Mr. Hurst for such benches etc. as he has there." ¹

At Bradford in the 17th century there is evidence of the existence of a free endowed school which was distinct from the Bradford Grammar School and was probably the parish school.²

In the writer's own parish of Adel, Yorkshire, the registers contain the entry of the death of the schoolmaster, William Smith, 1627, and, towards the end of the century, the entry of the baptism of "Elizabeth Watson, daughter of Israel Watson schole-master of Eccup." Thus, in one small parish of Adel-cum-Eccup, which at that time had a population of less than 400, there were two distinct schools. The *Account of Charity Schools* for 1724 lists Adel (spelt as Addle) as containing twenty-five pupils.

For convenience, the primary schools which existed before 1698 may be divided into the following classes:—

(1) Pre-Elizabethan schools which had survived until the eighteenth century, e.g. the Clerk's School at Skipton.

¹ A. C. Price. *History of the Leeds Grammar School*, R. Jackson, 1919.

² Bradford Grammar School is an interesting example of a grammar-school which had a long life before the official date of its foundation. Its charter was granted by Charles II in 1662, but the school was probably in existence as early as 1547 at the dissolution of the chantries. The records show that Gervase Worrall was appointed master of the school in 1641.

(2) Schools originally of the grammar type which had become impoverished and were now primary schools.

(3) Petty schools functioning as preparatory to grammar-schools.

(4) Parochial endowed schools. Many of these were charity schools endowed by wealthy individuals living in the locality who were stimulated by the example of such institutions as Christ's Hospital.

(5) Private schools.

The first three classes have already received attention and the last will be considered later in this chapter. The fourth class merits a more detailed study. The *Reports of the Charity Commissioners* (1818-43) list 460 endowed non-classical schools as existing before 1698, but this total is known to be incomplete. Moreover, private individuals continued to endow schools in the 18th century, many of which at the time of their establishment had no connection with the philanthropic societies. The explanation of this educational activity in the 17th century lies partly in the new intellectual and social forces which were spreading and partly in the religious motive.

One of the earliest of 17th-century endowed schools for primary education is that of Henley-upon-Thames. Carlisle describes it as follows: "Dame Elizabeth Periam about the year of Our Lord 1609 founded and endowed a Charity School in . . . Henley upon Thames, for the education in writing, reading and casting accounts (but not in grammar learning), clothing and apprenticing twenty poor boys of the said town."¹

In fact, the intention of the Long Parliament seems to have been to set up a system of primary schools which, if it had been carried out, would have created parochial schools somewhat on the model of Scotland. Thus the Act for the Better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales and Redress of Some Grievances, 22nd February 1649, set up about sixty free schools in Wales. The schools were endowed by funds obtained through the disestablishment and partial disendowment of the Welsh Church. Later in the same year another Act allocated the first fruits and tenths, which since the Reformation had been in the hands of the Crown, to augment the stipends of preaching ministers and schoolmasters. It is of interest to note that this was the first grant ever made by the

¹ Carlisle. *Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales*, Vol. II, p. 307.

State to education in this country. The Restoration put an end to these schemes of State intervention, and until 1833 all schools were maintained by voluntary effort.

A good example of a 17th-century charity school in a town is afforded by the Green Coat School at Wakefield.¹ The school originated from two sources. In 1674 John Storie, a benefactor of Wakefield Grammar School, left the rent of his lands to enable twelve boys to proceed to the grammar-school and from thence to the university. This was known as the Storie Petty Gift. His wishes were carried out as soon as his will was proved, and the governors of the grammar-school named twelve boys and resolved "that John Pickersgill, Schoolmaster, be admitted to teach and instruct the twelve boys included in John Story, gent., his gift." The number twelve was obtained by nominating three boys over a period of four successive years. They were to be admitted as "free petty scholars to be taught by the foresaid Pickersgill, till they be fitt for the Free Grammar School." A room for the petty school was never obtained, so that the boys were probably educated on the grammar-school premises. In 1675 the Spokesman and another member of the Governors of Wakefield Grammar School were appointed to see if Pickersgill was actually teaching the twelve boys, and it seems they found that everything was in order.

Quite independently of this arrangement, the governors of the grammar-school decided to open a charity school in Wakefield in connection with the administration of the Elizabethan poor-laws. We find that in 1703 twenty-two boys and nineteen girls, scattered over seven different places, were receiving elementary instruction. This was an unsatisfactory and uneconomical arrangement, and it came to an end in 1705 when it was "then agreed with Mr. William Lambert to Bee Schoolmaister for teaching in the free petty Schoole in Westgate, sallery per annum Twenty pound; for a Dame after election to her place Tenn pound." We know that the estate of John Storie did not realise as much as was expected, so presumably the petty and charity schools were amalgamated.

At first the children were clothed in grey, but in 1737 orders were issued that white clothing should be bought and dyed green. Hence the name of the school. The account rendered in 1714 which follows gives some idea of the school at that period.

¹ Full details of the school were collected by M. H. Peacock, formerly headmaster of Wakefield Grammar School, and published in pamphlet form in 1928.

	£	s.	d.
For cloathing 70 boys and girls at 35s. each per annum	122	10	0
For Master and Mistress' Sallery per ann.	40	0	0
For Coals and Repairs to School House and the pavement in the Street per ann.	6	0	0
For Books, Pen, Ink, and Paper per ann.	10	0	0
	<hr/> £178 10 0 <hr/>		

The school continued to receive fresh bequests and, in 1839, weekly pence paid as fees were abolished. Fitch visited the school on behalf of the Taunton Commission and he advised against its closure and the diversion of the funds to erect a middle-class school. By that time the annual income had risen to £600 and there were 140 boys and 70 girls on roll. The school was closed in 1875 and the endowments used for the creation of Storie scholarships, twenty-four for boys and twelve for girls, to be held at the grammar-school and girls' high school. These scholarships are open to pupils who have been educated for at least three years in the schools of the Wakefield L.E.A., and are awarded on the results of the tests for grammar-school selection.

Many country primary schools owed their existence to the philanthropic activities of local gentry, but information about their location and the number of children educated in them is scanty. The returns made to the Charity Commissioners are incomplete and often inaccurate. A typical instance of an 18th-century school is provided by the Burnt Yates Endowed School, which is situated in the parish of Ripley in the district of the Claro Divisional Executive of the West Riding L.E.A.¹

It is an illustration of how a particular benefaction could have widespread effects and create, as it were, a fashion in the neighbourhood for endowing schools. In this case the impetus was given by the establishment of Ripley Free School, through the endowment of Catherine and Mary Ingilby in 1702. They provided that a master, who should be a member of the Church of England, should be

¹ The writer is supervising a team of post-graduate research workers who are investigating the provision of primary education in the West Riding during the period 1550-1760. The area of the Claro Divisional Executive, which covers roughly the country between the Nidd and the Swale, seems to have been rich in private benefactors during the 17th and 18th centuries. No doubt other areas in the West Riding and in the rest of the country would yield similar results. The investigation involves much patient work in classifying and examining letters, deeds, parish registers, and other records, many of which are to be found in the libraries of the descendants of the original benefactors.

appointed at Ripley, "a layman of sober life and conversation, able to teach and instruct youth in reading English, writing, and the common and useful rules of arithmetic—and once every week cause his scholars to learn the Church catechism." The influence of the Ingilby family is clearly shown in the schools which were founded at Hampsthwaite, West Syke Green (before 1711), Hampsthwaite, Ridsdale's School, 1711, Hookstone's School, Menwith-cum-Darley, 1748, Burnt Yates, 1760, and Braithwaite, 1778.

The school at Burnt Yates, which had been opened in 1750, was endowed by Admiral Robert Long in 1760. The original building, which is now the head teacher's house, contained the schoolroom and a trustees' room on the upper floor. Admiral Long directed that as long as only one master was employed, the number of boys was not to exceed thirty, but if there was sufficient money a schoolmistress might be appointed for the girls. The boys were to be taught to read, write, and cast accounts: the girls to sew, knit, read, and write; and both should be instructed in the catechism. The Ingilby influence was shown by the appointment of the Rector of Ripley as permanent chairman of the trustees.

The school received a most interesting bequest from a sea captain, William Mountaine. In 1778 he gave a sum of £140, derived from the tolls collected on the Wetherby-Grassington turnpike road. The gift also included his books and pamphlets, a bookcase, pair of globes, some charts, a telescope, some mathematical instruments, and portraits of his wife and himself. He also arranged for the sum of fifty shillings a year to be paid to a librarian to look after the books. At the close of the last century, the library was sold to a Leeds bookseller. The writer has only been able to discover one of the books, a pamphlet entitled *An Account of the Methods used to describe Lines, on Dr. Halley's chart of the Terraqueous Globe; shewing the Variations of the Magnetic Needle, By William Mountaine and James Dodson, Fellows of the Royal Society, 1756*. Mountaine also left £100 to the trustees, the interest on which was to augment the stipend of the schoolmaster at Dacre Banks (founded 1695). An oak chest with three locks is in the trustees' room, and the letters, deeds, accounts, and minutes in it are sufficient to give a complete picture of the life and work of the school over a period of more than 150 years.

These documents provide interesting illustrations of the tendencies in primary education during this period. Thus there seems to have been a large number of Catholic children in the neighbourhood.

At first they attended the school, but a regulation of 1811 forbade their admission. This was rescinded at the time of Catholic Emancipation. The Charity Commissioners visited the school in 1819, and the letters of the trustees show that they approved the work carried out there, but they criticised the constitution of the governing body. Most of the trustees lived at a considerable distance from the school, and were elderly, and, because of frequent illness, the meetings were not as regular as they should have been. The chest contains a large number of letters from members of the trustees, apologising for absence owing to sickness. The unsatisfactory nature of the half-time system, the working of the Revised Code, and the pupil-teacher system, topics discussed later in this book, are all illustrated by the documents. The accounts show that the trustees' meeting was evidently a jovial affair, for such items as the following frequently appear:—

1798	March 29th	Three bottles, port wine	10s. 6d
	May 31st.	Do Do one Sherry	15s. 0

Mountaine's Charity, following a common custom, provided for money prizes and for gifts of food and clothing to poor scholars. The following report of William Cockett, master from 1810 to 1856, refers to boys considered for prizes. The reader should note, in the light of the report of the Newcastle Commission, the ages of the scholars concerned. The report shows that even at this date the school was independent and stood apart from the charity-school movement co-ordinated by the S.P.C.K.

"1st. Thomas Pullen aged 15 or upwards has been regular in attendance at school for two years last past and has behaved well while there. He has gone through common Arithmetic. I think him eligible to partake of the bounty contemplated by the Trustees.

"2nd. John Andrew is 15 years old, he is now learning Barter and has behaved well at school, he has lost his father and his mother who is left with a large family would be thankful to have him put to a trade. I would recommend him to the notice of the Trustees.

"3rd. William Coverdale is 14 years old and was very regular in his attendance at school and at church till about two years ago when he was taken away and sent to a mill. A few months ago he came again and attention since that time has been paid to his writing and reading, and if three months more were allowed to go over his accompts again as far as the Rules of Practice, I should think him a fit object for the Bounty of the Trustees.

"4th. William Thorpe is about 11 years old, his grandfather thinks his time would be better spent at school a year or two longer, otherwise he is a very active lad and has made good progress in his learning as his books will testify.

"5th. John Maud is 14 years old, has been irregular in his attendance at school and his progress in learning as may be expected but indifferent but his father is very desirous that he should be put to a trade, as he has a large family and cannot afford to keep him much at school.

"The two first would have had Mr. Cracroft's recommendation if he had been present and I have to express to the Meeting his wish that the Trustees should become subscribers either to the Bible Society or to the Society for promoting Xstn Knowledge in order to obtain Bibles, Testaments and Prayer Books at the reduced prices for the use of the school and for reward books for the scholars. I have also to express his wish that three dozen of Hymn Books be purchased for the use of the school.

"I have also Mr. Cracroft's permission to say that he has observed that the walk leading to the school is rough and unpleasant and that a part of the school floor and the school-house floor are bad and he thinks that if the old flags were taken to amend the walk and new ones had for the floors, two benefits would be conferred with a little more than the expence of one.

"The school is in want of 3 doz: of Catechisms, 1 doz: Markham's Spellings, 2 doz: A.B.C. books, 2 doz. Scripture References, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. Bibles and 2 Reams of writing paper—also—3 doz. Prayer Books and 3 doz. Hymn Books.

"The number of scholars upon the list

Boys	56
Girls	54
	<hr/>
In all	110
	<hr/>

Burnt Yates School

May 30th 1826

WILLIAM COCKETT."¹

¹ The writer wishes to thank Mr. A. A. Ingham, B.Sc., M.Ed., Education Officer, Claro Divisional Executive, and Mrs. Kenyon, B.A., the headmistress of Burnt Yates School, for their courtesy in giving him access to the documents. A detailed account of this School is given in *Researches and Studies*, No. 2, May 1950 ("The Endowed School of Rear-Admiral Long at Burnt Yates, Ripley, Yorks." S. J. Curtis), University of Leeds Institute of Education.

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As an endowed school with an income of over £100 per annum, Burnt Yates came under the provisions of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 and eventually received a new scheme of government. At present it is an infant and junior mixed school with about thirty-three pupils in attendance.

The closing years of the 17th century witnessed a remarkable revival of interest in elementary education. Professor Helen Wodehouse links the revival with the discovery of the idea of the joint-stock company "Power, it was found, could be multiplied indefinitely, at any one point, if a number of persons put together their small sums of money and handed over the management to a chosen few. . . . Might it not be possible, some good people asked, to combat by this means the mass of carelessness, ignorance, and irreligion which they saw in the poor? Many Religious Societies and Societies for the Reformation of Manners, came into being in England, but all have been overshadowed by the greatest, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."¹

The S.P.C.K. was founded in 1698, and among its many aims was the foundation of schools to give a sound education, religious and secular, to the children of the poor. The first meeting of the new society adopted a resolution to "further and promote that good design of erecting Catechetical schools in each parish in and about London." The society proposed to obtain funds for the erection and maintenance of Charity Schools by issuing lists to the parishes inviting people to subscribe. The money obtained in this way was supplemented by the preaching of special "charity" sermons at which a collection in support of the schools was made. The idea caught on and was received everywhere with great enthusiasm. Rich and poor hastened to give what they could afford in support of the movement. Wealthy individuals either contributed a lump sum or engaged themselves to pay a fixed amount each year. Some of the clergy undertook to teach a number of children gratis or contributed to the expenses of children attending school. In some parishes, certain individuals were appointed as parish clerks on condition that they, as part of their duties, would teach a number of children. At Warwick, a collecting-box was placed in the church with the inscription, "For the use and increase of the Charity School." In some districts the parents themselves applied the principle of self-help and themselves contributed towards the education

¹ Helen Wodehouse. *A Survey of the History of Education*, p. 141, Edward Arnold, 1929

of their children. The best-known example is that at Winleton, County Durham, in 1717. Here "the workmen of an ironwork, who are about 400 or 500, allow one farthing and a half per shilling per week, which, together with their master's contribution, maintains their poor, and affords about £17 per annum for teaching their children to read etc."

The bishops preached many charity sermons which not only added to the funds of the society but helped to heighten the enthusiasm. By 1754 the society claimed that its efforts had resulted in the establishment of 2,044 schools containing 51,161 children.

The committee of the S.P.C.K. took its work very seriously and realised that building schools was not sufficient unless trained teachers could be obtained and the efficiency of the instruction maintained. Accordingly, they proposed the establishment of a training-college "to prepare young persons for the arduous and responsible work of instructing children." This proposal did not come to anything, but in 1701 the Rev. M. Cohan was appointed inspector of the charity schools in the London neighbourhood at a stipend of £20 per annum. Within a very short space of time the movement spread to all parts of the country. In 1705 Ralph Thoresby was largely instrumental in establishing a school at Leeds. He was a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K., and in his diary shows considerable interest in the fortunes of the school. In 1620 a workhouse had been erected near the Leeds Grammar School and part of the workhouse building was converted into a charity school where, we are told, forty poor boys and girls were maintained and "duly instructed in the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion; taught to read and write, with a competent skill in Arithmetick, as also to spin, sew, knit, etc." The pupils were also taught to "Scribble, a new Invention whereby the different colours in the deyed Wool are delicately mixed." The school was maintained by voluntary subscriptions which totalled £200 a year. Thoresby not only contributed to the funds but became one of the collectors for the school, persuading many of his friends to become contributors as well. A seat on the north side of the parish church was allotted to the children "who decently cloathed in blue, first appeared in public, March 24th, 1705." In 1726 the school was removed to another site, and in 1752 a room for spinning was added at a cost of £76. In 1815 attendance at the school was restricted to girls only.

The Leeds Charity School is an illustration of a development which was common to the whole country. The schools gradually introduced industrial occupations (such as spinning), and gardening. Some were day-schools, but others, like that at Leeds, were boarding-schools and frequently provided a distinctive uniform for the pupils. Thus we hear of blue-coat, green-, grey-, or yellow-coat schools. It is noteworthy that most of the schools admitted girls as well as boys.¹

The Dissenters had their own charity schools, and even claimed to have originated them. The first school is said to have been one founded in 1687 at Southwark. Originally it contained forty children, but soon the number increased to 130. In 1728 Dr. Watts published an *Essay towards the encouragement of Charity Schools*, particularly those which were supported by Protestant Dissenters.

In the S.P.C.K. schools, the schoolmaster was required to be at least twenty-five years of age, a member of the Church of England,

¹ The S.P.C.K. published the following tables giving the cost of clothing boys and girls in 1758:—

An ACCOUNT of the Rates of Cloathing the Poor belonging to CHARITY-SCHOOLS and WORK-HOUSES.

Charge of Cloathing a Boy, with Yorkfhire Cloth, or blue Kerfey.

	£	s.	d.
A Boy's Suit	0	11	6
A Shirt of Doulafs Cloth	0	1	10
A Pair of Stockings	0	0	10
A Pair of Wafh-Leather Gloves	0	0	7
A Knit Cap, with Tuft and String, of any Colour	0	0	9
A Band	0	0	3
A Pair of Buckles	0	0	1
A Pair of Shoes	0	2	7
The Total	0	18	5

The Charge of Cloathing a Girl.

	£	s.	d.
A Gown and Petticoat	0	8	0
A Coif and Band of fine Ghenting	0	1	0
A Shift of Doulafs Cloth	0	1	10
A White, Blue, or Checquer'd Apron	0	1	0
A Pair of Leather Bodice and Stomacher, 2s 10d. or	0	2	8
A Pair of Woollen Stockings	0	0	10
A Pair of Shoes	0	2	4
A Pair of Buckles	0	0	1
A Pair of Wafh-Leather Gloves	0	0	7
The Total	0	18	6

N.B.

The different Stature of Children is allowed for in this Eftimate, and a Number may be clothed at the above Rates, by John Hall and John Lodge, at the Acorn and Charity-School Warehouse oppofite Gray's-Inn Gate, Holborn, London.

able to pass an examination in the principles of the Christian religion, a good disciplinarian, able to write a good hand, and to have an aptitude for arithmetic. One wonders how many really came up to this standard.

Both the Government and the S.P.C.K. were anxious that persons of Jacobite tendencies should be kept out of the schools. Hence all masters and mistresses were obliged to make the following declaration on being appointed to a school: "That they do heartily acknowledge his Majesty King George, to be the only lawful and rightful King of these Realms; and will to the utmost of their Power educate the Children committed to their Charge, in a true Sense of their Duty to him as such: That they will not by any Words or Actions, do anything whereby to lessen their Esteem of, or their Obedience to the present Government. That upon all publick Days, when their Children may be likely to appear among any disorderly Persons, they will do their best to keep them in, and severely punish them, if they shall hear of their running into any Tumults, or publick Meetings, contrary to the good Order of such Schools and Scholars."¹

When one realises the number of schools said to have been established and the amount of money available, it became apparent that a great many of these schools must have been housed in existing buildings. No doubt some of them represented a revival of an earlier endowed elementary school which had closed through lack of funds. The boys were apprenticed to various trades and the girls usually entered domestic service.

Mandeville attacked the schools bitterly. He sneered at the "enthusiastic passion for Charity-schools" amongst the wealthy and argued that the education of the poor would result in discontent and rebellion. The poor occupied a position in society which had been assigned to them, and if they were to be labourers they should be used to their position from the very first. The enthusiasm for charity schools began to wane after the middle of the century. Some failed because of incompetent management; others lingered on until they were eventually incorporated with the National Schools of the 19th century.

Besides the charity schools and those endowed schools which had survived from the previous century, popular education was represented by private schools. These seem to have been fairly

¹ *An Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, pp. 37-8, London, 1758.

numerous, but we have no means of ascertaining their number. Some were "Dame" schools intended for very young children and are described in the oft-quoted verse of Shenstone in 1742.

"In every village marked with little spire,
Embower'd in trees, and hardly known to fame,
There dwells, in lowly shed and mean attire,
A matron, whom we schoolmistress name,
Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame."

Some of these schools attained a certain measure of efficiency, but for the most part they were very inefficient baby-minding establishments. Schools for older children were taught by schoolmasters. A few of these were really well-run schools, but in most cases the masters were drawn from the very dregs of society. Many were ignorant and brutal, much addicted to drink, and in numerous cases carried on at the same time some kind of artisan employment, turning their attention from their work at intervals to superintend the running of the school. Often the schoolmaster was a man who had tried and failed at every occupation in turn and had taken up the charge of a school as a last resort. For the majority of children the only education they received was that given in their own homes. The boys were often trained in their father's occupation and the girls learnt sewing, knitting, cookery, and domestic work from their mothers. In a few homes the parents taught their children the alphabet, reading and writing, and there are cases of boys who later attained eminence without any other training than that provided by the home. When, however, all these different agencies are considered, the fact remains that only a very small proportion of the child population received even the most elementary instruction. The proportion of literates amongst the population was probably much less than in Tudor days, and as the century wore on, owing to the industrial changes and the growth of the population, it became even smaller.

As early as 1675 Thomas Firmin had erected a spinning-factory where children of four or five years of age were taught to read and to spin. In 1697 Locke had suggested a similar type of industrial school for pauper children. A few industrial schools were set up in the early part of the 18th century, but it was not until the factories began to multiply that they became more numerous.

The boys were taught useful occupations such as gardening, carpentry, cobbling, and printing; the girls spinning, knitting,

sewing, and straw-plaiting. The work done by the pupils was sold and the proceeds went to their maintenance. If the child's earnings exceeded the cost of his keep, he was given a cash payment. The idea was to make each school self-supporting. In some schools of industry the children were taught reading and writing, but there was always the temptation to emphasise the occupational aspect in order to cover expenses. The boys' schools were largely a failure as their products did not command as ready a sale as those from the girls' schools. As the change to factory conditions accelerated, the demand for child labour became so great that children of tender years could be found work in the mills and mines and bring home their earnings to augment the family wage. Even foundlings and orphans were insufficient to keep up numbers in the schools of industry. The guardians of the poor often apprenticed pauper children to masters whose only consideration was the amount of work they could obtain from them.

By 1780 the influence of the charity-school movement had practically ceased, and the schools of industry, never very numerous, were declining in numbers. The effects of the great industrial changes were becoming very noticeable in the drift from the country to the towns and in the rapid growth of population in the new industrial areas. In the age of domestic industries, children had been accustomed from their early years to working in the home or on the farms at occupations which were not wholly unpleasant and which to a certain extent were educational. Now, the demand for child labour brought them into the factories, but they still had one day of the week in which they were free. It was their wild and mischievous behaviour on Sundays that was the occasion of the Sunday School movement which for the first time had the object of extending education to the poor of the whole country. The movement is generally associated with the name of Robert Raikes of Gloucester. Raikes was not, however, the inventor of the Sunday School, nor are we certain that he was even the first to open a Sunday School in his own city of Gloucester. John Wesley had experimented with a Sunday School at Savannah in 1737, and about the same time one was opened at High Wycombe by Hannah Ball. The honour of opening the first Sunday School in Gloucester probably belongs to Raikes's friend, the Rev. Thomas Stock, who had started a school in his parish of St. John. It is possible that the idea resulted from a conference between the two, but we do know that, in 1780, Raikes opened his first Sunday School in Sooty

Alley, so called because it was the quarter in which the chimney-sweeps lived.¹

Raikes was the descendant of an old Yorkshire family which had migrated to Gloucester. In 1722 his father had founded the *Gloucester Journal*, a paper which warmly supported philanthropic movements. Raikes was intensely interested in alleviating the terrible conditions of the prisoners in the Gloucester gaol. He met a kindred spirit in John Howard, and the result was that from 1773 onwards the *Gloucester Journal* did all it could in support of Howard's crusade.

Raikes was also acquainted with Wilberforce and his efforts to suppress the slave-trade. As Raikes's biographer says, "The Sunday School system with which the name of Robert Raikes will ever be inseparably connected may be said to have originated in the Gloucester gaols. It was there that he learnt the direct connection between ignorance and crime, and there he saw the futility of punishing the effect without removing the cause."²

At this time the chief industry in Gloucester was the manufacture of pins. Many children were employed in the industry, which was carried on partly in their homes and partly in factories. Sunday was a day of freedom for them, and their wild, lawless behaviour so horrified Raikes that he wrote in the *Journal*: "The misuse of Sunday appears by the declaration of every criminal to be their first step in the course of wickedness." He testified that "the farmers and other inhabitants of the towns and villages receive more injury in their property in the Sabbath than in all the week besides; this in a great measure proceeds from the lawless state of the younger class who are allowed to run wild on that day free from restraint." Whether this was exaggerated or not, it seemed to Raikes that the most effective way of preventing crime would be to keep the children occupied on Sundays and try to do something to improve them. One story relates that Raikes's attention was directed to the lawlessness of the children by the noise they made under his office window where he was preparing his Monday morning article for the *Journal*.

His friend Stocks opened his school on Sundays only, but from the start Raikes opened on week-days as well. He began by employing paid teachers. The first teacher received 1s. for Sundays and 2s. for teaching during the meal-time break on week-days. Parents

¹ In 1763 a Sunday School had been established at Catterick, Yorks, by the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey.

² A. Gregory. *Robert Raikes*, p. 27, Hodder and Stoughton, 1877.

who wanted instruction for their children during the week paid 1d. The scholars were obtained in various ways; sometimes by persuading the parents to send their children to Sunday School, sometimes by meeting the children in the street and bribing them with gifts of sweets and presents to attend. The first school remained open only for six months, but a little later Raikes restarted it under better conditions near his own home. He soon found difficulty in managing his little hooligans, *e.g.* one boy brought a badger to school and let it loose during the lesson. To maintain order he resorted to flogging, and on one occasion it is recorded that he punished a boy who told a lie by "pressing the tips of his fingers on the bars of the fireplace so that he was blistered a bit."¹ Raikes was neither a bully nor was he cruel, and he soon found out his mistake in resorting to harsh methods. At heart he was a most kindly man and experience showed him that the best way of controlling children was to try to understand them, win their liking, and discover the kind of things which interested them.

The result was that the school became increasingly successful and this led him to open three other schools. This experiment attracted a good deal of attention, and Raikes was able to publicise his work in the *Journal*. Soon the movement spread to the rest of the county and eventually to other parts of England. This diffusion was assisted by the formation, in 1785, of a Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools Throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain. At its commencement, the Sunday School movement was undenominational, but it fell in with other religious and philanthropic influences such as the preaching of John Wesley and George Whitefield and the Evangelical Revival in the Established Church. Popular interest and imagination were stirred: the movement grew at a phenomenal rate and both the Church and the Nonconformists opened Sunday Schools. By 1795 nearly 250,000 children attended the schools and when the Sunday School Union, with a committee half Churchmen and half Dissenters, was formed in 1803, there were 7,125 Sunday Schools with 88,860 teachers and 844,728 pupils. The scholars were taught spelling as a preparation for reading the Bible, but in many schools other items of secular instruction were given. As the movement grew, the tendency was to replace paid teachers by volunteers and for the instruction to become more religious and less secular. The influx of a large number of voluntary teachers, full of enthusiasm but

¹ Guy Kendal. *Robert Raikes*, p. 72, Nicholson and Watson, 1939.

with little knowledge and no idea how to teach the small amount they possessed, often rendered the instruction of small educational value. Nevertheless, there were individuals of outstanding personality and ability who discovered by experience the best methods to adopt and who were more successful in their efforts. Raikes met John Wesley, who was greatly in favour of the spread of the movement, and the latter recorded in his *Journal*, "I find these schools springing up everywhere." The authorities warmly encouraged Raikes at the beginning and he was able to tell a friend, in 1792, that for the first time on record there was no case to be tried at the Gloucester Assizes. Farmers and factory-owners joined in their praise of his work.

Opposition soon appeared from two distinct quarters. The events of the Reign of Terror frightened many people, who imagined similar things happening on this side of the Channel and that revolution would surely come to pass in this country if children were educated above the station in life in which it had pleased God to place them. Even the Bishop of Rochester in the House of Lords condemned Sunday Schools as fostering the views of the French Revolution, and some Dissenters accused Raikes of being a Sabbath-breaker because the schools were opened on Sundays. Opposition also came from the parents themselves. One of the persons most influenced by the movement was Hannah More who, with her sisters, left the society life of London to live in the Mendip parish of Cowslip Green in 1785. She records that when she tried to persuade parents to send their children to school, they believed she was trying to secure them to sell as slaves in the West Indies.

The movement, however, proved stronger than the opposition. Hannah More was shocked by the ignorance, filthiness, and depravity of the people in the Cheddar district. She relates that she saw only one Bible in the village and that was used to prop up a flower-pot. Wilberforce visited her and convinced her that her life's work lay in redeeming the people of Cheddar. He promised to supply the funds if she and her sisters would undertake the work. With this assistance, she opened a Sunday School, and obtained a teacher for £30 a year. She soon found that parents as well as children were in need of education and she formed a reading society for the parents and friendly societies for the women. Within her limitations she did magnificent work, but her good intentions were frequently marred by the narrow religious views she held and the spirit of condescending patronage that often

accompanied her efforts. For example, she was strictly opposed to teaching writing on Sundays.

A sterner and perhaps more intelligent person of the Hannah More type was to be found in Mrs. Trimmer, who opened schools in Brentford in 1786. Her object was to rescue the poor from ignorance and barbarism, but at the same time to see that they kept their appointed place. In the circle of her aristocratic friends she was able to stir up enthusiasm for the schools and she busied herself with writing story-books and primers for young children. George III and Queen Charlotte visited the Brentford schools and Mrs. Trimmer wrote of the Queen: "It is impossible to do justice to the charming manner in which the Queen expressed the most benevolent sentiments and the tenderest regard for the happiness of the poor." Mrs. Trimmer was very particular about the behaviour of her children and issued the admonition, "Keep from swearing, lying, and stealing. Do not fight or quarrel, call nicknames or tell tales. Bow to gentlemen and ladies whenever you meet them. Do not take birds' nests, spin cockchafers or do anything to torment dumb creatures." In her book *Reflections upon the Education of Children in Charity Schools*, 1792, she differentiates between charity schools and schools of industry, and assigns to them their separate functions. She emphasised the opening of schools of industry where poor girls would be taught spinning, knitting, and plain needlework, or trained to be domestic servants. As Professor Frank Smith writes, her book "is an interesting example of the educational views of a kindly, energetic and devoted Churchwoman of the eighteenth century, written just before the wave of panic poisoned the minds of the governing classes."¹

The Sunday School movement of the 18th century owes its importance not so much to what it actually achieved, as to the ideal towards which it strove, namely universal popular education. It pointed the way to the realisation of this ideal, not indeed through private effort alone, but through the co-operation of the State. No one saw the value of these philanthropic movements more than Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who wrote many years later, "It is also important to observe, that the development of Sunday Schools for the poor proceeded with gigantic strides. . . . The idea of education for the poor sprang from a religious impulse . . . it regarded the school as a nursery of the Church and congregation, and confided

¹ F. Smith. *A History of English Elementary Education*, p. 58, University of London Press, 1931.

its management to the chief communicants, to the deacons, elders, and class teachers. Thus the Sunday School became the type of the daily school.”¹

An example of a Sunday School in an industrial district is given in the *Reports* of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor.² The school was situated at Kirkstall, then a village about three and a half miles from Leeds. A forge had been built nearby and the fathers of most of the children attending the school were engaged in the cast-iron industry. On Sundays the inhabitants spent their time wandering through the woods or in the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey. The school was opened in June 1801, and a workman who was the father of a family of seven was obtained as a teacher. He received no stipend, but was given a guinea at Christmas with clothes for himself and his children. Parents who sent their children to the school were expected to make a small contribution at Christmas towards running expenses. When the school was visited it contained about thirty children of both sexes who ranged in age from five to fourteen years. Some of the older people came to hear the reading of the Bible.

The Report significantly remarked: “The whole place has now a very different appearance on a Sunday; and the hedges and birds-nests escape on that day, at least, from the depredations consequent to total idleness. A few books are occasionally given as rewards for regular attendance, and good behaviour. Some children come from so considerable a distance as two or three miles, and are remarkable for regular attendance.”

The revival of schools of industry through the efforts of Mrs. Trimmer and similar individuals has already received mention. One interesting example of this kind of institution was the Industry School at Oakham. It was an English version of the spinning-school which had been so characteristic of certain areas in Scotland earlier in the century. The school was open to all the inhabitants of the parish. No poor person was eligible for poor-relief unless he sent his children to the school or could prove that he had set them to satisfactory employment. The instruction included spinning in wool and linen, and knitting. Those who wished were taught to read, and the girls were encouraged to bring their sewing to school. Instruction was free, and the children were allowed to keep the money they obtained for their work. The hours were eight to one

¹ Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. *Public Education*, p. 34, Longmans, 1853.

² *Reports*, No. CXL, 18th April 1803.

and two to seven, and the school was closed on the Saturday afternoon.

It was originally opened in 1787 and the children used to go home for the midday meal. During the winter much time was lost through the inclement weather, and it was resolved to supply meals at the charge of 6d. per head per week. The children ate barley bread and as much as they required of pease-porridge, rice with milk, or broth and potato pudding. By means of wholesale buying and the use of Count Rumford's coppers,¹ the expense of providing the dinner was kept below 6d. per head per week.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, Wales, because of its widely scattered agricultural population, was far worse off than England in regard to the provision of primary education. The first name connected with elementary education in Wales is that of the Rev. Thomas Gouge, who in 1674 founded a society for the instruction of poor Welsh children in the English language. His efforts were supported by Dean (afterwards Archbishop) Tillotson and other prominent English divines. The society also aimed at circulating the Bible and Prayer Book in Welsh. Gouge found that Welsh Bibles were difficult to obtain, so that it was necessary to print a new edition of 8,000 copies. As there were but few large centres of population, he found that the only way of reaching the people was by personal visits. For a considerable number of years he travelled throughout the Principality, and it was claimed that, by his efforts, every year from 800 to 1,000 poor children were taught to read and several large towns were encouraged to open schools. Gouge died in 1681 and, although twenty years afterwards the society he had founded ceased to exist, his ideals lived on and inspired his successors.

The most important movement in Welsh education during the 18th century was the Circulating School associated with the name of the Rev. Griffith Jones, Rector of Llandown, Carmarthenshire. Jones had become a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K. in 1713, and he was appalled by the ignorance of the Welsh people, who had been largely unaffected by the very few schools so far established. He conceived the idea that the only practical solution of the problem consisted in the establishment of mobile schools, by means of which it would be possible to overcome the difficulty of reaching

¹ Rumford was one of the leading supporters of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, which was founded in 1796. He was a scientist who was interested in the application of science to cooking, heating, and ventilation. His connection with the Royal Institution is mentioned in Chap. xiii.

the scattered population of the country districts. Although his plan was in this respect similar to that of Gouge, yet it differed in at least two important particulars. The new Circulating Schools were to be for adults as well as for children, and Jones emphasised that the medium of instruction was to be Welsh and not English.

The first school was opened in Griffith Jones's own parish in 1730. It was so successful that the idea spread to neighbouring parishes, and within a few years to the whole of Wales. The work was carried on by means of travelling teachers who stayed from three to six months in one locality and then passed on to the next. Any kind of building available was used as a school, and people of all ages were instructed both in the day-time and in the evening. The following statistics published by the S.P.C.K. show the state of the Circulating Schools in 1758.

"An Account of the Circulating Charity Schools in Wales, from Michaelmas 1757, to Michaelmas 1758.

	Schools	No. of Scholars		Schools	No. of Scholars
Anglesea ..	21	1,003	Glamorganshire .	26	888
Breconshire ..	6	290	Merionethshire .	10	354
Cardiganshire ..	15	1,100	Monmouthshire	6	223
Carmarthenshire	68	3,509	Montgomeryshire	5	110
Carnarvonshire	31	1,262	Pembrokeshire .	18	712
Denbighshire .	10	319			
Flintshire ..	2	64		65	2,287
			Brought over ..	153	7,547
	<hr/>	<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
	153	7,547		218	9,834
				<hr/>	<hr/>

N.B.

In many of the Welch Schools, the Adult People, Men and Women, (being ignorant of the English Tongue) are taught to Read the Scripture in the British Language: and most of the Masters instruct, for Three or Four Hours in the Evening, after School-time, twice as many as they had in the Schools by Day, who could not attend at other times

N.B. Some English Charity Schools are included, set up of late for the Poor who did not understand Welch."

It is estimated that by the time of Griffith Jones's death in 1761, 150,212 persons between the ages of six and seventy had been taught to read the Bible in Welsh.

Griffith Jones left over £7,000 to his friend Madam Bevan, to carry on the work, and she was able to record that, by 1777, 6,456 schools existed. Madam Bevan died in 1779 and left her property to the use of the Welsh Circulating Schools. Her will was disputed

by her relations and her estate was thrown into Chancery, with the result that the schools came to an end. The will was upheld in 1807, but for over a quarter of a century the work of the schools had been frustrated by the procrastination of the Court of Chancery. As Montmorency comments: "In 1779 education was in full swing in Wales; but when the Bevan schools resumed their work, the people of the Principality had forgotten once more the meaning of popular education, and so we find that in 1820 popular education in Wales was less effective than in any part of England."¹

Meanwhile, the Sunday Schools had reached Wales. The pioneer in this movement was the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala. He was ordained deacon in 1785, and when he took up parochial work he was deeply moved by the ignorance of his parishioners. Experience showed him that his own parish was typical of the decline in popular education which had followed the lapse of the Bevan schools. He was successful in raising sufficient money for his purpose, but he found himself handicapped by the lack of teachers. The only solution of the problem was to train a number of teachers in his own parish and then send them further afield. He found it necessary to publish his own catechisms and textbooks, but through perseverance he was able to establish his schools in all parts of Wales. The schools catered for children on the week-days, but were also open for adults on Sundays and in the evenings.

Charles's work led to a widespread demand for copies of the Welsh Bible, and to satisfy this he suggested, at a meeting in London, the publication of the Bible in the Welsh language. Not only was he successful in obtaining his desire, but his efforts were instrumental in bringing about the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The day-schools tended to disappear, but the Sunday teaching was permanent and developed into the Welsh Sunday School which was so characteristic of the Principality. In spite of the fact that the origin of the Sunday School was due to the Established Church, the Church authorities failed to grasp the full possibilities of the development. It was left to the Methodist revival to make use of the opportunities created. The effect of the Methodist revival was to bring not only a new spiritual life into Welsh Nonconformity, but also to introduce a new principle of organisation. As a prominent Welsh member of Parliament declared in 1893: "The people in these Welsh villages have learnt,

¹ J. E. G. de Montmorency. *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 205, C.U.P., 1902.

during the last 150 years, the most valuable lessons of self-government. Their chapels have been to them a splendid education in self-government; they manage these chapels and manage their organisations with admirable skill and success." It must be said that Nonconformity rather than the Established Church has played the greater part in the shaping of Welsh education.

Despite the rapid growth and the marked success of the Sunday School movement, it was soon apparent that the problem with which they were grappling was too big for them, and that it could be solved only by the provision of a national system of day-schools. Already there were certain advanced thinkers who believed in a nation-wide system of day-schools, sponsored by the State, in which attendance would be compulsory. Adam Smith, Thomas Paine, and Malthus, for different reasons were of this opinion, but William Godwin, who clung tenaciously to his belief in the freedom of the individual, was strongly opposed to State intervention in the educational sphere. State intervention, however, was not to come for many years yet, and any scheme for general education would have to rely on philanthropy. The practical difficulties to be faced included the enormous numbers of children to be educated, the small amount of money available, and the scarcity of experienced teachers. Under the circumstances, any education provided would have to be cheap and would have to use the few teachers available to the best possible advantage.

It was for these reasons that the systems advocated by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster attracted popular support. Bell seems to have been first in the field. In 1787 he went to India as a lecturer in science, and amongst the many offices he held was that of chaplain to the Military Male Orphan Asylum in Madras. At this establishment he found about twenty boys receiving rather ineffective tuition at the hands of a master and two ushers. While visiting a native school, Bell noticed the children learning to write by tracing with their fingers in a sand-tray. This appeared to him to be an ideal method of teaching and he resolved to introduce it into the asylum. The ushers resented his orders, and Bell selected John Frisken, a boy about eight years of age, and commanded him to take the class. Under Bell's instructions, Frisken taught the lowest class successfully and was made the permanent teacher. The experiment was continued by putting other boys in charge of the lower classes with Frisken as superintendent. When Bell returned to England, he published an account of his methods in a small

book entitled *An Experiment in Education*. At about the same time, Joseph Lancaster (who, when in his teens, had tried to run away to Jamaica where he hoped to teach reading to the negro slaves) had opened a school in the Borough Road for about 100 pupils. Numbers grew rapidly and soon the school contained over 500 boys. In order to manage these large numbers, Lancaster hit upon the idea of teaching some of the older boys and setting them in turn to teach others.

Neither Bell nor Lancaster can be claimed as the inventors of the monitorial plan. Mention has already been made of some form of monitorial system in use at Winchester College, Manchester Grammar School, and other grammar-schools. Robert Raikes was using a similar idea when he taught a prisoner to read and then set him to teach another, and later he introduced a kind of monitorial scheme into his Sunday School. There is no evidence that Bell or Lancaster were aware of previous applications of their principle, so that for each of them it was an independent discovery. Lancaster lost no time in advertising his discovery, and claimed that a school of 1,000 boys could be taught at the expense of one master and that the more the numbers were increased the less became the expense per head. The cheapness of the scheme constituted its greatest appeal. George III, the Queen, and the Princesses, became subscribers to the Borough Road School, and the project aroused much popular enthusiasm. Churchmen and Dissenters alike supported it and a kind of monitorial plan was tried out at Charterhouse and at the High School in Edinburgh.

Unlike Lancaster, Bell did not found a school but introduced the monitorial principles into certain existing parochial schools. The plan was first used in 1798 at St. Botolph's, Aldgate, and a little later at Kendal. When, in 1801, Bell became rector of Swanage, he introduced the system into the school along with vaccination for the "cow-pock." Lancaster visited the school at Swanage and both men interchanged notes, though it seems that Bell obtained greater help from his opposite number than Lancaster did. A breach between the two was occasioned by a publication of Mrs. Trimmer, in which she proclaimed that Bell had discovered the principle and Lancaster had merely copied him. She also pointed out that in the Lancasterian school the Catechism was not taught (Lancaster was a Quaker), and that the religious instruction was undenominational. This was quite sufficient to withdraw the support of the Church of England. The controversy which followed

is not important in itself, but the fact that the Church supported Bell, and the Nonconformists Lancaster, started that acrimonious warfare between the Churches which was so disastrous to the cause of national education.

Lancaster's great weaknesses were his love of display and his lack of capacity for financial administration. His extravagant ways soon threatened money troubles, and, to save him from bankruptcy, the Royal Lancasterian Society was formed in 1808. His mismanagement of money caused the committee to exclude him from handling the finances of the school. He resigned from his position as superintendent of the Borough Road School, and the committee changed the name of the institution to that of the British and Foreign School Society. The Church of England formed in 1811 the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, which took over much of the work previously carried out by the S.P.C.K. Both societies established schools in all parts of the kingdom. The National Society kept careful records of the number of schools, teachers, and scholars, and the statistics furnished show an amazing rate of growth.

	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Children</i>
1812	52	8,620
1813	230	40,484
1815	564	97,920
1830	3,670	about 346,000

Unfortunately these figures include the number of scholars attending Sunday Schools. Similar statistics for the British Schools are not available, but the return of 1851 gave the number of Church schools as 17,015, with 955,865 scholars and the British Schools as 1,500 with the estimated number of scholars as 225,000.¹

While the Lancaster-Bell controversy was at its height, Mr Whitbread, in 1807, introduced into the Commons a Bill for establishing parochial schools in England and Wales. He acknowledged that the success and cheapness of the monitorial schools had

¹ In Leeds, the Royal Lancasterian Free School was opened in Boar Lane in 1812. The school accommodated 500 boys who were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, "in a mode the cheapest as well as the most effectual ever devised." A similar school for girls was opened in Call Lane. In 1813 a "handsome and convenient edifice" in Kirkgate was opened as a National Free School. The school was built for 360 boys, and later was absorbed by the Parish Church Schools. Dr. Hook, when Vicar of Leeds, encouraged the National Schools, and during the period of his incumbency they grew from three to thirty.

greatly impressed him. But the time was not yet ripe for such a measure. The governing classes still viewed with suspicion any attempt to diffuse education amongst the ranks of the poor, who might be tempted to forget the position ordained for them in life, and the Church was firmly opposed to any form of religious instruction of an undenominational character. After encountering fierce opposition in the Commons, the Bill was rejected by the House of Lords. Its importance lies in its being the first of a series of attempts to secure State intervention in popular education. The same day that Whitbread's Bill was presented, the Commons voted a sum not exceeding £23,270 for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland.

The differences in practice between the systems of Bell and Lancaster were comparatively slight. If anything, Bell's system was the more flexible, while that of Lancaster tended to suffer from over-organisation. Both made use of the "factory" idea in their attempt to instruct large masses of children by mechanical means, and both were affected by the taint of cheapness. They were directly responsible for the large classes and the trail of cheapness which haunted English elementary education until very recent times.¹

There were several other experiments during this period which are of interest and importance. Perhaps the most influential was that connected with the name of Robert Owen, the founder of British Socialism. Owen was a self-made man who by the age of thirty had reached the position of manager and partner in the cotton-mills of New Lanark. He found the conditions in the mills deplorable. The workers and the apprentices were "ignorant and destitute—generally indolent and much addicted to theft, drunkenness, and falsehood." Owen was a convinced believer in the power of environment in shaping the individual's character and personality. Like Helvetius in the previous century he adopted as his creed *L'éducation peut tout*. He immediately set to work to improve conditions in the factory. Working hours were reduced to a maximum of ten per day and he refused to employ children under the age of ten. Other reforms aiming at the establishment of better and healthier working conditions and an increased level of wages were inaugurated. He provided free instruction for the

¹ For a detailed account of the teaching and organisation of the monitorial school, see C. Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day*, pp. 242-54, U.T.P., 1938.

children of the workers up to the age of twelve, but it was his work with infants which was most successful. His infant-school, the first of its kind in Great Britain, was opened in 1816, and catered for children from one year upwards. This was consistent with his faith in the power of environment, for if the latter was to be effective it could not operate at too early an age.

For assistants, he chose James Buchanan, "a poor, simple-hearted weaver," and a young girl of seventeen, Molly Young, both of whom had impressed him by their sympathy with and understanding of small children. The accounts of the school reveal that the methods used were astonishingly modern. Harsh treatment and brutal punishment were never employed, and the aim of the teachers was to win the liking and respect of the children. Emphasis was laid on the use of illustration, the telling of stories suited to the age and interests of the pupils, and instruction in natural history based on observation of plant and animal life in the garden and the neighbourhood. Dancing and singing were taught and the children were encouraged to play games in order to improve their powers of conversation. Owen met Pestalozzi in 1818 and had visited Fellenberg's school, but his own ideas had been worked out in complete independence of these educationists.

Unfortunately for the acceptance of his schemes, Owen was a free-thinker and did not win the support from the Church and public personages that he might have done. His views on religion brought him into disfavour with his partners, upon whom he relied for the success of his experiment. One of these, William Allen, was a member of the Society of Friends. Allen was also a prominent philanthropist who was interested in the work of the British and Foreign School Society, and had been an active worker in the campaign for the abolition of slavery. As time went on, the rift between Owen and his partners grew wider, until in 1824 the school was placed under the patronage of the British and Foreign School Society. Owen relinquished active participation in the scheme and turned his attention to projects of social and political reform. The school at New Lanark continued to exist until the Scottish Education Act of 1872, when the School Boards were established.

The centre of interest now shifts to London. Owen's example directly influenced the establishment of an infant-school at Westminster, which was supported by Lord Brougham, James Mill, and Zachary and Thomas Babington Macaulay. Owen was approached

with a request for the services of James Buchanan. When he agreed to the transfer, Owen wrote: "I had thought, from the daily instruction which, when at the establishment I had as it were drilled into him for years, that he could now act for himself in a practice which under my direction, with the aid he received from Molly Young, appeared so easy to execute. But I found he could proceed no further in the practice than he had done for some time."¹

Some time later Owen visited the school at Westminster, and his remarks about Buchanan and his wife were responsible for the hitherto generally accepted idea that the latter were complete failures. Owen described seeing Mrs. Buchanan standing over the children, threatening them with a whip. On his appearance, an unsuccessful attempt was made to conceal the whip, but the harsh treatment meted out to the children was reflected in their sullen and unhappy look. Buchanan was represented as being completely under the domination of his wife.²

Owen seems to have been guilty of a cruel injustice in his disparagement of Buchanan. Even as early as 1847, an anonymous article in the *Westminster Review*, which undoubtedly was written by Brougham, ascribed the origin of infant-schools to J. F. Oberlin in north-eastern France in 1769, but credited Buchanan with founding the first English infant-school. Brougham spoke of Buchanan as a person eminently fitted by natural gifts for teaching young children, and attributed the success of the New Lanark school as a consequence of his attractive personality and his understanding of his little pupils. The facts, also, are in conflict with Owen's estimate. Buchanan remained teaching in London for twenty years and was invited to open infant-schools in different parts of England. In 1839 he received a request from the New Zealand Land Company to go to New Zealand to take charge of an infant-school. All this is strange if Buchanan was a failure.

When Buchanan reached Capetown, his eldest son prevailed upon him to stay there. Later he was joined by Mrs. Buchanan and he settled at Pietermaritzburg, where he died in 1857. Buchanan's reputation as a teacher has been cleared by the publication in 1923 of the *Buchanan Family Records*. They were collected by his grandchild, Miss Barbara Buchanan, and the book was printed for private circulation in Capetown. The picture it gives of Buchanan shows how wide of the mark were the statements made by

¹ *The Life of Robert Owen: Written by Himself*, p. 196, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1920.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

Owen. In spite of certain weaknesses which belonged to the age in which he lived, and which were further exaggerated in the teaching methods of Wilderspin, we obtain an impression of Buchanan as a man who was entirely devoted to what he believed was his life's work. He possessed a wonderful influence over children and his simplicity of nature was displayed in the tenderness and sympathy which he showed in the management of infants. Mrs. Buchanan was a typical kind-hearted, thrifty, and practical Scots housewife. The idea that she was ever harsh or cruel is preposterous.

The evidence we now possess goes a long way towards vindicating Buchanan and his wife and, in modern phraseology, to "debunk" the reputation as a teacher previously enjoyed by Owen. There is no doubt that the latter was the originator of the scheme at New Lanark, but his ideas would have come to nothing without a James Buchanan and a Molly Young. Owen's account was written forty years later, and it is only charitable to assume that his memory played him false. Probably his disparaging remarks were due to a fault in his own psychological make-up. Owen was one of those men who possessed a great belief in himself and was quite unable to credit that anything could be successful unless he was responsible for every detail. Like many individuals of wide vision, he paid little regard to those whose indispensable aid rendered his schemes a reality.

A second infant-school was opened in Spitalfields by Samuel Wilderspin in 1820. Wilderspin's ideas closely resembled those of Pestalozzi, though he denied emphatically that the latter had ever influenced him. The *Buchanan Family Records* show conclusively that Wilderspin's connection with the infant-school movement began through a chance meeting with Buchanan. Miss Buchanan claims that her grandfather gave Wilderspin free tuition in his methods and then recommended him for appointment at the Spitalfields school. There is further evidence to support this claim, for at the beginning of his career Wilderspin acknowledged his debt to Buchanan, but when he became well known and successful he forgot all about it. When he gave evidence before the Select Committee on the State of Education in England, 1834-5, he asserted that he was the originator of the infant-school in this country. Wilderspin was undoubtedly an enthusiast and also a man of great energy and business ability. Buchanan was so engrossed in his work that he had no desire to advertise himself, and the field was left open for Wilderspin.

At first he encountered many difficulties in handling his large group of tiny children, but experience taught him that "the senses of the children must be engaged ; so that the great secret of training them was to descend to their level and become a child." Wilderspin's vanity led him to claim for himself many ideas, and the invention of apparatus, which had been used by others long before his time, but his success as a teacher was due to his rejection of the mechanical methods of the monitorial school. His weakness lay in too great a reliance upon memory methods, in learning by heart catechisms of questions and answers, and memorising rhymes and stories (of course with a moral) which marred the excellence of the rest of his approach. His work bore fruit in the formation in 1824 of the Infant School Society, the object of which was to found infant-schools and train teachers for them. Wilderspin's later years were occupied with travelling to all parts of the kingdom in order to spread his gospel. The new society was shortlived and was superseded in 1836 by the Home and Colonial Infant School Society to provide trained teachers for infant-schools.

This society was founded by J. S. Reynolds of Manchester, but it derived its inspiration from Dr. Charles Mayo and his sister Elizabeth. It was in 1819 that Mayo, then in charge of a group of English schoolboys, visited Pestalozzi's school at Yverdon in French Switzerland. He was so affected by the outlook and methods of Pestalozzi that when he returned to England he opened, in 1821, a Pestalozzian School for the children of upper-middle-class parents. The school was eventually transferred from Epsom to Cheam, where Mayo continued to teach until his death in 1846. Mayo was an able scholar and, although he was full of praise for the merits of Pestalozzi's teaching, he was not blind to the defects and possible dangers of the system. Elizabeth Mayo, who had assisted him at Cheam, showed in her book *Lessons on Objects* that she was not equally discerning.

The book was a reaction against the verbalising tendencies of contemporary teaching, and was designed to direct attention to the actual qualities of common objects, the names of which were about all that children knew of them. It was intended to encourage direct observation and inference from what had been seen, but in the hands of an unskilful teacher there was the danger that it might lead children to see merely what they had been told existed, and so develop into a formalism as bad as that which it had been designed to replace. Later the same idea led to the craze for "object

lessons," which incurred the well-merited criticism of Sir John Adams in his *Herbartian Psychology*.¹ Miss Mayo's most important contribution to primary education was her work in the training of teachers, which she undertook at the training establishment of the Home and Colonial Society. Bell and Lancaster had only been concerned with children above the ages of six or seven, but Miss Mayo concentrated on the training of infant-school teachers.

The most important influence upon primary education during this period was perhaps that of David Stow and John Wood. The former had for some time been engaged in social work amongst the poor of Glasgow, and it was the experience gained that turned his attention to education. He opened a Sunday School in 1816, and afterwards taught an evening school, but he soon felt dissatisfied with current educational aims and methods. Above all, he was convinced that education suffered from lack of the right kind of teachers. With these motives, he was led to devise what he termed the Training System. Its primary object, he tells us, was to provide an antidote to the demoralising influence of large towns and manufacturing villages. The fault of the prevailing systems of education lay in being concerned almost entirely with the cultivation of the intellectual powers. In other words, Stow realised that training implied far more than either teaching or giving information. A system was needed which would be "applicable not merely to the head of the child, but to the *whole man*—the moral being—a training up of" the child in the way he should go, "in his habits of thinking, feeling, and acting."²

Stow realised that the education given by the Sunday School was inadequate, since it only catered for the child on one day in the week. In 1826 he founded the Glasgow Infant Society, and on meeting Wilderspin, adopted some of his methods. Stow claimed no originality as regards administration or instruction and quite freely acknowledged his debt to Pestalozzi and practical teachers like Wood, Bell, and Wilderspin. The novelty of his system consisted entirely in his belief that moral training was the fundamental aim of the school. In his account of his work he tells us: "The Training System had its origin in a Sabbath School conducted by the author. He afterwards embodied it in a Day School for infant children, and in 1831-2, in a Parochial Juvenile School, both serving

¹ A specimen of the method recommended in the book is given by C. Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day*, p. 285, U T P., 1938

² D. Stow. *The Training System*, p. 12, Glasgow, 1840.

as Models and as a Normal School for the training of schoolmasters. The success of this seminary in training children and students, induced the Glasgow Educational Society, in 1834-5, to adopt these schools as the basis of the present more extended Normal Seminary."¹

Stow was firmly convinced that the correct training of the infant forms the basis of all future development of the child, and that, from the first days of schooling, boys and girls should both learn and play together. He was not impressed by the systems of Bell and Lancaster. "Monitors," he wrote, "cannot train, although they may teach facts, and are in use in some of the ordinary school exercises." He believed that "an apprenticeship is as requisite for the profession of the schoolmaster, as that of any other art; and it appears extraordinary, that while we would not employ a gardener or mechanic who has not been trained, we should employ young men to experiment upon our children, who, however well informed themselves, have yet to acquire the art of communicating their knowledge to others. . . . Many teachers work out and arrive at a good system, it is true; but no one man can possess all that may be concentrated and exhibited in a Normal Seminary, to which every student may be trained."²

Stow claimed that his Normal Seminary or Training College was the first institution of its kind in Britain, and his "trainers," as his teachers were called, were in much demand. In addition to Scotland, the "trainers" had been introduced into other countries. "From England and Ireland the society has received demands for four or five times the number of trainers they have been able to supply; and the demand continues unabated till the present day. Sixteen trainers were sent to Australia in 1837, and more have been ordered since. Above twenty-four have gone to the West India islands, several to British America, and some have been ordered from other British colonies."³

Stow based school instruction on two main principles, which he termed the sympathy of numbers and the method of picturing out. By the phrase "sympathy of numbers" he understood the influence upon one another which is found in a suitably-sized group. To make use of this principle in moral training, there must not only be teaching of children in a gallery, but the teacher must know how to train children out of doors, in the playground or "uncovered

¹ D. Stow. *The Training System*, pp. 30-1, Glasgow, 1840.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

school." Stow anticipated Kay-Shuttleworth's criticism of the Revised Code "Reading, writing and arithmetic are imagined to be sovereign remedies for the evils of the youth of large towns. Will anyone acquainted with the moral condition of this novel, *and to some a fearful*, state of society, for a moment conclude that the knowledge of these arts, with minds and *habits* totally untrained to the proper use of them, ever can morally elevate the sunken masses in such cities as Glasgow, Manchester, London, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Paisley, Birmingham and Dundee? . . . We require an entirely new machine for the moral elevation of society in towns and manufacturing villages." ¹

"Picturing out" was to be a substitute for meaningless repetition. "Never commit words to memory until the meaning is previously analysed and understood." It involved appealing to the child in simple language and using analogies with his everyday experience. The following example, which is an introduction to the study of the camel, will explain the process.

"Now, children, you see this picture (presenting the picture of a camel, if you have one, but if not, you must describe its comparative size with some animal they are acquainted with, noticing also the peculiar hunches upon its back), I shall tell you the name of this animal. It is called the camel. What did I say its name was? *The camel*. Camel is the name of this—*animal*. The camel, children, lives in hot countries such as Arabia. Arabia is a very hot—*country* in Asia, where there are hot sandy deserts, in which there are neither trees nor—*grass*. The camel, children, has feet and legs and (pointing to the parts)—a head, and—a *back*, as every animal has. *What a lump on its back, master!* This is a—*lump*. Do you remember the name I gave that lump? I called it a hunch. Remember it, a—*hunch*. A great—*hunch*, and that is a—*lump* or—*hunch*. How many hunches has it got? *Two*. It has got two hunches on its—*back*. This one is on—Where is this one near? Supposing this boy went on all fours, that is, suppose this boy walked on his hands and—*feet*, and a hunch were above this—*place*. What do you call this place? *Shoulders*. The camel, then, has a hunch upon its—*shoulders*, or close behind its—*shoulders*, and another upon—What is this? *Tail*. Is this the tail? *Back, sir*. It is upon its—*back*, near the—*tail*, close to the—*tail*, but not upon the—*tail*." ¹

¹ D. Stow. *The Training System*, pp. 32-3, Glasgow, 1840.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 245-6

Stow believed in simultaneous answering, and in the above example the pupils' answers are in italics. Notice the mixture of direct questions and ellipses which are filled in by chorus-answering. One can imagine that in the hands of an indifferent teacher the lesson could become extremely mechanical.

Stow's ideas had considerable influence upon the elementary schools of the early 19th century. "By his elaboration of the thesis that education presupposes the interaction of mind upon mind, the cultivated upon the relatively uncultivated, he made a contribution of permanent value to the educational thought and practice of his time. Too little value had been attached to the living voice in elementary education, and too much to the printed page. Stow aimed at setting this right. In the sequel, teachers went to the other extreme, and teaching came to be too much associated with talking."¹

A somewhat similar development had been taking place in Edinburgh, in 1813, where the Sessional School had grown from the Sunday School. A large number of pupils who were admitted to the Sunday Schools were unable to read or write, and the new institution was formed with the object of remedying this defect. At first the Sessional School adopted the plan of Lancaster, but when Bell visited Edinburgh his advice was sought and certain of his suggestions were put into practice. John Wood came into the picture by accident. During the winter of 1819-20, a number of weavers had become unemployed, and in order to assist them a fund was raised and placed in the charge of Wood. The managers of the fund decided that it would be advantageous to send the younger weavers to school, and the Sessional School, because of the high reputation it enjoyed, was selected.

Wood took upon himself the task of supervising these pupils, and in the course of frequent visits to the school he examined them in order to ascertain the progress they were making. The result was that he became extremely interested in the experiment. He was led to investigate the work of other classes in the school, and he thus discovered the mechanical nature of much of the instruction. "The children were taught, indeed, to read, but the doubt was, whether they had been made such masters of their own language, as in future life to give them any pleasure in reading, or to enable them to derive much profit from it. They had learned their

¹ C. Birchenough, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

catechism, but were they much wiser with regard to the truths which it contained?"¹

Wood's doubts increased until, at length, he was convinced that the prevailing methods of instruction were wrong. He described his own attitude thus: "We therefore felt an extremely strong anxiety to give the school more of an intellectual tone, not only in order to enable the pupils better to understand what they read there, but also to give them a taste for profitable reading, and make them understand whatever they should afterwards have occasion to read." Rather than trust his ideas to the execution of others, Wood began to take an active part in the teaching. He was gratified to discover that his methods aroused an active interest whatever the subject of instruction might be. In his reaction to drill and memory-work, he emphasised the importance of interest and understanding.

It should be realised that Wood was not aiming at the establishment of a new system of education. He was content to accept the organisation of Bell and Lancaster, but he wished to infuse fresh life into it. His outlook was quite different. Whereas they aimed at a kind of mass-production at the lowest possible cost, Wood, on the other hand, regarded the pupil "not as a machine, or an irrational animal, that must be driven, but as an intellectual being who may be led; endowed, not merely with sensation and memory, but with perception, judgment, conscience, affections, and passions; capable, to a certain degree, of receiving favourable or unfavourable impressions, of imbibing right or wrong sentiments, of acquiring good or bad habits; strongly averse to application, where its object is unperceived or remote, but, on the other hand, ardently curious, and infinitely delighting in the display of every new attainment which he makes."²

Wood warned would-be imitators that it is not the external arrangements and organisation of a school that matter, but the spirit in which the instruction is given. "The copyist may introduce precisely the same number and the same size of classes,—may place the master, the monitors, and the scholars, in the same respective positions,—may prescribe to them the same movements,—may put the same books into their hands,—and, in short, may give the whole the self-same external aspect. But, if he be not at least equally desirous to catch the spirit . . . let him not wonder, if, notwithstanding all the pains which he has bestowed on the externals

¹ J. Wood. *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School*, p. 27, 1828.

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

of his system, it should degenerate into as dull, cold, and lifeless a routine, as is exhibited in any of the most unproductive seminaries around him."¹

Like Stow, he emphasised the value of a teacher who had been trained in his craft. Alexander Wilson, a future Prebendary of St. Paul's, was a pupil at the Sessional School in the evenings. Wood had noticed his ability and persuaded him to become a teacher. He obtained a post at Dalkeith. When Dr. Kay, whose work will be considered in the following chapter, was seeking a master for his Poor Law School at Norwood, he visited the Edinburgh Sessional School and was advised to see Alexander Wilson at Dalkeith. The result was that the latter was persuaded to come to England as headmaster of the school at Norwood. This was an important link between the work being done in Scotland and the future developments in England.

An interesting instance of individual philanthropy is afforded by the work of John Pounds of Portsmouth. At first a sailor, Pounds, as a result of an accident, was obliged to take up the trade of shoemaker. When, in 1818, he took charge of the child of a sailor friend, he started a school to provide companionship for the child. From this modest beginning, he extended his activities and divided his time between his trade and caring for the poorest and most uncared-for children of the town. He seems to have wielded an extraordinary influence over them. His workshop was his school-room, and as well as attending to his craft he managed to instruct the destitute boys and girls in reading and writing and also to give them lessons in cookery and cobbling. John Pound's example led to the formation of the Ragged Schools, which by 1858 numbered 192 schools with 20,909 pupils. The instruction was entirely free because the parents of the children were of a type who either could not, or would not, pay fees. Later, two such schools were opened in Leeds (1859) and did remarkable work in disciplining the slum children and fitting them for future employment.²

All these experiments and even the bitter controversies over the respective claims of Bell and Lancaster served to focus attention upon popular education. The fate of Whitbread's Bill had already been recorded. At Whitbread's death in 1815, the cause of popular education found a champion in Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham.

¹ J. Wood. *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School*, pp. 10-11, 1828.

² The development of the Ragged School movement was largely due to the work of Lord Shaftesbury in England and Dr. T. Guthrie in Scotland.

It was due to his advocacy that Parliament was persuaded to appoint a Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders. The inquiry revealed the growing demand for education and the inadequate facilities provided. The report placed on record the fact "There is the most unquestionable evidence that the anxiety of the poor for education continues not only unabated, but daily increasing, that it extends to every part of the country, and is to be found equally prevalent in those smaller towns and country districts, where no means of gratifying it are provided by the charitable efforts of the richer classes."¹

The great difficulty was to find the money for any extension of popular education. Brougham's attention was drawn to the numerous educational charities that existed, which either were not being used to the best advantage or which were in some cases actually useless.² Could not these funds be redistributed? Accordingly, Brougham pressed and obtained an Act of 1818 appointing commissioners to inquire into the use being made of educational charities. The Act, however, was so whittled down in its passage through the Lords that it was deprived of any practical value. The universities and public schools deeply resented an inquiry into the way in which they used their funds, but in spite of its apparent failure the Act indirectly was of considerable value. The Commission came into being and collected a number of statistics, but its value was in providing a pattern for the Charity Commission of later date.

Brougham also introduced an Education Bill into the Commons in 1820. Speaking in support of the Bill, Brougham showed that the inquiry had revealed the utter inadequacy of the existing educational facilities and the unsatisfactory attendance of the children who were going to school. "It appeared . . . that there were now educated at unendowed schools 490,000 children, and that to these were to be added about 11,000 for 150 parishes from which no returns had yet been made. In the endowed schools 165,432

¹ *Third Report from the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders*, 1818, p. 56.

² Kay-Shuttleworth wrote: "In other cases a small property may have been left for some use, which, though innocent, may be inconsistent with the appropriation of a greatly increased annual value. Mr. Fearon, secretary to the Charity Commission created in 1849, related to me the following facts:—A tobacconist left a field, with directions that the rental should be held in trust to supply six poor women with snuff at Barthelmy tide. The field became valuable building land, and the annual rent increased to a very large amount. To apply such an income to such a use was obviously absurd." (*Public Education*, p. 189.)

children were educated; making a total (exclusive of the 11,000) of 655,432. In England it appeared that on the average 1-14th or 1-15th of the whole population was placed in the way of receiving education. . . . Another deduction ought also to be made for the dame-schools, where 53,000 were educated, or rather not educated, for it amounted to no education at all, since the children were generally sent too young, and taken away just when they were competent to learn. . . . The average means of mere education, therefore, was only in fact one sixteenth in England; yet even this scanty means had only existed since the year 1803, when what were called the new schools, or those based upon the systems of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, were established. These schools were in number 1,520, and they received about 200,000 children. Before 1803, then, only the twenty-first part of the population was placed in the way of education, and at that date England might be justly looked on as the worst-educated country of Europe. What a different picture was afforded by Scotland! The education there was in the proportion of 1-9th or between 1-9th and 1-10th. Wales was even in a worse state than England; at the present day the proportion was 1-20th, and before 1803, it was 1-26th.”¹

The report praised the liberality of the National Schools where “the church catechism is only taught, and attendance at the established place of public worship only required, of those whose parents belong to the establishment; due assurance being obtained that the children of sectaries shall learn the principles and attend the ordinance of religion according to the doctrines and forms to which their families are attached.” These words, which would not have been true a few years later, contain in germ the Conscience Clause of the 1870 Act.

The Education Bill aimed at providing schools in places where they were needed. The money for building the schools was to come from the manufacturers “who, while they increased the objects of the poor-rates, contributed but little towards them,” and the masters’ salaries from a tax on country gentry. Rates were to be levied by the parish officers twice yearly to support the school, and all parents who could afford to do so were to pay 2d. or 4d. a week in fees. The master must be a member of the Church of England, and should be approved by the incumbent of the parish, who had the power of dismissing him. The instruction to be given was to be fixed by the clergy, who would have authority to visit and examine

¹ *Hansard*, 1820, Vol. II, col. 61.

the schools. In order to appease the Nonconformists, Brougham suggested that the religious teaching should consist solely in the study of Scripture, and that no form of worship should be allowed except the Lord's Prayer. Every child should be taken by his parents to church or chapel on Sundays. The suggestion about religious teaching was in substance the same as the Cowper-Temple Clause of 1870.

The Bill was opposed by both Church and Nonconformists, especially the latter, and Brougham withdrew it after the second reading. Although no new education proposals were presented to Parliament for over ten years, a good deal of useful work was going on, mainly through the efforts of Brougham. In 1825 he published his pamphlet *Observations on the Education of the People*, and it is a commentary on the awakening interest in education that it had to be reprinted twenty times in the year. The pamphlet led to the formation of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Brougham's support of the newly founded Mechanics' Institutes and the part he played in creating the University of London will be mentioned in later chapters.

The Reform Bill became law in 1832 and the new Parliament of the following year was packed with members eager for other reforms. Knowing the temper of the new House, petitions pleading for the creation of a national system of education flowed in from all parts of the country. Joseph Hume, Member for Middlesex, supported the petitions and attacked the Government vehemently. Suddenly, Brougham announced in the House of Lords his change of opinion about compulsory education. He argued that the great increase of the children in school did away with the need for compulsion. There were now 1,030,000 pupils receiving instruction in the non-endowed schools and 165,000 in the endowed schools. Brougham's former position was championed by Mr. J. A. Roebuck who moved that the House, "deeply impressed with the necessity of providing for a due Education of the People at large; and believing that to this end the aid and care of the State are absolutely needed, will, early during the next Session of Parliament, proceed to devise a means for the universal and national Education of the whole People."¹ The plan he proposed was greatly in advance of anything that had been suggested before, and in many ways showed a similarity to the Acts of 1870 and 1876. "In general terms, I would say, that I would oblige, by law, every child

¹ *Commons Journal*, Vol LXXXVIII, p. 615

in Great Britain and Ireland, from, perhaps six years of age to twelve years of age to be a regular attendant at school. If the parents be able to give, and actually do give their children elsewhere sufficient education, then they should not be compelled to send them to the national school. If, however, they should be unable or unwilling to give them such instruction, then the State should step in and supply this want by compelling the parent to send the child to the school of the State.”¹

Roebuck proposed three types of State school, infant, school of industry, and the normal school for training teachers. In addition, evening schools in the towns were suggested. Every county should be divided into school districts, in each of which a school committee should be elected. A member of the Cabinet would supervise and direct the national school system. On the financial side, the cost would be met by fees from those who could afford them, from additional taxation, and from a redistribution of existing educational endowments. An interesting debate followed which showed that many people had been earnestly discussing the problems of national education. The Government was unwilling to proceed with Mr. Roebuck's Bill, but on 17th August 1833, in an almost empty House of Commons, Lord Althorp's suggestion of voting £20,000 for the purposes of education was carried by fifty votes to twenty-six.

The grant was opposed on two widely different grounds. Hume objected that the amount was inadequate to establish a national system and would only have the effect of discouraging philanthropy. Cobbett, rather surprisingly, opposed the grant on the ground that education was not improving the condition of the country. The increase of educational facilities in recent years had been accompanied with an increase of crime. All education did was to produce a new race of idlers—schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.

The actual vote was worded, “That a Sum, not exceeding £20,000, be granted to His Majesty, to be issued in aid of Private Subscriptions for the Erection of School Houses, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain, to the 31st day of March 1834; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatsoever.”

This historic occasion attracted very little notice in the Press. It was merely a fact the significance of which was not yet apparent. Only the *Quarterly Journal of Education* pointed out the defects of

the grant. It was to be paid only when at least half the total cost of the building had been raised by private subscription. In giving grants, preference would be shown to large towns after an inquiry into the availability of already existing charitable funds. As there was no Government department to control the expenditure, the amount was divided equally between the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. No conditions were made with regard to inspection, suitability of buildings, or curriculum.

The failure of organised philanthropy to solve the problem of elementary education in this country had resulted in State intervention. The latter, however, was not sufficient by itself, but the reason for this statement is usually implied rather than explicitly given. For nearly half a century England had been experiencing the change-over from the domestic system in industry to the factory age, a development which is generally summed up in the term "Industrial Revolution." The inventions which made such a change possible, the growth of factories, the use of machinery, the shifting of population from the country to the industrial towns, many of which were of recent origin, and the deterioration in the social, economic, and moral conditions amongst the poorer classes, are well known to readers of the history of this period. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had sent up the price of food and other commodities with an alarming rapidity and, as numbers have learnt to their cost, in such times wages do not increase correspondingly. There was an urgent demand for labour, but it was labour of a kind different from that of earlier days. A small but increasing number of skilled workers and technicians was necessary, but the chief need was for the services of unskilled or semi-skilled workers to superintend the machines and to perform certain indispensable operations in the mines.

Families, which at an earlier age had been to a large extent self-supporting, now came to face penury and starvation. There was only one solution. As soon as the children were old enough, they had to become wage-earners. However much a parent wished to take advantage of the educational facilities provided by philanthropy, with or without State assistance, his first concern was to see that sufficient was being earned by himself, his wife and children, to gain the bare necessities of life. With State aid, it was possible to build schools, but without restrictions upon the hours of child labour it was impossible to fill the places provided. This fact explains the great progress made in attendance at Sunday Schools,

since the majority of the poorer children could not attend school on the week-day.

In many cases, the nature of a child's employment was such that by Sunday he was so exhausted that he needed at least one day of rest to recuperate from his labours of the previous week. The modern age has marvelled at the blindness of those reformers who spent their whole effort in securing the freedom of the negro slaves but yet ignored the far more terrible conditions of serfdom which were common in their own country. Disraeli, in his novel *Sybil*, a work too seldom read at the present day, paints for us a terrible picture. "They come forth; the mine delivers its gang and the pit its bondsmen; the forge is silent and the engine is still. The plain is covered with the swarming multitude; . . . troops of youth—alas! of both sexes—though neither their raiment nor their language indicates the difference; all are clad in male attire; and oaths that men might shudder at issue from lips born to breathe words of sweetness. Yet these are to be—some are—the mothers of England! But can we wonder at the hideous coarseness of their language, when we remember the savage rudeness of their lives? Naked to the waist, an iron chain fastened to a belt of leather runs between their legs clad in canvas trousers, while on hands and feet an English girl, for twelve, sometimes for sixteen hours a-day, hauls and hurries tubs of coals up subterranean roads, dark, precipitous, and plashy; circumstances that seem to have escaped the notice of the Society for the Abolition of Negro Slavery. Those worthy gentlemen too appear to have been singularly unconscious of the sufferings of the little Trappers,¹ which was remarkable, as many of them were in their own employ.

"See too these emerge from the bowels of the earth! Infants of four and five years of age, many of them girls, pretty and still soft and timid; entrusted with the fulfilment of most responsible duties, and the nature of which entails on them the necessity of being the earliest to enter the mine and the latest to leave it. Their labour indeed is not severe, for that would be impossible, but it is passed in darkness and in solitude."²

The apprenticeship system, which in the 16th and 17th centuries supplied the technical training of those days, had now almost broken down. Skilled training was necessary more than ever for the engineer who designed the machines, but the vast majority of the

¹ The trapper opened and shut the doors on which the ventilation of the mine depended.

² Bk. III, Chap. i.

work-people became operatives rather than craftsmen. What remained of the apprenticeship system often provided the employer with a means of obtaining semi-skilled labour at the cheapest possible rate. The apprentice of Elizabethan days learnt more from his master than the mere elements of his trade. Now the emphasis was on those operations alone which were needed for the particular task. Until something was done to restrict the employer's powers over the young who worked for him, it was useless to think of filling the day-schools. The clauses of the Factory Acts which dealt with the conditions of work for children were as much educational clauses as those which constituted the Education Acts of later days.

The first factories depended upon water-power for their operation, and even now one can still discover the remains of these mills in the dales of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Pauper children were drafted from all parts of the country to supply the labour, and were crowded together under conditions which favoured the spread of epidemics. At West End, a hamlet not far from the main road from Harrogate to Skipton, lies the remains of an old woollen-mill operated by water-power. Hundreds of children from the south of England were sent to it by the magistrates, and as they died at the looms their bodies were thrown into a pit dug on the opposite side of the road. When steam-power became more common in the 19th century, the mills were erected where coal could be more readily obtained, but the conditions of the children who worked there were only slightly improved.

The first Factory Act was that of Sir Robert Peel (the elder) in 1802. It restricted the employment of apprentices to twelve hours a day, excluding meals, and abolished compulsory work between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. It also included provision for their education: "Every such apprentice shall be instructed, in some part of every working day, in the usual hours of work, in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, or either of them, according to the age and abilities of such apprentice, by some discreet and proper person, to be provided by the master or mistress of such apprentice, in some room or place in such mill or factory to be set apart for that purpose."

The Act became largely inoperative because employers quickly discovered a means of evading it. Since it only applied to apprentices, it was a simple matter to give up taking apprentices and make use of free child labour. From this point of view the Act was a further nail in the coffin of the old-time apprenticeship system. No adequate machinery, however, was set up to enforce it. It is true

that a Justice of the Peace and a clergyman were to visit each mill to see that the provisions of the Act were being carried out, but such casual visitation was ineffective, and it was not until the establishment of an inspectorate that it became possible to enforce the law. From now on, the vital issue was that of securing a ten-hour day. Those who supported the subsequent factory legislation were mainly concerned with obtaining the ten-hour maximum for the adult worker, but they realised the strength of an appeal made on behalf of the children, and that the organisation of the factories was such that any reduction in the hours of work for those under eighteen would also apply to adults.

In 1815 Sir Robert Peel introduced a Bill to extend the provisions of the earlier Act to cotton, woollen, and flax, mills, and to prohibit the employment of children under ten. The educational clause of the Bill was to provide that young people should receive instruction in the three R's for one half-hour in each working day. Peel suggested the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the whole question of child employment. In his efforts he received the whole-hearted support of Robert Owen. The Bill was strongly opposed by the factory owners, and Peel was not sufficiently firm to prevent it from being watered down. Eventually the Bill became law in 1819 and, in its new form, the legislation only applied to cotton-mills. Once again there was no adequate machinery to see that it was obeyed and, as far as we know, only two convictions were obtained under the Act. J. C. Hobhouse, Radical member for Westminster, introduced several abortive measures dealing with the factory problem, but it was not until popular feeling had been organised that anything effective was accomplished.

The leaders of the agitation were almost all Tories and they received encouragement from the Tory country gentlemen who regarded the self-made manufacturers as upstarts. The rank and file of the movement were largely Radicals. The Short-Time Movement, as it was called, was inaugurated by Richard Oastler, a Tory land-agent in Yorkshire, who on 29th September 1830 wrote a letter to the Leeds *Mercury* which drew attention to the fact that the slavery prevalent in the woollen-mills was far worse than that in the British colonies. He accused Wilberforce and other members of Parliament of shedding sentimental tears over the sufferings of negro slaves while they turned a blind eye to the appalling conditions in the English factories. The letter concluded: "The very streets which receive the droppings of the Anti-Slavery Society are

every morning wet by the tears of innocent victims at the accursed shrine of avarice, who are compelled, not by the cart-whip of the negro-slave driver, but by the dread of the equally appalling thong or strap of the overlooker, to hasten, half-dressed, but not half-fed, to those magazines of British infantile slavery—the worsted mills in the town and neighbourhood of Bradford. Thousands of little children, both male and female, but principally female, from seven to fourteen years of age, are daily compelled to labour from six o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening . . . with only thirty minutes allowed for eating and recreation. Poor infants! ye are indeed sacrificed at the shrine of avarice, without even the solace of the negro slave; ye are no more than he is free agents; ye are compelled to work as long as the necessity of your needy parents may require, or the cold-blooded avarice of your worse than barbarian masters may demand.”

These words rang through the land, and, in the industrial areas of the north, Short-Time Committees were set up to bring pressure to bear on Parliament. Oastler was supported by John Fielden, a Todmorden manufacturer, and Michael Thomas Sadler, then Tory M.P. for Newark. Sadler became the spokesman of the movement in the House of Commons. He introduced a Bill in 1832, but before the Committee of the House, of which he was the chairman, had completed its work, a general election took place and Sadler, who contested Leeds against Macaulay, failed to be elected. His work was taken up by Lord Ashley, better known under his later title of the Earl of Shaftesbury. In the meantime, the mill-owners organised their opposition. They protested that the evidence brought before Sadler's Committee was unconvincing because the majority of the witnesses came from the neighbourhood of Leeds and was therefore not truly representative. Moreover, some of the evidence proffered was incorrect. The result was that the Government, by a majority of one, ordered the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the employment of children in the factories.

The investigations of the commissioners in some cases brought to light instances of cruel treatment and shocking conditions of work far worse than had been suspected. On the other hand, they revealed the existence of a considerable number of humane employers who interested themselves in their work-people. One of the most progressive mill-owners was John Marshall, who, with Macaulay, represented Leeds in Parliament. His father had begun the manufacture of linen in a flax-mill at Adel. Later a large factory

had been erected at Holbeck, Leeds, in which as early as 1791 one of Savery's steam-engines was working. All children between the ages of nine and eleven worked half-time and attended the works' school for the other half. "We gave them 1/6 per week, out of which they had to pay 1d., 2d. or 3d. per week. The half fee for learning to read, 1d.; read and write, 2d.; or read, write and account, 3d., respectively."¹ Other employers commended were A. R. Strutt of Belper, Derby, and Thomas Ashton of Hyde, Lancashire.

The result of the Commission was that the Government amended the Bill sponsored by Ashley, and in its new form it was presented to the House by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorpe. Further amendments were made by the House of Lords, and it eventually became law as the Factory Act of 1833. The ten-hour day was not secured, but such important progress was made that Trevelyan speaks of it as "the children's charter of 1833." It was the first legislation by which a determined attempt was made to protect the children, and it applied to all textile factories except those engaged in the manufacture of silk. The Act distinguished between "young persons" between thirteen and eighteen years of age, who should not work more than sixty-nine hours a week, *i.e.* twelve hours a day with nine hours on Saturdays; children between nine and thirteen, who were restricted to a forty-eight hour week; and those under nine, who were not to be employed. Thus the younger children were able to attend the schools of the National and British and Foreign Societies until they were nine years of age.

After they had finished their eight hours of work, children between nine and thirteen were to attend schools provided by the employers. Each week the child was obliged to render to his employer a schoolmaster's certificate stating that he had attended school for at least two hours in the preceding week. To enforce the Act, four salaried inspectors were appointed, who were empowered to inflict fines for breaches of its provisions or to withhold payment of salary in the case of any schoolmaster or schoolmistress who was incompetent. This was only the first stage in the long struggle for the recognition of a universal ten-hour day and the raising of the age below which a child could not be employed. The later phases of the battle belong to the period discussed in the following chapter.

¹ Quoted by A. H. Robson. *The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England*, p. 23, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1931.

CHAPTER VII

FROM THE BEGINNING OF STATE INTERVENTION TO THE REVISED CODE, 1862

The advocates of a national system of elementary education were far from satisfied by the meagre grant made by the Government in 1833. The following year, Mr. Roebuck initiated a discussion when he put a motion for a committee to inquire into the means of establishing a system of national education. The ensuing discussion brought into relief several important points. Not only was the education given declared to be deficient in quality as well as quantity, but the need for the training of teachers was pressed. The sole training institutions available in England were the model schools of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. At the latter's school in Borough Road the course was of three months duration only. Lord Brougham advocated a plan for normal schools in London, York, Lancaster, and Exeter. The result of the debate was the grant of an additional £10,000 divided between the two great societies, who were obliged to raise further sums by subscriptions before the work could go forward. The National Society eventually opened the College of St. Mark's, Chelsea, in 1841, and the British and Foreign School Society opened the Borough Road College a little later. In 1838 Mr. Wyse moved in the Address to the Queen a request for a board of commissioners in education to consider the immediate establishment of training institutions for teachers. The indifference of the Government, and the hostility of the Church to certain points in his suggestions caused the motion to be defeated by four votes.

The antagonism between the Church and the Nonconformists was growing increasingly more bitter. Many of the clergy, influenced by the Oxford Movement, were insisting more vehemently upon the right of the Church to control education, and the more it asserted its claims, the greater grew the jealousy and antagonism of the Nonconformists. There was also a feeling in some quarters that the only solution lay in a purely secular education. In the midst of the controversy, Lord John Russell announced, in 1839, the creation by Orders in Council of a Select Committee of the Privy Council consisting of the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Home Secretary, and the Chancellor of the

Exchequer, "to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting Public Education." The Church, especially that section affected by the Oxford Movement, sprang at once into opposition. Archdeacon Denison foreshadowed a change of front on the part of the National Society when he asserted that, since the society had been formed to promote the principles of the Church of England, Nonconformist parents who wished their children to attend National Schools must either agree to allow them to learn the Catechism and attend the services of the Church or stay away altogether. The vote of protest against the establishment of the new committee was defeated by a majority of only five, and the education grant of £30,000 was carried by the narrow margin of two votes.

The first act of the committee was to propose the establishment of a training-school at Kneller Hall for teachers. This proposal brought matters to a head. The idea had been to give the students a general religious instruction which was not distinctive of any denomination and to appoint a chaplain for each denomination having a sufficient number of students. The opposition was so great that the scheme was dropped. It is interesting to notice that both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli were on the opposition side. The former declared that in practice the proposal amounted to a recognition by the State of all forms of religion. The really solid achievement of the committee in its first year of life was the appointment as secretary of Dr. Kay, afterwards Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. Even this appointment was subject to criticism, and Dr. Kay was charged with being a Unitarian and with showing hostility to the Church. As late as 1905, a writer of the National Society inserted the following passage in his book: "Great changes were now intended; the Government, having found in Dr. Kay an able and accomplished Secretary (but as a Nonconformist one not likely to sympathise with Church-school teaching) to undertake the work of an Education Department."¹ Professor Frank Smith has shown conclusively that Dr. Kay was a communicant member of the Church of England.²

The small majority by which the grant of 1839 was carried suggested that at any moment a chance division might put an end to State intervention in education. That this did not happen was

¹ Dean Gregory. *Elementary Education*, National Society, 1905.

² Frank Smith. *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, note pp. 81-2, John Murray, 1923

due entirely to the perseverance and tact of Kay-Shuttleworth, who realised in himself the dual role of an able administrator and an understanding and far-seeing educationist. Dr. Kay had been a physician in Manchester during the great cholera epidemic of 1832. His experience of the dirt and squalor and degradation prevalent in certain quarters of the city convinced him that the greatest evils to be fought were those of bad housing and unsatisfactory sanitary conditions, and that education would be one of the most important means of overcoming them. Hence the value he attached to schools, libraries, and Mechanics' Institutes. He wrote: "The infant is the victim of the system . . . He is ill-fed, dirty, ill-clothed, exposed to cold and neglect; and in consequence, more than one half of the offspring of the poor die before they have completed their 5th year." There was no accurate knowledge about the state of education in the country. True, the Kerry Report of 1833 had professed to give this information, but it was well known that the statistics given in the report were unreliable. Dr. Kay's descriptions of conditions in Manchester, in his pamphlet *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, inspired a number of influential Manchester citizens to form the Statistical Society to investigate conditions in Manchester, Liverpool, and the surrounding neighbourhood.

Similar societies were formed in London, Leeds, and other provincial towns. The investigations of the Manchester society showed that the schools had deteriorated rather than improved. This was especially true of the private school. "In one of the Manchester dame schools eleven children were found, in a small room, in which one of the children of the Mistress was lying ill in bed of the measles. Another child had died in the same room, of the same complaint, a few days before; and no less than thirty of the usual scholars were then confined at home with the same disease."¹

The conditions in other dame-schools and in private-adventure schools were almost too horrible to credit. The statistics collected for Manchester showed that the children of school age formed about a quarter of the total population. Of these, two-thirds received some kind of education and the remainder were absolutely untouched by any educational influence. In Liverpool the latter class included more than one-half of the child population. A

¹ Quoted by Frank Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education*, p. 150.

similar investigation of conditions in Leeds revealed that one-eighth of the population was receiving some kind of education, but if the pupils who only attended Sunday Schools were deducted, then only just over two per cent of the child population, or 1 in 49·5, attended day-schools. In 1839, owing to the influence of grants in aid of school building, the percentage had risen to 8·23. The result of such inquiries was to condemn the voluntary system and call for measures of State control.

But Dr. Kay was not to stay long in Manchester. The Poor Law Reform Act of 1834 stipulated that children in workhouses should receive three hours instruction each day. In 1835 he was appointed Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in East Anglia, and later transferred to London. He continued the work he had begun in Manchester and coupled it with a careful study of schools and methods of teaching in this country, in Scotland, and on the Continent. All this experience convinced him that the monitorial school was a complete failure. He entirely disagreed with the idea that one child who has been instructed in the subject of the lesson is capable of teaching another. At the same time, visits to Edinburgh and Glasgow, where he saw the work of Wood and Stow, impressed him with the superiority of their methods of class teaching. He found what he was seeking by pure accident. In a certain workhouse school the master had fallen ill, and when the chairman of the union visited it he found everything progressing favourably under William Rush, thirteen years of age, who was teaching a class with great success. Rush was left to continue the work, and the thought was raised in Dr. Kay's mind whether he had found what he was seeking. Kay allowed other boys to do the same in other workhouse schools. These assistants were called pupil-teachers. He saw the value of replacing the monitors by older boys who would serve, as it were, a period of apprenticeship in the art of teaching. When he was transferred to London in 1838, Kay was able to experiment further in the workhouse school at Norwood, which housed 1,100 children. He enlisted the help of the master and secured a grant of £500 a year from the Home Office. With the help of this grant he was able, as was mentioned in Chapter vi, to import teachers from Scotland. Alexander Wilson taught at Norwood for a year and a half, and then accepted the offer of the National Society to take charge of their model school at Westminster. At Norwood, a scheme of handicrafts was introduced and the idea of pupil-teachers given a trial. The

experiment attracted a good deal of attention and Norwood received a constant stream of visitors. It was due to the excellent work and the all-round experience that he had gained in education that Dr. Kay was appointed Secretary of the Select Committee of the Privy Council.

Meanwhile, the terrible conditions prevalent in some of the private-venture schools, which were largely unknown to the general public who rarely read reports, were brought home to them in a very vivid way through the publication of *Nicholas Nickleby*. The description of Mr. Squeers and Dotheboys Hall was based on certain schools in North Yorkshire which Dickens had actually visited.

Before he took office, Dr. Kay had realised that his most urgent problem was that of obtaining better teachers in adequate numbers. The monitorial system was not only mechanical ("monitorial humbug" as he once called it), but it ignored an educational influence of the greatest value, the interaction between the immature mind of the pupil and the mature mind of the teacher. Kay wished to replace the monitors by pupil-teachers, but his idea went further than the mere substitution of an older boy for a younger one. He thought that the pupil-teacher should serve an apprenticeship to teaching under the guidance of an experienced headmaster, and then proceed to a well-organised training-college to complete the training for his profession. Hence the most immediate necessity was the establishment of training-colleges for teachers. We have seen the fate of the proposal for opening a training-college in 1839. Kay was actually one of the most important influences behind the proposal, although at that time he had not accepted office. He would not acknowledge defeat and, if the Government was not prepared to open a training-college, he would carry through the experiment relying on his own resources. With the assistance of his friend Mr. Tufnell, he opened in 1840 a training-college in the old manor-house at Battersea. The college was a residential one, and the domestic side was in charge of Kay's mother and sister. Although he was fully occupied with his official post he managed not only to live at the college but to take a considerable share in the teaching. The students were of two types, pupil-teachers from institutions like Norwood, and older men between the ages of twenty and thirty. The religious instruction was based on the Anglican Church and the students were required to attend Battersea Parish Church on Sundays. Kay had recently visited the Continent

in the company of Tufnell and he had been impressed by the schools of Holland and Switzerland—especially the latter, which had developed under the influence of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg. Hence Kay adopted as his model for Battersea the Swiss normal schools of Fr. Girard, Fellenberg, and Vehrli. Frank Smith describes the internal economy of Battersea as follows: "The pupils were required to make their own beds, scrub floors, clean their boots, lay the tables, prepare the vegetables; just as out-of-doors they had to look after two cows, three pigs, and three goats, which belonged to the establishment, to clear the neglected garden of weeds, and grow vegetables and fruit for the needs of the community. This healthy labour was to safeguard them from the danger of forming a false estimate of their position in relation to the class to which they belonged. They were Spartan days; all were up at five-thirty (including the tutors, except when prevented by sickness), and domestic duties and garden occupied them till eight o'clock. Meals, school, and garden, alternated through the long day until nine at night, making in all about fourteen hours of mental and bodily labour."¹ It must have been a tough time for some who were not used to such a life, but those who survived it gained in their general physical health and well-being. Many of the pupil-teachers were found to be very backward as regards their own education, so that the course began with teaching elementary subjects. The curriculum included mensuration and land-surveying, geography, elementary science, accounts, drawing, and music. Kay gave lectures on the theory and practice of education.

Unfortunately the struggle to keep the college going was more than the limited resources of Dr. Kay and his friends could stand, and by 1842 the deficit had reached over £2,000. Dr. Kay left the college on his marriage, when he took by royal licence the name of Kay-Shuttleworth. The Government made a tardy grant of £1,000 for one year only, and demanded in return the right of inspection in perpetuity. The founders of the college realised that the only way to obtain a sound financial basis for the work was to hand it over to the National Society. This was done in 1843, but the example of Battersea stimulated the Church to undertake a campaign for building training-colleges. The result was that by 1845 the Church of England had established twenty-two training-colleges containing at that date 540 students.

¹ Frank Smith. *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p. 107, John Murray, 1923.

For many years after 1839 education was seriously hindered in its progress by the acute controversies which were based upon the sharp religious differences that existed in the nation. There was no reason—except the conflict between the Churches, which extended to a great extent to the political parties also—why a national system of education should not have been evolved in the early years of Victoria's reign. The bitterness showed by the antagonists is largely incomprehensible to the present-day Englishman, who has grown up in an atmosphere of understanding and toleration and who sees the relations of sympathy, goodwill, and co-operation, which now obtain between the Anglicans and the Free Churches.

Hence, to appreciate the difficulties with which Kay-Shuttleworth had to contend, it is necessary to try to estimate the very different religious situation of the 1840's. In the 16th and 17th centuries the Church of England claimed, with a good deal of justice, that it represented the English nation. Church and State were practically synonymous. The Puritan movement was not so much a movement of separation as a struggle taking place within the Church itself. The Separatists, who dissociated themselves from the Church, and the Roman Catholics, represented a very small minority of the people, and had no political power. We can view the Puritan Rebellion not only as an attempt to replace the personal government of the Crown by the supremacy of Parliament, but also as an endeavour to remodel the whole basis of ecclesiastical government and belief. During the brief years of the Commonwealth, the attempt had been successful, but the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 involved also the restoration of the Church, with the result that considerable numbers of people who were unable to fulfil the conditions of the Clarendon Code found themselves cut off from the Church and in actual hostility towards it. Nevertheless, it is true to say that until about the end of Anne's reign the Established Church represented, for practical purposes, the vast majority of the English people. As long as Church and State consisted of almost the same body of people, there was no serious opposition to the claims of the former to control education. During the Whig ascendancy of the 18th century, the Church had entered upon a period of deadness and apathy. Large numbers of the population, still nominally members of the Church, were growing up not so much in hostility to it as almost unaffected by it. The age of apathy came to an end through the Wesleyan revival, which began as a movement within the Church itself, but which, because of the lack

of sympathy and understanding on the part of the clergy, culminated in the secession of thousands of members who had no special quarrel either with the services of the Church or with its organisation.

Thus the situation at the beginning of the 19th century had changed completely, and, although the Church still had a majority in the nation, it could now no longer claim to represent the whole population. Indeed, many writers considered that its day was done and the time for its disestablishment was at hand. But this view failed to reckon with the vitality which was already asserting itself in the Church. First the Evangelical revival, and then the Oxford Movement, had changed the conditions within the Church, and it began to recover in the north of England some of the ground it had lost to Methodism. The Tractarians, though a small minority, influenced great numbers of the clergy who did not follow them in doctrinal matters, and all schools of thought were united in asserting the ancient claim of the Church to the control of education.

The condition of the 1840's may be summarised thus. In the first place, while the Church represented the majority of the nation, the Nonconformists stood for a large and influential minority. The political parties on the whole were influenced by this grouping. The Tories were supporters of the Church and the Whigs showed an opposite tendency. There were of course many exceptions, but this represents the general layout of the political situation.

The Nonconformists resented the claims of the Church to control education, but at the same time most people, Churchmen and Dissenters alike, agreed that religion was an essential part of education. The secularists were as yet quite a small party. The majority of the schools were in the hands of the National Society. This did not cause a great deal of difficulty in the large towns which had National Schools and undenominational schools existing side by side. It was otherwise in the country villages, where as a rule the only available school was the National School, in which religious instruction was based on the Catechism. Attention has already been drawn to the liberal attitude of the National Society in the early days in providing what in practice amounted to a conscience clause for the children of Dissenters. One effect of the Oxford Movement was that its more extreme adherents insisted upon Church teaching as a condition of entrance to the schools. Thus Archdeacon Denison said on one occasion, "I cannot take one step in educating a child who has not either received, or is not, if of such an age as to admit of previous teaching, in a definite course of

preparation, for holy baptism, and in the latter case I should not admit the child into the school until holy baptism had been received," and on another, "Under no circumstances whatsoever could I consent to admit a single child to a school of which I have the control and management, without insisting most positively and strictly, on the learning of the catechism and on attendance at church on Sunday."

The Dissenters, on the other hand, objected more strongly than ever to Church teaching which they thought was becoming, under the influence of the Tractarians, more and more estranged from the principles of the Reformation. The Church would not entertain any idea of undenominational teaching in the schools, while the Dissenters pointed out that in the division of the Treasury grant the National Society was getting the lion's share. The Church admitted this, but considered it as justified since the National Society's schools were far more numerous. They pointed with pride to the large number of schools and the Church training-colleges which had been built very largely with money subscribed by Church people. Thus any schemes submitted to Parliament which involved the building and maintenance of schools out of rates and taxes failed to receive the necessary support because undenominational teaching was not acceptable to the Church, and the Dissenters argued that if denominational teaching was provided, they would be contributing to the cost of doctrinal teaching with which they strongly disagreed.

One of the duties of the Committee of Council was "to determine in what manner the grants of money made from time to time should be distributed." In June 1839 the Committee issued a Minute which announced that all future building-grants would involve the right of inspection. "The right of inspection will be required by the Committee in all cases; inspectors, authorised by Her Majesty in Council, will be appointed from time to time to visit schools to be henceforth aided by public money: the inspectors will not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school, it being their object to collect facts and information, and to report the result of their inspections to the Committee of Council" (*Minutes of the Committee of Council*, 24th September 1839.)

The Church immediately objected to the right of inspection and the National Society claimed to inspect its own schools. Kay-Shuttleworth realised that the most practical solution of the problem

was to work in co-operation with the Church, and in pursuance of this policy he reached what is generally known as the Concordat of 1840 with the National Society. The archbishop had the right of nominating persons as inspectors of Church schools. The instructions to the inspectors as regards religious teaching were to be given by the archbishops, and the instructions issued to them by the Committee of Council were to be shown to the archbishops before they received sanction. Duplicate copies of the inspectors' reports were to be sent to the archbishop of the province and the bishop of the diocese. Mr. Tremenhare had already been appointed as inspector, but the Concordat restricted his activities to the schools of the British and Foreign School Society. The Rev. J. Allen was made inspector of Church schools, and Mr. J. Gibson inspector for Scotland.

The real clash of the denominations came in 1843 and was occasioned by a Factory Bill introduced by the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham. The factory inspectors appointed to ensure that the legislation of 1833 was being observed had for some years reported that there was a wholesale evasion of the provisions of the Act. Not only did they wish to see the regulations concerning the employment of children extended to factories other than those specified in 1833, but they also urged upon the Government the necessity of defining when the eight hours work should take place. Many factories began the day's work at 5.30 a.m. and closed down at 8.30 p.m. Children could be employed at any eight hours of this period, and the practical result was that in many instances they did part of their work before, and the remainder after, dinner. They might be on or about the factory premises during the whole of the period and thus provide a temptation to an unscrupulous employer to make use of their services for more than the legal hours.

Lord Ashley obtained in 1840 the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the Act for the Regulation of Mills and Factories. The reports of the factory inspectors decided the Committee to recommend that children under the age of thirteen should not be employed for more than seven hours a day, and that this work should be performed either before or after the factory dinner-hour. It was thought that this amendment would enable many children to attend the National and British Schools on certain half-days during the week.

Some factory inspectors considered that employers should not be called upon to provide schools for the children in their factories.

They suggested that the Treasury might grant half the cost of the intended school and issue the other half as a loan, repayable with interest in five or seven years. If this principle were to be adopted, there would be no excuse under cover of which the employer could delay the building of a school.

The result of the recommendations of the Committee was the Factory Bill of Sir James Graham, the educational clauses of which had been discussed with Kay-Shuttleworth. Children between eight and thirteen years of age were to be prohibited from working more than six and a half hours per day, and those of thirteen not more than twelve hours a day. The Bill was intended to apply to all children employed in woollen, flax, silk, and cotton, factories. No child under eight was to be employed at all, and all children under thirteen were to be obliged to spend three hours a day in school. The new schools were planned to be built through Government loans, and were to be maintained by fees of not more than 3d. per head per week and through the local poor-rate.

So far these proposals met with general agreement, but when the question of the management of the schools was approached dissension flared up. The intention was for the school to be managed by a committee of seven persons. The local incumbent should be a member and should be empowered to nominate his two churchwardens as trustees. The remaining four, of whom two should be mill-owners, were to be elected by the magistrates. The headmaster was to be a member of the Church of England, and should be approved by the bishop. The religious instruction would be based on the Book of Common Prayer, and attendance at church was to be compulsory, though a conscience clause was included which it was thought would be acceptable to Nonconformists. The schools were to be inspected by the clerical trustees and the Committee of Council.

At the first reading the Bill received but few criticisms, but when it came before the House for the second reading the opposition of the Nonconformists had become organised. Numerous petitions to the House poured in, and in the provinces the opposition was led by Edward Baines, the editor of the *Leeds Mercury*. The Nonconformists objected that, whilst all inhabitants were required to contribute to the maintenance of the schools through the poor-rate, the management would be exclusively in the hands of the Church.

At the Committee stage, Graham suggested several amendments in the hope of pacifying his opponents. He proposed that

denominational teaching should be voluntary and might be given in separate rooms. While the Church teaching was being given, the children of Nonconformists could receive instruction in other subjects, and their minister would be allowed to visit the school for three hours on one day each week to teach the tenets of the particular denomination. The clergyman should choose one trustee only; the other should be elected by the subscribers to the school. The four remaining members of the management committee were to be elected by the ratepayers, but no ratepayer would be able to vote for more than two candidates. The headmaster alone should be approved by the bishop: the other teachers would be appointed by the trustees.

The concessions proposed by Sir James should have been sufficient to gain the consent of reasonable people, or at least to have formed the basis for further bargaining. The Nonconformists, however, were no longer reasonable people, but, elated by their success, they would listen to nothing less than an unconditional surrender by the Government. Graham was determined to give ground no further. He stated: "I say that as a Minister of the Crown—that Crown being the head of the Church established by law—I should betray my duty if I made any concession on this point." He felt that parents of Church of England children had a right to demand Church teaching in the schools for their boys and girls, although he had agreed that Nonconformists should also be able to obtain the kind of religious instruction they wanted. The Bill was dropped and a promise given that a new Bill would be introduced in the following session.

The abandonment of Graham's Bill was the most serious setback that education had so far received. If it had become law, there was a real possibility that it might have laid the foundation for a general provision of schools in the industrial areas and that in the course of time it might even have led to a national system of education. As it was, religious bigotry postponed the hope of establishing universal elementary education for another thirty years.

Sir James Graham's Factory Act of 1844 entirely abandoned the idea of aiding the provision of schools. The question of religious instruction was dropped and the main part of the Act was concerned with the hours of employment. In one respect it was retrograde, for the age at which a child could be employed was lowered from nine years to eight. It obliged children between the ages of eight and thirteen to spend either three whole days or six half days

at school. The hours of work were limited to six and a half per day, either before or after the dinner-hour. Every employer was obliged to obtain a certificate from a schoolmaster testifying that the child had attended school for the prescribed number of hours during the preceding week. The factory inspectors were given further powers for inspecting schools and of disallowing the certificates given by incompetent schoolmasters. Twopence per week might be deducted from the child's wages to pay for his schooling. These regulations were extended to other factories and workshops in 1864 and 1867 respectively. Thus began the system of "half-timers" which, much to the hindrance of educational efficiency, lingered on to 1918.¹

At a meeting of the Congregational Union, held at Leeds in 1843, Edward Baines repudiated State control in education and declared for a voluntary system on a religious basis. The Voluntarists set about raising funds for schools, and by 1851 had opened 364 schools which were independent of State aid. They opened their own training-college at Homerton in 1846. The movement spread for a time, but then diminished and finally came to an end in 1867.

Kay-Shuttleworth now turned his attention to what he had always considered his most important aim, that of improving both the supply and the quality of the teachers. In the Minutes of 1846, his scheme of training was announced, and it formed the basis of training for many years to come. In the scheme he definitely introduced the pupil-teacher system. Certain schools which had received a favourable report from the inspector were to be recognised as suitable for the training of pupil-teachers. The young person entered upon a five-year apprenticeship at the age of thirteen. His stipend was £10 per annum rising by annual increments

¹ The unsatisfactory nature of the half-time system is illustrated from the following comments taken from the records of Burnt Yates School in the West Riding.

"1888, Sept. 26th. A list of Half-Timers' absences was sent to-day to Mr. Threlfall, Shaw Mills, who has promised to see into the matter.

"1890, May 1st. Sent note to the overlooker at Shaw Mills informing him of the irregular attendance of the half-timers.

"1891, March 10th. Sent note to Mr. John Threlfall, the Mill, Shaw Mills, respecting the absence from school of several half-timers.

"March 11th. Record reply from Mr. Threlfall saying he cannot stop the work of a batch of children.

"N.B. The half-timers' attendance book has been filled up regularly and returned to the Mill each week, the absences, as they occurred being specially noted therein. No notice has apparently been taken of these entries at the Mill. It is a growing evil."

of £2 10s. to £20 per annum. One pupil-teacher was allowed for every twenty-five scholars, and head teachers were required to give them one and a half hours instruction each school day. For this work head teachers received an addition to their salaries of £5 for one pupil-teacher, £9 for two, and £3 for every additional one. At the end of their apprenticeship the pupil-teachers presented themselves for the Queen's Scholarship examination. Those who were selected were awarded exhibitions to the value of £20 or £25 at a training-college. Annual grants were paid to training-colleges for each of the three years of training. The unsuccessful candidates were to receive a preference for minor appointments in the Government Revenue departments. Trained teachers were to receive proficiency grants from the Government and old-age pensions were to be provided for men and women teachers who had a minimum of fifteen years service in approved schools. Special grants were offered in respect of field gardens and workshops. This involved a larger grant, and in 1847 the Government grant was increased to £100,000. The same year the Committee of Council offered grants for school-books and maps on condition that two-thirds of the cost was met by subscriptions. The latter condition was mischievous, since the schools which needed the apparatus most were those in poor parishes where it was most difficult to raise money by fees or subscription. Thus, in London, four slum parishes with large school populations received £12 0s. 8d. between them, whilst four parishes in well-to-do districts obtained nearly £4,000.

Another important Minute dealt with management clauses which were required to be included in the trust-deeds of schools. Four different types of management clause were decided upon for the Church of England, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic schools, and the schools of the British and Foreign School Society. In the case of the Church schools the incumbent of the parish was to be the chairman of the managers and was given the right to use the school premises as a Sunday School. The incumbent was responsible for the religious instruction, and any case of dispute was to be referred to the bishop. The management and control of the school and the appointment or dismissal of the teachers were the concern of the management committee. In Wesleyan schools the minister took the place of the parish clergyman, and in Roman Catholic schools the priest acted upon a faculty from his bishop. In 1847 the Catholic Poor School Committee was formed, and after some delay was recognised as an authority which could receive grants for

the building of schools. The priest nominated his committee of managers, but in Church schools the managers were elected from the subscribers. In the British Schools the whole committee was elected. The National Society objected to the management clause on the ground that it introduced a distinction between religious and secular education which they could never admit. Archdeacon Denison led the extremists of the National Society and at one time it seemed as though the society would dissolve into two opposing factions. Fortunately, moderate counsels prevailed and a working compromise was accepted.

One interesting proposal to end religious conflict was made by Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds. In a pamphlet published in 1846, entitled *On the means of rendering more effective the Education of the People*, he suggested a system of schools supported by the rates and under local management, providing secular education only. Religious instruction should be given by the clergy of the different denominations on Sundays and on two afternoons a week. The pamphlet attracted considerable attention, and some correspondence passed between Dr. Hook and Kay-Shuttleworth on the matter. After mature consideration, the latter decided to adhere to his original plan of the denominational school with a conscience clause.

Before the establishment of the Committee of the Council, very little attention had been paid to the important question of school buildings. It is true that both the National and the British Societies had drawn up building regulations, but far too frequently, especially in rural districts, schoolhouses were erected by rule of thumb by the village bricklayer and carpenter. The rooms were often low, dark, and ill-drained, with no other means of heating than a stove at one end. The floor was usually of brick, which wore into dust and was cold to the feet. There were rarely cloak-rooms for the children, and sanitation was universally neglected.

The Committee of Council, in the regulations of 24th September 1839, required that in order to receive a building-grant, "Every building . . . shall be of substantial erection, and that in the plans thereof not less than six square feet be provided for each child."¹ *Circular No. 1*, November 1839, consisted of forty-two questions which were to be answered by applicants for a building-grant. The questions included ones concerning the site, the nature of the tenure,

¹ *Minutes*, 1839-40, p. 2.

the names of the trustees, and particulars of the contemplated building, *e.g.* walls, windows, roof, floor, and ventilation. Instructions were also issued indicating how the questions should be answered. Detailed plans of the schoolhouse, the master's house, and children's playground were to accompany the answers to the questionnaire. "The mode of ventilating and warming the school is of such importance to the health of the masters and scholars, that it ought to be most carefully considered by the school committee, and a sketch of the air-grates and flues should be included in the sectional drawings. The school committee will find useful information on this subject, in the minute explanatory of the plans of school-houses published in the 8vo edition of the Minutes of the Committee of Council."¹

The Minutes of 20th February 1840, included plans and specifications of different types of school. The arrangements of the schoolroom were described, first according to the system of mutual instruction, *i.e.* the system adopted in the schools of Bell and Lancaster, and then according to the mixed method, in which the monitorial system was combined with the simultaneous method advocated by Stow and Wilderspin. In the latter case, provision was made for the erection of a gallery. "In making arrangements for teaching on the simultaneous method, it is therefore necessary to provide for two somewhat conflicting objects:—

"1. The technical instruction of the children in classes, carefully arranged according to their intellectual proficiency.

"2. The general instruction of 100 to 120, or even more children, by the use of suggestion, ellipsis, and interrogation, either in the schoolroom common to all the classes, or in a gallery provided for that purpose."²

The building-plans of the Committee of Council brought into being a new profession, namely that of the school architect. Thus an architect, H. E. Kendall, produced an album of designs for schools and school houses in 1847, which included a number of plans and sketches of schools which he had built in accordance with the official requirements. The following specification represents a typical school of this period.

"The previous estimates of the number which a school will contain are calculated by allowing six square feet of the surface of the schoolroom floor to each child, a space recommended as sufficient by the Committee of Council on Education. According to

¹ *Minutes*, 1839-40, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

this rule, the present design will accommodate eighty-five children only.

"The school should be faced with red bricks, which might be pleasingly varied by interlacings of black heading bricks, and in parts alternately with dark ochre coloured bricks. The porches, bay window, dressings round windows, the base of the plinth, the plinth weathered string course, the gable quoin-corbels and their acroteral ornaments, the gable coping and the apex acroteral terminations, the buttress consoles of the chimney shaft, and the bracketted chimney tops, would be best formed of Caen or Bath stone ashler; the belfrey and ventilator painted and sanded to imitate stone.

"The moulded window frames, mullions, and transoms, doors, and open side parapets of porch, to be fir, finished in imitation of oak. The roof timbers open to the school, and framed ornamentally, the floor boarded, and the glazing exhibiting an arrangement of geometrical forms. The slating plain—except to the ventilating turret, which should be scalloped with a moulded ferro metallic like coping. The roof of the porch and bay window to be covered with lead, laid with curved hip ridge rolls, as practised in the varied, picturesque, but fantastic medley manner of building in the time of James I; the style in the Author's eye when composing this elevation.

"The teacher's lodgings, as usual, consist of parlour, kitchen, pantry, two sleeping rooms over, and scullery, coal room, with a cellar under the stairs etc.; the school and house together would cost £350.

"In the designs which have been executed, the schools are generally heated by open fires; and the ventilation produced in the manner recommended in the Minute of the Committee of Council on Education. Open spaces are left at intervals in the external wall, between the sleeper joists, and openings are also made in different parts of the boarded floor, having valves to regulate their size. Through these valved openings a quantity of fresh air constantly flows into the school-room, and the warm breathed impure air rises to the roof, and escapes by a perforation in the ceiling, and through the valves or luffer boards of the ventilating turret, into the atmosphere. This Apparatus is found to act with precision in most states of the weather, and the air of the school-room to be incessantly renewed, without discomfort to the children placed on the floor."

The reader should note the following points about the above specification:—

- (a) The tendency to build a school after an ecclesiastical model or in a pseudo-Gothic, Tudor, or Jacobean style.
- (b) The low cost of the building.
- (c) The arrangements for ventilation.
- (d) No provision for playgrounds.
- (e) The arrangement of the forms in the classroom. The school was designed for the mixed method. The rear desks were to be occupied by children who were writing, whilst the front desks were used for children listening to an oral lesson. The cloak-rooms were in the porch, and in a school of this size, no gallery was provided.

Owing to the tremendous pressure of work, coupled with the reluctance of the Privy Council to increase his staff, and also to his anxieties about the religious question, Kay-Shuttleworth's health gave way in 1848. After a partial recovery in the following year, he tendered his resignation and the Queen in recognition of his great services to education conferred a baronetcy upon him. He was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Lingen.

Kay-Shuttleworth's services to education cannot be better expressed than in Frank Smith's appreciation. "It is the literal truth to say that he had in those ten years, laid the ground plan of English elementary education. 'To him, more than anyone else,' says Sir Michael Sadler, 'we owe it that England is supplied with schools for the children of her people, and that this costly work has been accomplished without a breach between Church and State.' What had seemed impossible in 1839 was, by 1849, almost achieved in its main outlines, and the victory was on the side of tolerance and reason. . . . Under his guidance and by his directive force a silent revolution had been started in the schools, which in the end transformed them." ¹

The denominational disputes referred to above led to the rise of a Secularist party consisting of many able and thoughtful men who, despairing of reaching agreement in any other way, advocated purely secular instruction in the schools, leaving religious education to the clergy. Several ineffective attempts were made in Parliament in 1850 and 1851 to secure an Act setting up a national system of

¹ Frank Smith. *A History of English Elementary Education*, p. 211.

secular schools. The Secularists started from the Lancashire Public School Association which by 1850 had become the National Public School Association. They never succeeded in persuading Parliament or the nation, which was united in the belief that all education should rest on a religious basis.

During the period of religious controversy, the Committee of Council had been quietly issuing its Minutes and gradually asserting public control over education. Its work is a very interesting example of the use of delegated powers of legislation about which we hear so much at the present time. Most people, until the publication of Lord Hewart's *New Despotism*, had not realised the extent to which government is carried on through a bureaucracy by means of delegated powers, and even now it is thought that this is a recent innovation. The Committee of Council had been established in 1839 by an Act of the royal prerogative and its Minutes were usually issued without parliamentary authority, since the only time for discussing them was when the annual grant was submitted to the House.

The accumulation of power in the hands of the administrative officials did not pass without notice. For example, in 1852 the Committee ruled that in all schools receiving grants a conscience clause must be inserted in the trust deeds. This was bitterly opposed by the National Society and, when the matter was discussed in the House of Lords, Earl Derby pointed out that most of the important decisions made by the Committee of the Council were issued when Parliament was in recess and the education grant for the year had been passed. Again, it was an Order in Council that raised the Committee in 1856 to the status of an Education Department. The Lord President was to remain the chief of the new department, but he was to be represented in the House of Commons by a Vice-President who would be responsible to the House for the expenditure and administration of the department. The Vice-President was selected by the Prime Minister when he chose his Cabinet, and thus his term of office ended when the particular party in power, of which he was a member, ceased to have a majority in the House. Thus the progress of education became definitely linked with politics, and on many occasions the tendency has been to regard education from the point of view of the policy of the party in power rather than from its relation to the children of the country. The occasion of the formation of

the Education Department was chosen by Lord Monteagle to express his belief "that the Committee of Council was in constitution and principle one of the worst modes of administration. The members were ill-assorted; some could not attend for want of time; others had not the knowledge or opportunity of understanding the functions that nominally devolved upon them; and, as the result, the real power was in the hands of subordinate persons."¹

In addition to differences between denominationalists and secularists, many people were alarmed at the increasing cost of education. The Parliamentary grant had risen from £150,000 in 1851 to £541,233 in 1857. Against this increase one had to set the cost of the Crimean War which amounted to nearly £78,000,000. Ought not the amount spent on education to be reduced? Was the instruction given in the schools yielding satisfactory results for the money spent? These thoughts led Sir J. Pakington to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle, "to inquire into the present state of education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of *sound and cheap elementary instruction* to all classes of people." The words in italics sufficiently reveal the purpose of the inquiry. The report of the Newcastle Commission was issued in 1861, and on the whole was optimistic in character. The Commissioners professed to be content with the system by which schools provided by voluntary bodies received assistance through Government grants and they affirmed that universal compulsory education was neither attainable nor desirable. They were satisfied with the wide diffusion of education and ignored the fact that many areas were inadequately supplied with schools.

The Report classified schools either as public or private. The former were directed by the religious societies without regard to profit. The latter were conducted by individuals for profit. Although the Report included a section of 127 pages of statistics, the figures given are not wholly reliable since they were frequently based on estimates rather than accurate returns. It is possible, however, to form from them a picture of the diffusion of educational facilities. The diagram on page 250 summarises the relevant statistics.

The Commissioners, however, were not so happy about the attendance of the children. Even in the inspected schools, the attendance amounted to only 76·1 per cent of the pupils on roll and

¹ Holman. *English National Education*, p. 148, Blackie, 1898.

was distributed over about four years in the case of children between six and twelve years of age. Seventeen per cent of the pupils attended less than 50 days in the year, 19 per cent between 50 and 100 days, 23 per cent for 150 days, and only 41 per cent attended 176 days, the minimum period fixed for payment of a grant. In the inspected schools, owing to the fact that only a minority of the children remained at school after ten years of age, the Commission

NEWCASTLE COMMISSION 1858 - 1861

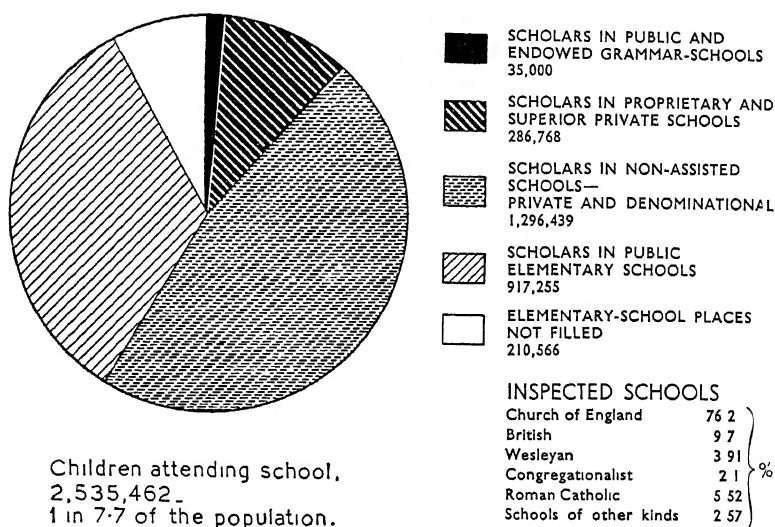


FIG. 1.

considered that not more than a quarter of the pupils were receiving a satisfactory education.¹

While the Commissioners thought the basis of the existing system quite sound, they pointed to a number of defects. The instruction of the inspected schools was undoubtedly superior to that in other schools, but the inspectors' reports were not altogether reliable because they judged the achievements of the older rather than the younger scholars. Inspection tended to raise the standards of the school, but it also had an adverse effect in leading the teacher to

¹The statistics for Leeds in 1857 were: average leaving age 9·59 years, average length of schooling 4·73 years, percentage who had previously attended an infant-school 51·75. Average rate of wages obtained on leaving school varied from 3s. 2d. to 5s. per week.

place overmuch reliance on memory at the expense of reason. The teachers were tempted to concentrate their efforts on the older children and to neglect the groundwork of the three R's amongst the juniors. The moral and religious influences of the schools were greater than their intellectual influence, and in many cases good schools had civilised the whole neighbourhood in which they were set.

They were very concerned with the large number of pupils who attended uninspected schools where little or no improvement had occurred since the early days of the century. Speaking of the dame-schools, they described the mistresses as "generally advanced in life and their school is usually their kitchen, sitting and bedroom." The room was "often so small that the children stand in a semi-circle round the teacher. Indeed, I have seen the children as closely packed as birds in a nest, and tumbling over each other like puppies in a kennel."¹ Speaking of the masters, Dr. Hodgeson reported, "None are too old, too poor, too ignorant, too feeble, too sickly, too unqualified in one or every way, to regard themselves, and to be regarded by others, as unfit for school-keeping. Nay, there are few, if any, occupations regarded as incompatible with school-keeping, if not as simultaneous, at least as preparatory employments. Domestic servants out of place, discharged barmaids, vendors of toys or lollipops, keepers of small eating-houses, of mangles, or of small lodging houses, needlewomen who take in plain or slop work, milliners, consumptive patients in an advanced stage, cripples almost bedridden, persons of at least doubtful temperance, outdoor paupers, men and women of seventy and even eighty years of age, persons who spell badly (mostly women, I grieve to say), who can scarcely write and who cannot cipher at all."² Again, "When other occupations fail for a time, a private school can be opened, with no capital beyond the cost of a ticket in the window. Any room, however small and close, serves for the purpose; the children sit on the floor, and bring what books they please; whilst the closeness of the room renders fuel superfluous, and even keeps the children quiet by its narcotic effects. If the fees do not pay the rent, the school is dispersed or taken by the next tenant."³

The reaction of the Commissioners to the reports of their assistants was astounding. They recommended that private schools should receive aid if the school were properly ventilated and drained

¹ *Report*, Vol. I, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

and if the inspector reported favourably on it. The reason given was that under these conditions most private schools would be ruled out and a better type of individual would be encouraged to open schools.

A further suggestion was to admit to the Teachers' Certificate examination any persons who had a good moral character and had kept a school for three years. The Commission ascribed the popularity of private schools to the fact that the parents thought the pupils more respectable, "that the teachers are more inclined to comply with their wishes, that the children are better cared for, and that they themselves, in choosing such schools for their children, stand in an independent position, and are not accepting a favour from their social superiors."¹

The suggestions of the Commission may be summarised as follows:—

There should be no interference in the religious instruction given by the different denominations. All grants should be paid to the school managers, from whom the teachers should receive their salaries. They recommended the simplification of the system of grants and suggested that they should be reduced to two types:—

- (a) A grant paid by the Government out of general taxation and dependent on attendance and the fulfilment of certain conditions by the managers and a satisfactory report from the inspectors.
- (b) A sum derived from the county rates based on the result of an examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic, conducted by examiners appointed by county and borough boards of education.

The Government grant should be calculated on the average attendance and should not be more than 6s. or less than 5s. 6d. per head in schools having under sixty pupils, and not more than 4s. 6d. per head for larger schools. An additional grant of 2s. 6d. per child under the instruction of a qualified pupil-teacher or assistant teacher could be earned. Thirty children were allowed for each pupil-teacher and sixty for each assistant teacher. The amount of these grants would vary according to the inspectors' reports.

Aid from the county rate could be claimed for each child who had attended at least 140 days in the year and had passed the

¹ *Report*, Vol. I, p. 96.

prescribed examination in the three R's (with the addition of plain needlework for girls). The aid given by the county rate should range from 21s. to 22s. 6d., but children under seven would not be examined. A grant of 20s. would be paid on them based on the average number of children in daily attendance. The amount of Government grant and rate aid was based on the assumption that the total cost of educating a child would not exceed 30s. a year. Any deficiencies would be supplied from fees and the income yielded by endowments. The grants were dependent on an inspector's certificate that the school was healthy, properly drained and ventilated, and that the main schoolroom contained eight square feet of floor space per head.

The suggestions of the Commissioners were quite inadequate to meeting the urgent problems of education at that time. The Report was frankly a compromise, and its seeming unanimity concealed many divergent views. We know, for instance, that Matthew Arnold was not in agreement with some of the statements which he thought had been reached on insufficient evidence. We have already drawn attention to the large number of inefficient private schools. Another important problem, the fact that only a small proportion of scholars stayed long enough at school to reach higher classes, was complacently set on one side.

They accepted the fact that most children left school at the age of ten, and concluded that nothing could be done without raising the leaving-age. Hence they emphasised the two points of irregular attendance at school and the pupils' alleged lack of proficiency in the three R's.

During the session of the Commission, Mr. Lingen had complained that the regulations concerning grants and inspection were contained in the Minutes of the Committee of Council and in the reports of the Department and were not readily available. Mr. Robert Lowe, who had been appointed Vice-President of the Department in 1859, had them collected together and issued as the Code of 1860.

Robert Lowe's name will always be associated with the system of "Payment by Results" which he inaugurated in the Revised Code of 1862. Probably no man has been so universally condemned by educationists as Lowe.

Lowe was a product of Winchester and University College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself as a scholar. For some

years he acted as a private coach and an examiner. Lord Bryce relates a story of Lowe in his capacity as examiner for Responsions. A friend visited him whilst he was conducting a *viva* and asked how the examination was progressing. Lowe is supposed to have replied, "Excellently. Five men plucked already, and the sixth very shaky."¹ Such a story reveals two important characteristics in his make-up, namely his love of efficiency and his impatience with the shortcomings of other people. After a visit to Australia, where he played a considerable part in politics, Lowe returned to take up a political career at home. He was a Liberal, but his ideas were more at one with the aristocratic Whigs of an earlier period than with the newer Liberals led by such men as Gladstone and Forster. Nevertheless, he had a great affection for Gladstone and, later in his career, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Gladstone's first ministry, he achieved fame through his speeches in defence of his chief.

When he was appointed to the office of Vice-President of the Education Department, the idea of competition was in the air. Darwin's *Origin of Species* had familiarised the public with the notions of the "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest." Lowe, as a convinced free-trader, firmly believed in the value of competition as a means of selection. Some time before accepting the office, he maintained that by throwing open certain minor Post Office appointments to competition, the cost of education could be reduced. The growing amount of the grant for education was a cause of concern in some quarters. Public expenditure on education had grown from £125,000 in 1850 to £836,920 in 1859. Lowe argued that if his suggestion were accepted the poor would thereby be encouraged to look after the education of their children for their own benefit.

Certain Civil Service appointments were already being awarded on the results of a competitive examination, and this development had received the warm approval of Horace Mann, who thought it would encourage parents to keep their children longer at school.

Examinations had also begun to enter the secondary schools, though their adoption was slow, as the Taunton Commission showed. The College of Preceptors began their school examinations in 1853, and the Oxford and the Cambridge Local Examinations started in 1857. Inspectors had been urging pupil-teachers and

¹ Lord Bryce. *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, p. 301, note, Macmillan, 1903.

assistant teachers to take London Matriculation. A few years later, the Taunton Commission recommended periodic examination of schools, supervised by a Council of Examinations, and the Rev. J. P. Norris, H.M.I., giving evidence before the Commissioners, stated: "The studies of the classroom must be those wherein progress can be definitely measured by examination. For examination is to the student what the target is to the rifleman; there can be no definite aim, no real training without it."¹

At the same time a feeling was growing, especially amongst the business section of the community, that in spite of the enormously increased grants in aid of education, the nation was not getting value for money, though Lowndes warns us that too much emphasis must not be placed on this. Speaking of Payment by Results, he says: "The origin of the system does not, as some historians have too readily assumed, appear to have been entirely due to the blind demand of mid-Victorian parliamentary thought for a visible demonstration of value received for money expended. This demand no doubt played a substantial part."²

Lowe was primarily an administrator and a politician, and it was unfortunate in many ways that he was called upon to exercise the functions of Vice-President of the Education Department at this time. As an administrator he had many points to recommend him. His love of efficiency, his quick, logical mind, which led him to grasp the essential features of a situation but which frequently played him false by suggesting generalisations without counting all the relevant facts, and his ruthless determination to go ahead once his mind was made up, were characteristics that inspired the respect of some but the intense dislike of many more. Sidney Low, speaking of his work as Chancellor of the Exchequer, says: "He was a man of much intellectual power and dauntless energy . . . and he carried into his new office an aptitude for giving offence which almost amounted to genius. When Robert Lowe saw a head in his way he was pretty sure to hit it—especially if the head was a soft one."³

He never claimed to be an educationist. There is a story that when an H.M.I. went to consult him, Lowe said, "I know what you've come about, the science of education. There is none. Good morning." Any views he had about education were simply

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission Report* Vol. IV, p. 60.

² G. A. N. Lowndes. *The Silent Social Revolution*, p. 8, O.U.P., 1937.

³ Sidney Low. *Political History of England*, Vol. XII, p. 223, Longmans, 1907.

the product of his political and economic outlook, which in some ways belonged to the end of the 18th century. In an oft-quoted passage in the pamphlet *Primary and Classical Education*, 1867, he wrote, "I do not think it is any part of the duty of the Government to prescribe what people should learn, except in the case of the poor, where time is so limited that we must fix upon a few elementary subjects to get anything done at all. . . . The lower classes ought to be educated to discharge the duties cast upon them. They should also be educated that they may appreciate and defer to a higher cultivation when they meet it, and the higher classes ought to be educated in a very different manner, in order that they may exhibit to the lower classes that higher education to which, if it were shown to them, they would bow down and defer." Note Lowe's reference to the shortness of time available at school. The people who should have known better, the members of the Newcastle Commission, had made no suggestions about prolonging the period children spent at school, but had complacently assumed that the economic system which encouraged an early school-leaving age was incapable of modification. It is therefore not surprising to find Lowe openly contemptuous of democracy and putting forth every effort to defeat the Reform Bill of 1867. When the Bill had become law, he realised that a democracy can only be successful if it is an educated democracy, and he coined the famous epigram generally misquoted as "We must educate our masters."

Was there anything else in Lowe's mind which helped to shape his policy? It is here that Lowe the administrator peeps out. The state of affairs in the Education Department was causing him some alarm. The increase in grants and the consequent growth of the number of schools from 46,042 in 1850 to 58,975 in 1859 had thrown more and more administrative work on an already overburdened and under-staffed department. This had been one of the causes of Kay-Shuttleworth's illness and retirement in 1849. Since then the burden had increased and a parsimonious Treasury was always reluctant to sanction additional administrative staff and inspectors. As Lord Lingen pointed out many years later when he gave evidence before the Cross Commission, the Government grants had always been paid to individuals. Every pupil-teacher drew his stipend through the Post Office by means of an order made out to him personally, and assistant teachers received their grants in much the same way. One simplification of the administrative procedure would be to rule that in future all grants should be paid

to the school managers, who would then be responsible for allocating them to the staff. Lowe's acute mind seized upon this as a desirable measure of decentralisation, and he made it a permanent feature of the method of paying the annual grants. Holman points out that the principle of Payment by Results was already latent in the Department as early as 1857. The Education Department had replied to an inquirer that teachers had no claim whatever upon the capitation grants, but "at the same time my lords would not disapprove of an arrangement whereby the teacher was given some interest in obtaining the capitation grant, *e.g.* a percentage upon it in addition to the salary otherwise assured to him. Any such plan, however, both in principle and detail, rests exclusively upon the discretion of the managers."¹ There is therefore good reason to believe that Lowe had made up his mind before he read the report of the Newcastle Commission, but when he perused it his attention was attracted by the following paragraph—speaking of the means of securing increased efficiency of school instruction, the Commissioners had said: "There is only one way of securing this result, which is to institute a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are paid, with a view to ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent to a considerable extent on the results of this examination."²

When he submitted the education estimates of 1861, Lowe proposed to cancel the Code of 1860 and to substitute for it his suggestions as contained in the Revised Code, which was presented to Parliament at the end of the session, 29th July 1861. The suggestion of the Commission about the establishment of county and borough education boards with power to contribute from the rates was rejected. Lowe concentrated on the two defects mentioned in the report, irregularity of attendance and the meagre accomplishment of the younger scholars in reading, writing, and arithmetic. In future all grants would be paid to managers on the principle of Payment by Results. "Hitherto," he said, "we have been living under a system of bounties and protection; now we propose to have a little free trade." Lowe's proposals raised a growing volume of protest from teachers, managers, clergy, and educationists. It is recorded that out of the thousands of petitions

¹ Holman. *English National Education*, pp. 136-7, Blackie, 1898.

² *Newcastle Commission Report*, Vol. I, p. 157.

sent to both Houses of Parliament, only one petition in favour of the proposals was received. As a result of the protests and the parliamentary criticisms, Lowe postponed the issue of the Revised Code until 1862. When it appeared, certain modifications had been made. Originally children from three to seven were to have been included in the examination, but now he had realised the absurdity of this proposal. The training-college grants which were to have been annulled were to continue for the time being. The Revised Code would not apply to Scotland, and certain modifications were made with regard to the amount and the conditions of grant. With these exceptions, however, Lowe retained his general principles.

As he told Parliament, "I cannot promise the House that this system will be an economical one, and I cannot promise that it will be an efficient one, but I can promise that it shall be either one or the other. If it is not cheap, it shall be efficient; if it is not efficient, it shall be cheap." In its final form, the Code made two conditions for grant: attendance, and results in examination. An attendance was reckoned as two hours instruction in the morning or afternoon and one and a half hours in the evening, but evening attendances only applied to pupils over twelve years of age. A grant of 4s. per scholar according to the average number in attendance throughout the year at the morning and afternoon meetings of the school would be paid, together with a grant of 2s. 6d. per scholar for the evening meetings of the school. For children under six, a grant of 6s. 6d. would be made subject to a satisfactory report from the inspector. The remainder of the grant was to be dependent on the result of the annual examination. Every scholar who attended more than two hundred morning or afternoon meetings of the school and passed the examination would earn a grant of 8s. Evening scholars who attended not less than twenty-four evening meetings and passed the examination would earn a grant of 5s.

If the scholar failed to pass the examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic, the amount of 2s. 8d. was forfeited for each subject in which he failed, and, in the case of evening students, 1s. 8d. for each subject failed in was deducted. The children were to be grouped in six Standards and no child could be examined a second time in the same Standard. The syllabus for the examination in each of the Standards is reproduced in the table on the page opposite.

All girls must receive instruction in plain needlework. The grant could be withheld or reduced if the inspector was not satisfied with the condition of the school, *e.g.* the school building must

	STANDARD I	STANDARD II	STANDARD III
Reading.	Narrative monosyllables.	One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the school.	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school.
Writing.	Form on blackboard or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small, manuscript.	Copy in manuscript character a line of print.	A sentence from the same paragraph slowly read once and then dictated in single words.
Arithmetic.	Form on blackboard or slate, from dictation, figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on blackboard.	A sum in simple addition or subtraction, and the multiplication table.	A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive).
	STANDARD IV	STANDARD V	STANDARD VI
Reading.	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school.	A few lines of poetry from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative.
Writing.	A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read.	A sentence slowly dictated once, by a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.
Arithmetic.	A sum in compound rules (money).	A sum in compound rules (common weights and measures).	A sum in practice or bills of parcels.

be properly lighted, drained, ventilated, and supplied with offices, and must contain eighty cubic feet of internal space for each child in average attendance. The head teacher should be certificated, and various conditions as regards the number of pupil-teachers and assistant teachers had to be complied with. The documents such as the log-book had to be kept up to date.

When the inspector's report was sent to the managers by the Education Department, it was to be entered in the log-book by the secretary of the managers. Lay persons alone could be recognised as teachers in elementary schools. The examination syllabus for

each of the five years of the pupil-teacher's apprenticeship was detailed in the Code, and the pupil-teachers were to be paid by the managers from the annual grant. The provision for granting pensions to teachers who retired after a minimum of fifteen years service was annulled for those who entered after the Revised Code, but the pension rights of existing teachers were to be respected. In the instructions to H.M.I.s on working the Code, the following paragraph occurred: "The grant to be made to each school depends, as it has ever done, upon the school's whole character and work. The grant is offered for attendance in a school with which the inspector is satisfied. . . . You will judge every school by the same standard that you have hitherto used, as regards its religious, moral, and intellectual merits. The examination under Article 48 does not supersede this judgment, but presupposes it. That Article does not prescribe that, *if this much is done a grant shall be paid* but, *unless this much is done no grant shall be paid*. . . . If you keep these distinctions steadily in view, you will see how little the scope of your duties is changed."

Detailed instructions about the method of conducting the examinations were issued to the inspectors, *e.g.* "You will begin with writing and arithmetic, and you will direct the teachers to see that all who are to be examined under Standard I, have before them a slate and pencil; under Standards II and III a slate, a pencil, and a reading book; all under Standards IV-VI, a half sheet of folio paper, a pen, ink, and the appropriate reading book. You will then call 'Standard I, stand up throughout the school.'" When the children had been checked, the inspector was to give the order, "Standard I, sit down, and write on your slates as I dictate." The same procedure was to be observed throughout the school. Then the examination in arithmetic and reading followed. The standard for a pass was the mark "fair." "The word *fair* means that *Reading* is intelligible, though not quite good; *Dictation* legible, and rightly spelt in all common words though the writing may need improvement, and less common words may be misspelt; *Arithmetic*, right in method, and at least one sum free from error."

How far was the Revised Code cheap and efficient? From the narrow point of view it was cheap. The cost to the country because of a diminishing annual grant was considerably lessened. The grant, which had reached £813,441 in 1862, fell steadily to its low-water mark of £636,806 in 1865. But cheapness cannot be considered apart from efficiency. Was the nation really getting

value for money? Kay-Shuttleworth prophesied the results of the Revised Code: a loss in grant to the schools of about £175,000 a year (actually it came to £190,000), a decrease in the number and quality of the pupil-teachers (from 13,237 in 1860 to 8,937 in 1866, but after this numbers began to rise), a lowering of the standards of instruction in both the schools and the training-colleges, and a reduction in teachers' salaries. The number of certificated teachers increased, but this was offset by the total number of teachers, which remained stationary although the school population increased from 751,325 in 1860 to 871,309 in 1866. This resulted in larger classes. In 1860 the average number of scholars per teacher was 37·7, but this had risen to 43·4 in 1866. The new regulations certainly produced a better average attendance; the pupils remained longer at school and teachers concentrated on the younger and duller children with, now, a neglect of the older and brighter ones. The Code speeded up the development of evening classes. Before 1862 evening schools were hampered because certificated teachers had not been allowed to teach both in the day and in the evening. When this restriction was withdrawn evening classes grew more numerous, but many of the students were of poor quality. Most of the adolescents and the adults who attended were presented for examination in Standards I and II. Holman says, quite justly, "The author of the revised code is far too often exclusively reviled by critics as the author of payment by results, and no regard is paid to the fact that he certainly made the best of a bad business. He was a strong man, a clear thinker, and a determined and inflexible ruler, with a well-thought-out plan designed to secure definite returns for large outlay. And he was successful. The results which he demanded and obtained were at any rate better than the absence of results in respect of three-fourths of the pupils, as had been previously the case. If for nothing else, Mr. Lowe deserves our thanks for having perpetrated a blunder, which has been one more step to our blundering out of blunders."¹ Lowndes suggests an aspect which has seldom been considered when he writes, "We can now appreciate after 70 years' effort to build an educational system fit to be the servant of the nation, not the servant of the political state, that the infinitely diverse needs of modern civilisation can never be met by one system of schools unified under rigid public control, still less by a system at the mercy of successive party machines. Perhaps, Robert Lowe, in apparently doing a grave

¹ Holman. *English National Education*, pp. 170-1, Blackie, 1898.

injustice to a whole generation, in reality by this early measure of decentralisation saved English education once and for all from the pitfalls which have ensnared the systems of so many other countries; notably Germany, Italy, and to a less extent France.”¹

So much for the credit account; what is to be said on the debit side? Important evidence comes from the inspectors. Some, such as Sir J. Fitch, were favourable in their comments, but even he criticised the formal and mechanical spirit introduced into school work. Matthew Arnold's reports are most illuminating. In the report for 1863 he noticed certain changes after one year of the Code. One good effect was the improvement of the school reading-books. “At last the compilers of these works seem beginning to understand that the right way of teaching a little boy to read is not by setting him to read such sentences as these—‘the crocodile is viviparous,’ ‘quicksilver, antimony, calamine, zinc, etc., are metals,’ ‘the slope of a desk is oblique, the corners of a door are angles’; or the right way of teaching a big boy to read better, to set him to read: ‘some time after one meal is digested we feel again the sensation of hunger which is gratified by again taking food’; ‘most towns are supplied with water and lighted by gas, their streets are paved and kept clean, and guarded by policemen’; ‘summer ornaments for grates are made of wood shavings and of different coloured papers.’ Reading books are now published which reject all such trash as the above, and contain nothing but what has really some fitness for reaching the end which reading books were meant to reach.”²

Matthew Arnold thought the new examination compared unfavourably with the old inspection. Speaking of the latter, he said, “The whole life and power of a class, the fitness of its composition, its handling by the teacher were well tested; the Inspector became well acquainted with them, and was enabled to make his remarks on them to the head teacher, and a powerful means of correcting, improving, and stimulating them was thus given.”³ The examination did not afford this opportunity because the children were examined by Standards, which did not always correspond with the class. “I know that the aim and object of the new system of examination is not to develop the higher intellectual life of an elementary school, but to spread and fortify, in its middle and lower

¹ G. A. N. Lowndes. *The Silent Social Revolution*, p. 11, O.U.P., 1937.

² Board of Education. *Reports on Elementary Schools*, by Matthew Arnold, H.M.S.O., 1910.

³ *Ibid*, p. 92.

portions, the instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, supposed to be suffering. I am not contesting the importance of this subject, or the adequacy of the means offered by the new examination for attaining it. I am only pointing out the real value of a certain mode of operation on schools which the old inspection undoubtedly supplied, and which the new examination does not and by its nature cannot supply.”¹

Under the old system, the inspector's visit tested and quickened the intellectual life of a school, but the examination had changed the centre of interest. “Scholars and teachers, have their thoughts directed straight upon the new examination, which will bring, they know, such important benefit to the school if it goes well, and bring such important loss if it goes ill. On the examination day they have not minds for anything else.”² The examination pressed heavily upon the younger element of the school which was affected by nervousness and therefore did not do itself justice.

Arnold had been investigating systems of secondary education on the Continent in 1865 for the Schools Inquiry Commission, so that his next report was in 1867. During his visit he had opportunities of seeing elementary schools in several European countries and he was now able to review the Revised Code in clearer perspective. His report was distinctly unfavourable. “I cannot say that the impression made upon me by the English schools at this second return to them has been a hopeful one. I find in them, in general, if I compare them with their former selves, a deadness, a slackness, and a discouragement which are not the signs and accompaniments of progress. If I compare them with the schools of the Continent I find in them a lack of intelligent life much more striking now than it was when I returned from the Continent in 1859. This change is certainly to be attributed to the school legislation of 1862.”³

One change he regretted was the decline in number of pupil-teachers whom he had once described as “the sinews of English public instruction.” He thought the real evil of English schools at that time was the irregular attendance and early leaving-age of the pupils and not the lack of intelligence, of initiative, and the prevalence of mechanical modes of instruction. “The mode of teaching in the primary schools has certainly fallen off in intelligence, spirit, and inventiveness during the four or five years which have elapsed since my last report. It could not well be otherwise. In a country

¹ Board of Education. *Reports on Elementary Schools*, pp. 92-4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

where every one is prone to rely too much on mechanical processes, and too little on intelligence, a change in the Education Department's regulations, which by making two-thirds of the Government grant depend on a mechanical examination, inevitably gives a mechanical turn to the school teaching, a mechanical turn to the inspection is, and must be, trying to the intellectual life of the school." ¹

In 1876 a complicated Minute designed to give aid to small schools, to increase pupil-teachers, and to add another subject to the three R's, had been introduced. Arnold remarked that this action revealed the decay into which the teaching of language, history, and geography, had fallen; and that the grant for the specific subject was so small, and saddled with such complications, that many of the schools in his district declined to have anything to do with it. Such a palliative could not cure the evils wrought by the Revised Code. "More free play for the Inspector, and more free play, in consequence, for the teacher, is what is wanted." He warned the Department, "In the game of mechanical contrivances the teachers will in the end beat us; and as it is now found possible, by ingenious preparation, to get children through the Revised Code examination in reading, writing, and ciphering, without their really knowing how to read, write, or cipher, so it will with practice, no doubt, be found possible to get three-fourths of the one-fifth of the children over six through the examination in grammar, geography, and history, without their really knowing any one of these matters." ²

Two years later he wrote, "I have repeatedly said that it seems to me the great fault of the Revised Code, and of the famous plan of payment by results, that it fosters teaching by rote; I am of that opinion still." He quoted the opinion of a colleague that, "Unless a rigorous effort is made to infuse more intelligence into its teaching, *Government arithmetic* will soon be known as a modification of the science peculiar to inspected schools, and remarkable chiefly for its meagreness and sterility." ³ He summed up his criticism of the Code in the words, "It tends to make the instruction mechanical, and to set a bar to duly extending it. School grants earned in the way fixed by the Revised Code—by the scholar performing a certain minimum expressly laid down beforehand—must inevitably concentrate the teacher's attention on

¹ Board of Education. *Reports on Elementary Schools*, pp. 112-13.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

the means of producing this minimum, and not simply on the good instruction of his school.”¹

Kay-Shuttleworth found his prophecies were true. In his *Memorandum on Popular Education*, 1868, he wrote, “The Revised Code has constructed nothing. It has only pulled down. . . . It has not succeeded in being efficient, but it is not even cheap; for it wastes the public money without producing the results which were declared to be its main object.”²

When the Code was being discussed in Parliament he had protested in his book *Four Periods of Education*, 1862, that an examination in the three R’s was no real measure of the work that a school was doing. He selected two pictures of districts he knew well to illustrate his argument. One was the manufacturing areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Speaking of the children, he said: “They probably have never lived but in a hovel; have never been in a street of a village or a town; are unacquainted with common usages of social life; perhaps never saw a book; are bewildered by the rapid motion of crowds; confused in an assemblage of scholars.” Such were the children who had migrated from their native moors to the industrial districts. “They have to be taught to stand upright—to walk without a slouching gait—to sit without crouching like a sheep dog. They have to learn some decency in their skin, hair, and dress. They are commonly either cowed or sullen, or wild, fierce, and obstinate. In the street they are often in a tumult of rude agitation. In the school they are probably classed with scholars some years younger than themselves. They have no habits of attention, and are distracted by the babel of sounds about them. The effort of abstraction required to connect sound with a letter is at first impossible to them. Their parents are almost equally brutish. They have lived solitary lives in some wild region, where the husband has been a shepherd, or hind, or quarryman, or miner, or turf-cutter, or has won a precarious livelihood as a carrier, driver of loaded lime ponies, or poacher. The pressing wants of a growing family have induced them to accept the offer of some agent from a mill. From personal experience of many years, I know that such children as these form a large portion of the scholars which the schools of the cotton and woollen districts have to civilise and Christianise.” The other district was the East End of London. “A different kind of brutishness is shown by a

¹ Board of Education. *Reports on Elementary Schools*, pp. 134-5.

² P. 30, Ridgway, 1868.

large class of scholars in the most degraded parts of great cities. A London child living in a street of brothels and thieves' dens, with parents leading abandoned lives, spends his day in the kennel among sharp-witted, restless little creatures like himself. He is his own master. His powers of observation are singularly acute; his powers of decision rapid; his will energetic. He is known as 'the arab of the street.' He learns a great deal of evil. Perhaps he is an accomplished thief or beggar, or picks up a precarious living by holding horses, sweeping a crossing, or costermongering. Such children have of late years been netted in shoals—got into schools, have been won, tamed, and in some degree taught. But is it not a mischievous fallacy to say that the work done is to be measured by the proficiency of such children in reading, writing, and arithmetic? All that has been done has been done against wind and tide. At home—misery, drunkenness, sullen despair, or the irritability of a dissolute life drive the child into the streets. Bad example lends its corruption to the foulness of the street of stews and hiding-holes. Are twenty scattered weeks, even if repeated in three successive years, enough to get rid of the wild untamed barbarism of such children, and to graft on this civilisation that amount of knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic which the Commissioners say is so easy?"¹

The effect of the Code upon the teachers was distressing. They were sorely tempted to falsify the register to make sure of earning their livelihood, and it is greatly to their credit that so few cases of dishonesty occurred. That this occasionally happened is shown by an Inspector's report of 29th January 1885:—

"The Headmaster has been guilty of false registration in order to keep boys from examination.

"1. By omitting until after the beginning of the 22 weeks the names of boys who entered before that time.

"2. By marking boys who had never left the school as having left a little before the beginning of the 22 weeks and been admitted a little later.

"3. By marking boys as absent when they were present so that the registers might show a continuous absence of six weeks."

The author remembers the exaggerated importance attached to attendance registers. When he was a student in school practice

¹ Kay-Shuttleworth. *Four Periods of Education*, pp. 583-5, note, Longmans, 1862.

some years after the Revised Code had disappeared, instructions were issued to the school with regard to action in case of fire. The first duty of the teacher was to secure his register, and then he would lead the children by the authorised exit, into the playground. Teachers and managers alike concentrated on the grant and ways of earning it. Some of the devices which Matthew Arnold hinted at are described in Lowndes's *Silent Social Revolution*.¹

Teachers and managers were so eager to earn the grant that children were compelled to get up from the sick-bed and attend the examination. Inspectors reported instances where children suffering from scarlet fever and other diseases presented themselves for the examination. "To hear paroxysms of whooping-cough, to observe the pustules of small-pox, to see infants wrapped up and held in their mothers' arms, or seated on a stool by the fire because too ill to take their proper places, are events not so rare in an inspector's experience as they ought to be."

The inspector was regarded by the teacher as his natural enemy, to be outwitted whenever possible. The Revised Code came to an end in 1897, but the unhappy relations between the teachers and the inspectorate continued for many years after and still survive in some places. When the Code had disappeared the older inspectors found it difficult to adjust themselves to new conditions, and it was not until a race of inspectors arose that knew not the Revised Code, that the mutual distrust of teacher and inspector died a natural death. The harshness of the Code was lessened by various Minutes from 1867 onwards, admitting first one subject and then another into the curriculum as grant-earning subjects, but the whole process proceeded piecemeal without any thought being given to the principles which underlay a balanced curriculum. All that can be said is that it worked out in practice better than one might have expected.

The Committee of Council on Education were greatly concerned with the progress of elementary education in Wales. That country presented two distinct but most important problems which had to be solved. During the 18th century Wales had been a purely agricultural country, with a sparse and scattered population in the mountainous districts. In the early years of the 19th century the southern part had been affected by an industrial change far more rapid in character than the corresponding development in England.

¹ See the account on p. 14, 1937 edition.

The opening up of the South Wales coalfield and the growth of the iron and copper smelting industries had completely changed the character of this district almost, one might say, overnight. The consequence was a sudden influx of population to the industrial districts of South Wales, which produced overcrowding, with all its attendant evils, on a scale hardly appreciated in England where the pace had been much slower. The workers suffered acutely, and the miserable conditions under which they laboured and lived led to wholesale discontent.

The Chartist agitation found willing supporters amongst the Welsh miners, and the riots at Newport in 1839 assumed so serious a character that the military were called in to quell the disturbance. A further cause of discontent was the toll-house system, and it manifested itself in the formation of secret societies antagonistic to law and order, and led to the Rebecca Riots of 1843. The latter resulted in the burning and breaking up of toll-houses amidst scenes of brutality and bloodshed. As soon as the authorities had disposed of one disturbance, another occurred in a different area, and even when comparative tranquillity had been restored a spirit of sullen resentment remained.

The second problem was that of bilingualism. A large proportion of the population was Welsh-speaking, but the authorities in London assumed that Wales possessed no national literature which could serve as a vehicle for culture, and that the solution lay in substituting English for Welsh. This view was often supported by the poorer people in Wales who believed that a knowledge of English would provide their children with opportunities for advancement. The teachers, whose knowledge of English was often defective, did their utmost to carry out this policy. One means adopted was that of the Welsh "note" or "stick." Thus one inspector reported: "My attention was attracted to a piece of wood suspended by a string round a boy's neck, and on the wood were the words 'Welsh stick.' This, I was told, was a stigma for speaking Welsh. But, in fact, his only alternative was to speak Welsh or say nothing. He did not understand English."¹ The Welsh stick could be transferred from the offender to any other pupil who spoke Welsh. The pupil in whose possession it was found at the end of the week was punished by flogging. It was not until the closing years of the century that the attempt to force English upon the

¹ Report of Henry Vaughan Johnson in *Reports of the Commission of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales*, p. 452, H.M.S.O., 1848.

Welsh was finally abandoned and the Welsh language began to take its proper place in the school curriculum.

The first inquiry into the state of education in Wales was in 1839, when the Committee of Council instructed Mr. Tremenhoe to investigate the situation as regards schooling in the mining area of South Wales. The parishes he visited were among those chiefly concerned with the Chartist riots of that same year. His description reveals the desolation which uncontrolled industrial development had brought to a once beautiful countryside. He wrote: "The people are for the most part collected together in masses of from four to ten thousand. Their houses are ranged round the works in rows, sometimes two to five deep, sometimes three stories high. They barely contain less than from one to six lodgers in addition to the members of the family, and afford most scanty accommodation for so many inmates. It is not unusual to find that ten individuals of various age and sex occupy three beds in two small rooms. Far worse instances might be given. The surface of the soil around is frequently blackened with coal, or covered with high mounds of refuse from the mines and the furnaces. The road between the rows is so imperfectly made as to be often, in wet weather, ankle-deep in black mud. Flat pavement is rarely seen, except in some new works now erecting. Volumes of smoke from the furnaces, the rolling mills, and the coke-hearths, are driven past, according to the direction of the wind. Gardens are few, and almost entirely neglected. Due attention to sewerage is also overlooked. The house of the master or resident director stands conspicuous amidst a small group of stunted and blackened trees."¹

The educational facilities of the district were most inadequate. In a total population of 85,000 it was estimated that education ought to be provided at day-schools for 11,334 children. Actually, 3,308 were attending school, leaving 8,026, or more than two-thirds, who were not receiving any education. There were forty-seven schools in the district, of which four boys' and four girls' schools were conducted on the system of the National Society, and one boys' and one girls' school on that of the British and Foreign School Society. School attendance was most irregular; only ten of the teachers had received any training, and the instruction given was poor in quality. Only two schools admitted infants.

Mr. Tremenhoe was of the opinion that the parents were largely to be blamed for this sad state of education. They were

¹ *Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1839-40*, p. 176.

completely indifferent since they had discovered that lack of education did not prevent their children from obtaining employment. Frequently boys entered the mines at the age of eight or nine, and the sixpence a day they earned represented a welcome addition to the family income. "They leave their homes at an early age, if they find they can be boarded cheaper elsewhere, and they spend the surplus of their wages in smoking, drinking, and gambling. Boys of 13 will not unfrequently boast that they have taken to smoking before they were 12. All parental control is soon lost. Shortly after the age of 16 they begin to earn men's wages."¹

The 1840's began with a great educational revival, which was significant because the impetus came from the Welsh people themselves. It was associated with the names of Sir Thomas Phillips of Newport, Sir Hugh Owen, and the Rev. Henry Griffiths of Brecon, and was supported by both Churchmen and Nonconformists. Owen's work bore fruit in the formation of the Cambrian Educational Society in 1846, which advocated the establishment of undenominational schools. Owen, himself, supported the British and Foreign School Society, but the National Society also turned its attention to Wales. It was realised that one of the greatest defects in Welsh education was the lack of trained teachers, and, to remedy this, not only were Welsh teachers encouraged to enter the English training-colleges, but in 1848 Carmarthen Training College was opened. Unfortunately, the cause of Welsh education received a serious set-back which turned the attention of Phillips and Owen to secondary and higher education.

This reverse was occasioned by the publication in 1848 of the *Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales*. The Commissioners, of whom Mr. Lingen was one, reported very adversely on the condition of the Welsh schools, but it was not this that roused popular resentment. They had been instructed to send in their observations on the social and moral life of the Welsh people. The result was that the Reports contained numerous instances of drunkenness, dishonesty, and gross immorality, which conveyed to the rest of the kingdom the impression that the Welsh were a most degenerate race.

The Reports called forth indignant protests from Welshmen in all stations of life. For years after, the popular name of "*Brad y llyfrau gleision* (the treason of the blue books)" indicated the impression produced upon the national feelings. Sir Thomas

¹ *Minutes of the Committee of Council*, 1839-40, p. 183.

Phillips replied in 1849 by the publication of *Wales, the language, social conditions, moral character and opinions of the people considered in their relation to education*. This book was an exhaustive and accurate survey of social life and education in Wales, which did much to correct the erroneous ideas created by the Reports. Nevertheless, the damage had been done. The Reports had been intended as a prelude to comprehensive schemes of reform in Welsh education, but their effect was to arouse such popular antagonism that the Committee of Council resolved to proceed no further. The Welsh leaders turned their attention to the aim of instituting a national university, and elementary education attracted little notice until after the Cross Commission.

Among other influences which affected the progress both of elementary and higher education in Wales was the literary revival of the 18th century. Welsh scholars not only strove to encourage the study of the national literature of past ages, but also initiated the scientific study of the ancient language and the interpretation of mediaeval Welsh manuscripts. In 1751 a society for the encouragement of Welsh learning, known as the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, was founded and later gave rise to numerous local societies which contributed to the advancement of Welsh culture. A less satisfactory feature of such societies was that they tended to concentrate on antiquarian research, and many of their members were not Welshmen. The outcome of these different movements was the revival in 1819 of the Eisteddfod,¹ which has proved so potent an instrument of national culture. The more puritannical of the Nonconformists did not at first view the movement with enthusiasm, but when its achievements became fully realised the Welsh Sunday Schools began to give it their support.

¹ The Eisteddfod of 1819 was held at Carmarthen by *The Cambrian Society of Dyfed*. It exercised such an influence upon the Welsh people that by the middle of the century every town and most villages held their Eisteddfodau. After the Llangollen Eisteddfod of 1858, the National Eisteddfod was instituted.

CHAPTER VIII

FILLING THE GAPS—1870-1895

The complacent spirit in which the Newcastle Commission declared itself satisfied with the diffusion of educational facilities throughout the kingdom was not shared by the nation as a whole. The Revised Code had slowed down the building of schools, but the population was now increasing rapidly, so that the proportion of children not attending school was almost as great as when the Manchester Statistical Society had made its investigations in 1834. Secularists and denominationalists in Manchester combined to form the Manchester Education Aid Society in 1864, which had for its object the provision of assistance to poor parents in paying their school fees. Similar societies sprang up in Birmingham, Nottingham, and Liverpool. Two Education Bills were presented to Parliament, in 1867 and 1868, in which rate-aid for the building of schools was suggested, but both were withdrawn in deference to the strongly expressed feelings of the Nonconformists against aiding denominational schools from the rates. The General Election of 1868 returned the Liberals to power with a strong working-majority. Mr. W. E. Forster, Member for Bradford, was given the post of Vice-President of the Education Department. Forster was well known in the North for his views on social and economic questions and his intense interest in popular education. He married the daughter of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and was an intimate friend of Carlyle. Although a Bradford business man and a wealthy manufacturer, Forster found time to work for the social schemes he advocated, and one acquaintance described him as the only mill-owner he had ever heard claimed by the working men as a friend. He was an opponent of the Revised Code, and because of his great interest in education was chosen as a member of the Taunton Commission. In 1869 he was instrumental in securing the passage of the Endowed Schools Act. His views on national education were well known and on his appointment to the Education Department the country awaited with interest the Bill which it was now certain he would present to Parliament.

Forster found himself in a rather difficult political situation. The more extreme Liberals, or Radicals, were advocating free compulsory education on unsectarian lines, and in Birmingham the

Birmingham Education League, with George Dixon as Chairman, Joseph Chamberlain as Vice-Chairman, and Jesse Collings as Secretary, was formed in 1869 to secure these demands. This movement alarmed the supporters of denominational teaching, who formed in opposition the National Education Union. As a consequence of the agitation on the subject of education, Parliament ordered an inquiry into the condition of education in the four towns of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, which might be taken as samples of the provision of educational facilities in the industrial areas. Sir J. Fitch and Mr. Fearon were instructed to furnish a return, not only of the number of schools, but also of the quality of the instruction provided. The diagram on p. 274 gives the relevant details as regards the attendance at school.

The Government inquiry showed that the unsatisfactory private schools of earlier ages still existed in the large towns. The following are three typical examples of schools that Mr. Fitch found in Leeds:—

1. "In a squalid little room 14 feet 4 inches by 8 feet, in a back street, I found, on descending to the basement floor of a small house, 33 children crowded together, of whom 16 were boys. The master is standing, in his shirt sleeves near the fire, over which some stew is preparing for dinner. The room is hot and close, and the children move with difficulty, owing to the clumsiness of the household furniture with which it is nearly filled. The master has been here for 30 years. . . . His own knowledge and qualifications are of the humblest kind, and his method of instruction is to hear the lessons of each child one by one, while the rest are 'learning off their spellings'. . . . The scholars are broadly divided into the 'fourpennies' and the 'sixpennies'; the latter, consisting of those who write in copybooks. . . . No other written or memory exercises are given, and the children are deplorably inactive and ignorant."

2. "A somewhat rude loft, to which access is obtainable by a ladder, is rented by a man of very humble pretensions, and used for the purposes of a school. There are about 25 scholars present. The master is hearing a task at a desk, the rest are playing, except a group who are watching with much interest the process of making ink, in which two of the elder boys, half-stripped for the purpose, are busily employed on the floor. Nearly all have said their tasks, and there is more to do. . . . One is writing this sentence, 'The imperfections of a believer's sanctification make him constantly

depend on Christ for his justification.' . . . The master is spiritless and disheartened. . . . It is impossible to believe that any educational result of the least value can be obtained here."

3. "In the front room of a small dwelling house, half-filled with dirty household furniture, I found 35 boys, all of whom were entirely unemployed, except eight who were writing in copy-books. The master . . . was a cloth-dresser by trade, and 'took to schooling because work was slack.' . . . He regrets that he is not a 'bit of a singer,' for if he were, he would 'learn them a few ditties, and the

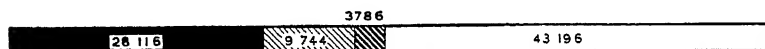
SCHOOL RETURNS 1870



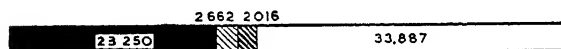
BIRMINGHAM 60,141



LEEDS 42,185



LIVERPOOL 84,842



MANCHESTER 61,815

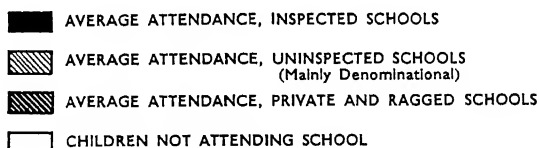


FIG. 2.

time would pass away quickly.' . . . Notwithstanding the prominence given to spelling lessons, all the elder boys failed to write an easy sentence without gross mistakes."

The Nonconformists, who had done such great work in the past, seemed to have lost interest in education, for Mr. Fitch writes: "My chief duty, however, is to place on record here the simple but significant fact, that, with the exception of the Wesleyans and the Unitarians, I have been unable to find a single Nonconformist congregation in Leeds, which is doing anything to help forward

primary education, or is contributing money, or supervision to the permanent maintenance of a day school in any form.”¹

Mr. Fearon described a school in Liverpool where the mistress was assisted by her daughter, fourteen years old. “. . . the mistress cannot write; she makes a mark for her name in signing it. . . . She said she was obliged to leave the school very much to her daughter, as she was ‘a martyr to spasms.’ There was a strong smell of some spirit or other, and she seemed in a maudlin condition. . . . For this ‘education,’ some of these children are said to pay 6d. a week.”

Taking the country as a whole, the schools under Government inspection had accommodation for 1,878,000 children, which was a little more than half that which was required. Moreover, the schools were very unevenly distributed, the attendance irregular, and the leaving-age low. Something had to be done, but how was it to be done? Forster carefully examined the alternatives. The Education League had great hopes that he would support their scheme. To their disappointment Forster rejected their plan, partly because of the enormous expense which the country would have to shoulder, and partly because he feared a greater danger than money, namely that it would deprive the nation of those who really cared for education. He was in favour of an idea which had recently been put forward by Robert Lowe. The essentials of Lowe’s proposals had been that the Government should survey the educational needs of each district and, where deficiencies existed, compulsion should be brought to bear, but the voluntary bodies should first be given an opportunity of making good the deficiencies.² Forster submitted a memorandum to the Cabinet on these lines.

When he introduced his Elementary Education Bill in 1870, he said: “The first problem, then, is, ‘How can we cover the country with good schools?’ Now, in trying to solve that problem there are certain conditions which I think hon. members on both sides of the House will acknowledge we must abide by. First of all, we must not forget the duty of the parents. Then we must not forget our duty to our constituencies, our duty to the taxpayers. . . . And thirdly, we must take care not to destroy in building up—not to

¹ *Report on Schools for Poorer Classes in Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester*, p. 89, House of Commons, 1870.

² Robert Lowe in 1844 secured the appointment of a Select Committee by the New South Wales legislature to survey the existing facilities for education in the Colony. As a result, in 1848, State schools came into existence side by side with denominational schools aided by grants, a situation similar to that created by the 1870 Act in England.

destroy the existing system in introducing a new one. In solving this problem there must be, consistently with the attainment of our object, the least possible expenditure of public money, the utmost endeavour not to injure existing and efficient schools, and the most careful absence of all encouragement to parents to neglect their children. . . . Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours.”¹

The country would be divided into districts and the wants of each duly ascertained. Thus, if in any one district the inspectors find “the elementary education to be sufficient, efficient, and suitable, we leave that district alone.” Mr. Forster made it clear that he did not expect to find many such districts. The existing schools should be subject to three conditions for receiving public aid: they must be efficient; they must be open to undenominational inspection; and a conscience clause must be attached. In districts where there was a deficiency, time would be granted for voluntary agencies to supply the need. Mr. Forster suggested a year of grace for the voluntary bodies to make good deficiencies in their areas.

After the period of grace any gaps would be filled by means of School Boards elected by the town councils or, in the case of rural areas, by the vestries. School fees were to be retained, but parents unable to pay fees because of poverty could apply for a free ticket. The School Boards could provide schools themselves from rate aid or assist existing schools. Each Board should consist of a minimum of five and a maximum of fifteen members. Women might be elected and the system of cumulative voting should be adopted. A voter would have as many votes as there were vacancies and could give all to one candidate or distribute them as he wished. This was to safeguard the rights of minorities. Each Board would also be free to decide the kind of religious instruction to be provided, subject to a conscience clause in every school. The School Boards would also have powers of framing by-laws for the compulsory attendance of children between the ages of five and thirteen and for fixing the school-leaving age. Provision was made for the transfer of voluntary schools to the School Boards, but Mr. Forster over-estimated the number which were actually trans-

¹ *Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament during the Progress of the Elementary Education Bill*, pp. 7-8, National Education Union, 1870.

ferred. The by-laws could enforce the attendance of children by exacting from the parent a penalty not exceeding five shillings for non-attendance of his child, unless he could show reasonable excuse. The latter included "either education elsewhere, or sickness, or some unavoidable cause, or there not being a public elementary school within a mile" (later, not exceeding three miles).¹

Mr. Forster summed up the object of the Bill by saying, "What is our purpose in this Bill? Briefly this, to bring elementary education within the reach of every English home, aye, and within the reach of those children who have no homes. This is what we aim at in this Bill; and this is what I believe this Bill will do."

The first reading of the Bill proceeded without difficulty, but in the interval between the first and second readings Mr. Dixon and the Education League had time to reflect and found that there were many things they did not like about it. Their chief objections were: the period of grace allowed to voluntary effort would result in the building of numbers of new voluntary schools; the Bill did not insist on the universal establishment of School Boards and did not make attendance compulsory; the conscience clause was ineffective and the principle of allowing each School Board to decide the kind of religious instruction to be given in its district would make it possible for denominational teaching to be financed by the rates. Accordingly, they attacked Forster and the Government with great bitterness, and gained the support of many Nonconformists. Mr. Dixon opened the attack by proposing the amendment, "This House is of opinion that no measure for the elementary education of the people will afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities."² He pressed the House to declare that all rate-aided schools should be unsectarian and that in other schools the secular and religious instruction should be separate. Mr. Forster did not agree, and replied: "The English people cling to the Bible, and no measure will be more unpopular than that which declares by Act of Parliament that the Bible shall be excluded from the school." Mr. Vernon Harcourt attacked the proposition that the question of religious instruction should be decided by the School Boards, and gave an amusing description of what would happen at the School Board

¹ *Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament during the Progress of the Elementary Education Bill*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

elections. "We all know something of municipal elections. We know that they are not very orderly at the best; but what will they be when the element of religious animosity is superadded? I suppose that there will be 'religious' public houses opened in every street; that blue and yellow placards will invite the voters to support 'Jones and the Thirty-nine Articles,' or 'Smith, and No Creed,' or 'Robinson, and down with the Bishops'; and cabs will be flying about advertising the theological merits of the different denominations, and rival divines will take the chair nightly at meetings in public houses and beer taps. There will be a great deal of religious discussion, and a good deal more of religious beer. Towards the afternoon of the polling-day there will be miraculous conversions of all kinds—next morning many people will find out that in the course of twenty-four hours they have held every known form of religious faith, while close upon four o'clock on the polling-day men will accept as many articles of faith as you may supply them with pints of beer, and the least sober will be the most orthodox."¹

After a debate lasting three nights, Mr. Gladstone intervened to promise that the religious problem would be carefully considered at the Committee stage. Mr. Dixon agreed to withdraw his amendment and the Bill was read a second time, March 18th. When the Committee stage opened on June 16th, Mr. Gladstone announced some very important alterations which drew from Mr. Disraeli the remark that for practical purposes they amounted to a new Bill. A time-table conscience clause was proposed, which should apply to every grant-aided school, to the effect that parents were free to withdraw their children from religious instruction either at the beginning or at the end of the school day. The clause suggested by Mr. Cowper-Temple was accepted—"No religious catechisms or religious formulary, which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." Although rate-aid would not be applied to maintain denominational schools, the Prime Minister promised that they should receive an increased Treasury grant. The election of the School Boards was to be by those whose names were on the burgess roll of the borough and, in the country, by the ratepayers. After a good deal of heated discussion, the Bill passed through the Committee stage. The Government cut down the year of grace allowed to voluntary effort to six months. London was to have its School Board immediately after the passage of the

¹ *Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament during the Progress of the Elementary Education Bill*, p. 106.

Act, and was given the power of paying its chairman. The Act received the royal assent on 9th August 1870.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 was essentially a compromise. It did not abolish the voluntary system, but allowed it to remain, with the help of Government grants, alongside the schools erected by the School Boards. This was the beginning of the dual system which, with modifications, exists at the present time. Whilst affirming the principle that unsectarian religious teaching could find a place in the Board schools, the Act allowed individual School Boards to make their own decision about religious instruction, and a few decided in favour of secular instruction only. The vast majority followed the lead of the London School Board, which decided, "In the schools provided by the Board, the Bible shall be read and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacity of children; provided always . . . that no attempt be made in any such schools to attach children to any particular denomination." This decision was largely due to the influence of Professor Huxley. The Act gave power to the Boards to make education compulsory in their area if they wished, and the London School Board availed itself of this permission by inserting a by-law compelling the attendance of all children between the ages of five and thirteen, but granting exemption to children over ten who had passed Standard V and who were obliged to go to work to support their parents. Many School Boards did not make use of the powers given them under the Act.

The Leeds School Board was very progressive. The School Board was elected on 28th November 1870, and immediately set to work to fill the gaps. A return for the town showed that 48,787 children should have been attending school, but there was only accommodation for 27,329. Thirteen temporary schools were opened in Sunday Schools and public halls, and by-laws enforcing attendance were passed. Moreover, prizes were offered for regular attendance, and Leeds had the satisfaction of seeing the average attendance raised from sixty-four per cent to eighty-nine per cent of the number of children on the school roll. The first Board school was opened in Bewerley Street in 1873, together with fourteen evening schools and seven science and art classes. In 1885 the Board opened one of the earliest higher-grade schools of the country. The new kindergarten system based on Froebel was introduced into the Leeds infant-schools and instruction in cookery

provided for the older girls and swimming and manual work for the boys. The School Boards of other large towns pursued a similar enlightened policy, but in some country districts progress was very slow.

In rural districts, it was many years before School Boards were set up where they were required, and many country Boards proceeded with the task of supplying schools in a very leisurely fashion. Mr. Pickard, H.M.I., reported to the Education Department in 1882 the example of the establishment of a public elementary school in the village of Hornton, near Banbury "First notice, 30 December 1872; second notice, 25 September 1874; election of school board, 1875; my first visit, 24 March 1876; requisition threatened, 1877; my second visit, June 1877 . . . second school board elected 1878; my third visit, September 1878. The school board begins to talk about acquiring a site, 1879. A new clergyman comes and asks for six months' grace to enlarge parochial school, 16 September 1879; school board agree, October 1879; . . . plans forwarded to Education Department, January 1880; placed in hands of builder, April 1880; . . . building finished November 1881; school opened January 1882; to be inspected for the first annual grant, January 1883, more than ten years after the first notice of insufficient accommodation was issued." (*Report by the Committee on Education*, p. 415, 1882.)

Mr. Sneyd-Kynnesley described the School Board of the small village as sometimes a farce and sometimes a tragedy. He sent a letter to one Board making an appointment, but he received no answer. Nevertheless, he kept his appointment and arrived at the Board meeting. When he asked why they had not acknowledged his letter, they began to make excuses. Afterwards, he discovered, "There was not a man on the Board who could read and write, and they had to take all their correspondence to the market town to get the advice of the clerk to the Guardians before they could reply. They were in too small a way of educational business to have a clerk of their own." ¹

There were some rural districts where a penny rate brought in less than £10, and one Board in Norfolk had an average attendance of five children in its school. "They cost £26 apiece, and it took a 3d. rate to pay the clerk; its total rate was 13d. in the pound." ²

¹ Sneyd-Kynnesley, *H.M.I.*, p. 173, Macmillan, 1908.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

Dixon and the League did not take their defeat lying down. They centred their opposition on Clause 25 of the Act, which empowered a School Board to pay the whole or part of the fees of children who could not otherwise afford them. In the heat of the debate on the Bill nobody had realised the significance of the clause, but in practice in most districts it meant that the voluntary schools were the only ones which received this money. Manchester, which did not erect Board schools for some years, contented itself by paying large sums of money out of rates to voluntary schools under this clause. At Birmingham, the influence of the League was so strong that the School Board refused to apply the clause. The controversy grew more heated still when some of the Nonconformists refused to pay the education rate on the ground that some part of it was going to support denominational teaching, and the League started a campaign for purely secular instruction in 1872, but this policy did not receive the whole-hearted support of the Nonconformists, who favoured non-sectarian religious teaching. The result of the agitation was a serious division in the ranks of the Government, which contributed considerably to their defeat in the election of 1874.

The six months period of grace stimulated the denominations to tremendous efforts. Most of the new voluntary schools which were built were Church of England schools, but the Roman Catholics, although a much smaller body, showed equal zeal. 3,342 applications were made to the Department for building-grants. Of these, 376 were refused and 1,333 afterwards withdrawn. The Church of England made 2,885 applications, mainly through the National Society. Churchmen showed great liberality in increasing their subscriptions to the schools, and by 1880 had added over a million school places to those which had existed in 1870. In the race between the Church and the School Boards to provide extra school accommodation, the Church accomplished an amazing feat, whilst the Boards, with rate-aid, were only able to add an equal amount. Even at the end of the century, in spite of the unequal competition, three-fifths of the available places in schools were in Church of England schools. Since then the number of Church schools has steadily decreased so that in 1939 the Church had 8,478 schools out of a total of 22,000. The growth of State schools should not blind us to the debt England owes to the efforts of the denominations, and in particular to the Church of England and the National Society. Before 1870 the National Society had contributed

£6,270,577 in building schools and £8,500,000 in their maintenance. Between 1870 and 1893 the society spent £7,125,402 in erecting 5,838 schools having accommodation for 1,328,761 children. All this money had been freely given by Church people, who often made great sacrifices for the sake of their schools.

One of the reasons why the Church found it so difficult to keep abreast of things was the constant rise in the cost per child. At the time of the 1870 Act, Mr. Forster had reckoned that a 3d. rate would be quite sufficient for school purposes, and the cost per head would not be likely to increase beyond 30s. In Church schools in 1871 the average cost per child in average attendance was £1 5s 9½d., but it had risen to £1 14s. 10½d. in 1880. At the same time the voluntary subscriptions from Church people for the maintenance of their schools had increased from £372,350 to £762,162. The average cost per head in the Board schools was £2 1s. 11¾d. Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 provided some relief to managers of Church schools by raising the grant from 15s. per child to 17s. 6d., and allowing a still larger grant if local subscriptions equalled the sum that could thus be obtained. This roused the Nonconformists, who once again raised the cry that public money was being used to foster denominational teaching.

There is a very widespread idea amongst the general public that the Act of 1870 inaugurated universal free compulsory elementary education. Nothing is further from the truth. It is one thing to provide school places, but a very different thing to see that they are filled, and much of the interest of the next twenty-five years lay in the efforts made to secure regular attendance, to make the schools free, and to raise the average leaving-age. Because so many School Boards did not avail themselves of the powers of compulsion granted under the Act, although the numbers in average attendance rose, they were not by any means satisfactory. Parents had still to be convinced that it was their duty to see that their children received a satisfactory education. Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 declared that it was the duty of every parent to see that his child received adequate instruction in the three R's, and that if the parent failed in his duty, he became liable to certain penalties. Employers were forbidden to employ children under ten, and children between ten and fourteen were obliged to attend school half-time. Unfortunately there were loopholes in the way of exemptions. For instance, if the child had passed Standard IV, or made a certain number of attendances each year during the past five

years, he could be exempted from further attendance.¹ Parents neglecting the attendance order were liable to a fine not exceeding 5s., and employers who contravened the Act to a penalty of 40s. Parents not able to afford school fees could apply to the Guardians to have them paid. In many areas where no deficiency had existed in 1870, School Boards had not been constituted. In such districts School Attendance Committees were formed having the same compulsory powers as the School Boards. Children who were out of parental control and refused to attend school could be committed to industrial schools.

Mr. Mundella's Act of 1880 went a step further and made the framing of by-laws compulsory on all School Boards and School Attendance Committees. Moreover, a child of thirteen could gain exemption on attendance alone, apart from proficiency. Thus the question of compulsion was definitely settled. The school-leaving age was raised to eleven in all cases in 1893, and to twelve in 1899.

The Act of 1870 did not contemplate the abolition of school fees, but limited them in the case of public elementary schools to 9d. per week. In 1891 parents were given the right to demand free education for their children, with the result that the majority of schools became free. Fees in elementary schools were not entirely abolished until 1918.

From 1870 progress had been rapid. The number of schools and pupils had increased, the cost of maintenance had risen, and the education rates had become heavier each year. It was now felt that the time had arrived for an inquiry by an impartial authority into elementary education as a whole. This desire was met by the Royal Commission of 1886, generally known as the Cross Commission from its chairman Lord Cross.

The Commission reported in 1888, and, although on many points the Commissioners were unanimous, they differed on others, and as regards these, fifteen members submitted a majority, and eight a minority, report. The former were well disposed to the denominational schools and were of opinion that they should receive rate-aid. The latter held that such a course would upset the equilibrium established by the 1870 Act. Both agreed that there was an urgent need for more and better-trained teachers and that to extend the facilities for training, the creation of day training-colleges connected with the universities and university colleges was recommended. The

¹ This was generally known as the Duncce's Pass.

majority were greatly impressed with the system of denominational residential training-colleges. Both recommended the admission to the inspectorate of elementary-school teachers and the majority were in favour of the appointment of women inspectors. We have already seen, in Chapter v, the attitude of the majority and minority towards the growth of the higher-grade schools. Both thought that the respective spheres of elementary, higher-grade, and secondary schools should be defined. They also agreed that a more liberal curriculum was necessary for the schools, and emphasised the importance of science and technical instruction, manual instruction, and drawing. They thought that the latter should be compulsory for boys and that Government grants should be paid to aid the erection of manual workshops.

The system of Payment by Results was very severely criticised, especially by the minority, who believed in its complete abolition and the substitution of a fixed grant together with a variable grant for such subjects as drawing, cookery, and elementary science. The minority expressed the view, "We are of opinion that the best security for efficient teaching is the organisation of our school system under local representative authorities, over sufficiently wide areas, with full powers of management and responsibility for maintenance, with well-graduated curricula, a liberal staff of well-trained teachers, and buildings sanitary, suitable, and well-equipped with school requisites." The Commissioners recommended a stricter application of the school attendance regulations and the minority were of opinion that "No Child should be allowed to leave school before fourteen unless he or she is profitably employed either at home or at work." They recommended a revision of the regulations for evening schools. Under the Revised Code these schools had been chiefly concerned with teaching the three R's, since the pupil had to satisfy the examination requirements before he could earn a grant. After 1870 there had been a considerable falling off in attendance at evening schools, and, even when the age-limit was raised to twenty-one in 1876, they still continued to decline. Although other subjects in addition to the three R's were admitted in 1882, every pupil was obliged to satisfy the original requirements in order to earn grant. The Commission considered that the mistake consisted in regarding the evening school as an elementary school. Its real function should be that of an evening continuation school, and a place should be made for instruction in science, art, and technology, besides giving opportunities for recreation and social

life. The age-limit should be abolished, and freedom should be given these schools to adapt themselves to varying conditions.

It was fortunate for the report that, when it was presented to Parliament, the Secretary of the Education Department was Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. W. Kekewich, who had wide and liberal views on the subject of education, and who was in sympathy with the teachers. The report bore fruit almost immediately in the Code of 1890, which abolished the grant for the three R's, raised the fixed grant, and retained the grants only for class and specific subjects. This was the beginning of the end for the system of Payment by Results. More subjects were added to the curriculum by the Codes of 1893 to 1896, and encouragement was given to teachers to plan class visits to museums and art-galleries and to historical buildings. As Sir G. Kekewich said, "My creed was that the children came first, before everything and everybody."

As was mentioned above, the Cross Commission paid special attention to the training of teachers. Before describing the changes which came about as the result of the Commission's report, it will be convenient at this point to summarise the developments which had taken place in regard to pupil-teachers and training-colleges between 1846 and the Cross Commission. Kay-Shuttleworth had been faced by the urgent problem of providing a sufficiently large teaching staff in the schools, and his solution had been the adoption of the pupil-teacher system. The only alternative would have been to have attracted young people of eighteen to twenty years of age to the teaching profession and to have organised a scheme for training them. These candidates would necessarily have been selected from those who had spent several years in industry and business, and their lack of academic attainments would most certainly have created an insuperable obstacle. Though it is easy from a present-day standpoint to criticise the arrangement adopted, it was at that time the only workable solution of the problem.

High hopes for the new scheme were entertained. The Minutes of 1846 described it as follows: "Every boy of character and ability who is first among his fellows, may select this career, and in the majority of cases will do so. In his whole course he will be in vigorous competition with the pupil-teachers of other schools; and thus the Queen's Scholars, who after a public trial, are selected for admission into the Normal Schools, will be naturally the most gifted, and by persevering application, the best instructed and most skilful youths, which the elementary schools of the country can rear. . . .

Their skill in conducting a class will have been developed by five years' experience as assistants in a common school. . . . The Normal Schools, therefore, will be fed with a class of students much superior to that which now enters them."¹

These anticipations, however, were not realised. It had been hoped that the majority of pupil-teachers would enter a training-college for a professional course extending over three years. In fact, a great many pupil-teachers did not enter a college and either left the profession at the end of their apprenticeship or continued as uncertificated teachers. Of those who entered a training-college, only a small number offered themselves for more than one year of training. The conception of a three-year course of training was premature and the ideal has not been realised even at the present time, except in the case of a comparatively small number of students. The Committee of Council vainly endeavoured to lengthen the usual course by giving twice the grant for the completion of a third year of training.

In 1856 the Education Department resigned itself to the inevitable. The training-college course was fixed at two years, and those students who left at the end of the first year were regarded as uncertificated teachers. Two other modifications were made. Young people above eighteen years of age, who had not served as pupil-teachers, were allowed to sit for the Queen's Scholarship examination.² Also, the "pledge" was introduced. Intending entrants to a training-college were required to declare that it was their bona-fide intention to become teachers in a recognised school. Although the declaration was signed before witnesses, in reality it had no legal validity, though of course the student incurred a moral obligation.

The work of the training-colleges suffered from a number of defects which could hardly have been avoided. They drew their students from the pupil-teachers who had left the elementary school at thirteen years of age to begin their apprenticeship. Although each student was required to spend 150 hours in practical teaching, the necessity of providing him with an adequate academic background left little time for a purely professional training. The colleges were attempting an almost impossible task. Although the competition was so keen that only the most promising of the

¹ Reprinted in the *Report of the Board of Education*, 1912-13, pp. 15-16.

² Samples of the examination questions are given in the *Report of the Board of Education*, 1912-13, pp. 19-20.

pupil-teachers were selected for training, yet because it was the exception for any of these to have passed through a secondary school, the training-colleges had in fact to do the work which at a later period was part of the normal secondary-school course.

Candidates for the Queen's Scholarship were required to pass in practical teaching, reading and recitation, arithmetic, music, English grammar (with a small amount of literature), geography, and history. Boys offered mathematics, and girls needlework. Certain additional subjects could also be offered, for which extra marks might be obtained. The syllabus for the first year of training was of a similar nature, but a higher standard was demanded and students were examined in school management. The second-year syllabus was also similar, but science, political economy, and languages could be substituted for certain sections of it. The examinations of the Science and Art Department could also be taken. Specialisation was never contemplated. The student was expected to be a class-teacher ready to teach all the subjects of the elementary-school curriculum.

At the conclusion of his training each student gave a lesson in the presence of an inspector, and was tested in oral reading and recitation. Most training-colleges possessed a Practising or Model School attached to them. Thus the school at York, in which students received their practical training in teaching, is still often referred to as the Model School. A serious limitation was that students were restricted to teaching in the practising schools under rather artificial conditions and no arrangements could be made for them to visit other schools to extend their experience. The colleges themselves were residential, and lively descriptions of the student and his daily routine have been given by old students who were in training before 1884.¹

The witnesses examined by the Cross Commission, while generally expressing satisfaction with the existing system of teacher-training, in some cases criticised severely its limitations. It was urged that the policy of segregating men and women who intended to become teachers, by having special training establishments, was quite wrong. The students had been scholars in elementary schools, had taught in them as pupil-teachers and then completed their teaching practice in the same type of school, lived in company with others who had the same limited experience, and spent the rest of

¹ *Report of the Board of Education, 1912-13*, pp. 47-69. These accounts are too lengthy to be quoted here, but they will well repay study.

their lives in the elementary-school environment. Under these conditions they had no opportunity of broadening their ideas or of coming into close contact with those who had chosen quite different professions.

Some witnesses believed that the denominational tests imposed by the majority of colleges often debarred the most promising candidates from the profession. The staffs of the training-colleges were severely criticised. In both men's and women's colleges the principal was usually a man who had graduated, and was often in holy orders. In women's colleges there were certain lecturers in addition to the principal. The senior woman official was the Lady Superintendent, who was responsible for supervising the discipline of the students, but took little part in the training itself.

Most of the colleges, because of the difficulty of obtaining well-qualified and experienced lecturers, suffered from inbreeding. As a rule, the principal was the only person who had received a university training. He was sometimes responsible for lecture courses, but more often he confined himself to religious instruction and the administrative work of the college. Higher education for women had only recently been made possible, so that there was no pool of well-educated women to supply the needs of the training-colleges. Consequently, able students were offered posts as junior lecturers. Eventually they became senior lecturers, and in this way the colleges trained their own staffs. Although many of these lecturers were thoroughly efficient within narrow limits, they knew little of education outside the elementary school and their own college. The men's colleges were not handicapped to so great an extent and were able to call upon the services of lecturers who were better qualified and who possessed a wider experience. In both men's and women's colleges, however, the residential system encouraged staff and students to form "little worlds of their own, cut off almost entirely from other educational thought and activity."

The majority report of the Cross Commissioners suggested the foundation of non-residential colleges and advocated setting up day training-colleges attached to the university colleges. The minority report was in favour of day training-colleges, aided by local rates and under local authorities, in addition to those connected with university institutions. It attached greater importance to residence than did the majority report, and considered that a certain number of the students attending day training-colleges should be boarders.

In the regulations of the Education Department for 1890, although the minority report was not entirely ignored, the recommendations of the majority report were favoured. Day training-colleges attached to universities and university colleges were recognised and day students were permitted to attend residential colleges. The total number of day students was restricted to two hundred. In addition, a third year of training was authorised for selected students. It was not long before three-year students were allowed to read for university degrees, and the Education Department accepted the university examination as equivalent to its own examination in academic subjects. The professional examination in the principles and practice of teaching was still conducted by the Education Department.

The original day training-colleges were King's College, London, and Owens College, Manchester, for men; Mason's College, Birmingham, for women; and Durham College, University College, Nottingham, and University College, Cardiff, for both sexes. In 1891-2 the restriction with regard to numbers was changed and these colleges were recognised for double the number of students. At the same time, Cambridge University, the Yorkshire College, Leeds, and University College, Liverpool, were recognised for men, and Firth College, Sheffield, for men and women. The following year Oxford University, University College, Bristol, University College, London, and University College, Aberystwyth, were added to the list. Before the end of the century, training-departments were recognised at Bangor, Reading, Southampton, Exeter, and Southampton Street, London, and most of the colleges mentioned opened their doors to both men and women.

The new colleges became an integral part of the universities and university colleges, and contributed to widening the intellectual background of those preparing to enter the teaching profession. At the same time the residential training-colleges were greatly improved and began to build up their staffs from men and women who possessed higher qualifications and more varied experience. The new system, however, revealed certain defects. Many students admitted to the day training-colleges were anxious to obtain university degrees, but were not intellectually capable of the work required. As a result, the number of failures in the intermediate and final degree examinations was unduly high.

Another serious difficulty was the fact that university degree courses had not been planned for intending teachers. To obtain a

degree, a full three-year course of study in certain academic subjects was necessary, and those students who were training for the teaching profession had to take their professional course and complete their practical teaching within the same period. This threw a much greater burden upon them than upon the private student reading for a degree. Moreover, there was always the tendency to attach greater importance to the academic studies and to belittle the professional training. Eventually, some universities achieved a fairly satisfactory compromise. Thus, at Leeds, recognised students were allowed to offer education as a subject in the final examination for the ordinary degree. Honours students, however, had to complete the honours course, with education as an additional subject. It was not until a four-year training-course was introduced that a really satisfactory solution was reached.

Another disadvantage suffered by day students was that many of them lived at a distance from their college, and thus spent a considerable time in travelling. At Leeds, students travelled in from the surrounding district, sometimes covering more than fifty miles in the day. The other alternative was for them to live in lodgings. University College, Reading, was unique in being planned as a residential college from the start, so that all students except those actually living in the town of Reading were accommodated in halls of residence. Although the other modern universities and university colleges eventually began to develop the hostel system, in most cases there is much lee-way to be made up and, at the present time, at a university like Leeds far too many students are faced by the alternatives of travelling or of living in lodgings.

It was only towards the close of the century that attention was paid to the training of teachers for secondary schools. It was thought sufficient that the teacher had obtained a university qualification in academic subjects. In 1854 the College of Preceptors began to grant diplomas for secondary teachers, and in 1873 started courses of lectures for teachers. In 1878 the Teachers' Training and Registration Society founded the Maria Grey Training College, in which special courses were provided for those intending to enter a secondary school. Towards the end of the period, the universities began to cater for the secondary-school teacher. The Teachers' Training Syndicate was formed at Cambridge in 1879, and the Oxford Delagacy for the training of secondary teachers in 1896. The University of London had instituted a secondary-teachers' diploma in 1883.

The Cross Commission criticised the pupil-teacher system, but, believing that there was nothing to put in its place, suggested improving it. Already the wisdom of entrusting the training of the pupil-teacher to the head teacher of a school had been questioned. Very few head teachers possessed the qualifications necessary for this task. The realisation of this fact led to the development of Pupil-Teachers' Centres after 1881. At first the pupil-teacher taught at school in the day and attended the centre for academic instruction in the evening. This was felt to be too great a burden, and in 1884 pupil-teachers were required to teach only half-time and were able to attend classes at the centre during the remainder of the day. The establishment of Pupil-Teachers' Centres was really a sign that the system was beginning to break down. The minority report of the Cross Commissioners was very emphatic on this topic. It declared that the pupil-teachers taught badly and were badly taught. The outcome was an inquiry into the whole system by the Education Department, 1896-8. The committee reported that, while it did not suggest complete abolition of the pupil-teacher system, it recommended raising the age to fifteen of pupil-teachers entering their apprenticeship, and eventually to sixteen. At the same time it was of the opinion that the Pupil-Teachers' Centre should approximate to a secondary school. Another improvement, in 1899, was the permission to substitute London Matriculation or the Senior Local examinations of Oxford and Cambridge for the Queen's Scholarship examination.

The Cross Commission's recommendations concerning evening schools resulted in a new evening-school Code in 1893. The requirement that students should pass in the three R's was abolished, and adult students over twenty-one were recognised for grant. The new Code offered grants based on the total number of hours of instruction given and not on the achievements of individual pupils. Moreover, the encouragement of scientific and technical studies, about which more will be said in a later chapter, made the evening institutes more popular, and as a result the number of students increased rapidly.

Our large towns still possess far too many schools which were built as a result of the 1870 Act, and which, with certain modifications, are yet in use. The typical school of this period consisted of a large classroom with one or two smaller classrooms leading off from the main room. The younger children often had the privilege of being in one of the smaller classrooms whilst the upper part of the

school used the main room, which housed several classes. The latter served also as an assembly-hall for the school. Town schools were often built near the junction of busy streets, where the roar of traffic and the babel within the room, owing to one teacher having to make himself heard above the rest, interfered with the concentration of the pupils and played havoc with the teacher's voice and nerves. The author has vivid memories of one such school which abutted immediately on to a main road and tram route and in which the smell of the nearby gas-works was never absent. The windows were frequently placed behind the scholars, and heat was supplied by open fires or stoves, so that those near the fire were scorched whilst the remainder shivered with cold. Ventilation was achieved by vertical flues assisted by a gas-light burning in the flue. Lighting was by means of gas and there are still quite a number of schools being used at the present time in industrial towns where incandescent gas mantles are employed in lighting. High galleries were in the fashion and the entrance lobbies contained hooks for hats and coats, and lavatory basins. The playgrounds were usually inadequate in size and paved with flagstones or gravel. The main room was divided by sliding partitions which could be opened out to convert it into an assembly-hall. These schools were often double-storey buildings to accommodate boys and girls separately. One floor communicated with the other by a stone staircase, and often an iron fire-escape was attached to the outside of the building.

The London School Board experimented with what was known as the Prussian model, a large schoolroom with separate classrooms for each teacher, each accommodating as many as eighty children under a certificated teacher.¹ The next development was the central-hall type introduced about 1890. Classrooms led off from a central hall and were much smaller and better lit. The open fire was replaced by central heating, and separate cloakrooms and lavatories were provided. A later improvement consisted in having the classrooms on one side of the hall only, which was lighted from the other side. Separate buildings for infants were erected and additional rooms provided for handicraft and domestic science. These schools were two- or three-storey structures; boys on one floor and girls on another, or juniors on one and seniors on the other.

¹ The London School Board was the first to appoint its own school architects. The development of school buildings in London is illustrated by plans in the *Final Report of the School Board for London*, 1904.

It is difficult for anyone at the present day to realise how unsatisfactory were the conditions under which some schools had to work. The following extracts from school log-books are revealing, and show, in the words of Mr. G. A. N. Lowndes, how great has been the "Silent Social Revolution" accomplished by our elementary schools. The extracts refer to schools in the London district and are taken from a collection made by Mr. H. G. Carr, who kindly placed it at the author's disposal. Mr. Carr has been connected with London schools as pupil, student, and teacher, since 1895.

One head teacher wrote of a school: "Many of the children are so poor and dirty in their clothing that the work is sometimes very dirty. The class of children now in the school is very poor indeed, in fact each year sees a poorer and more careless class of children. The teachers are all overpressed by work in trying to maintain discipline and cleanliness among their scholars. To teach the children under our present circumstances is simply disheartening and depressing."

Parents in the poorer districts were distinctly unco-operative.

"1884. Feb. 1. Mrs. B. called and was exceedingly abusive about her boy being kept back to do his work. She went so far as to threaten personal violence with a dinner fork which she kept in her hand. The boy was suspended till apology was made by mother.

"1886. A boy having been punished, 'I received a note from his mother saying that she would take the nose out of my face.'"

Sometimes organised hooliganism interfered with the work of the schools, *e.g.*:—

"1872. Sept. 16. Large stones, pitched through the broken windows at intervals. No means of detecting the culprits.

"1884. June 12. About fifty or sixty boys from neighbouring schools came to the playground of this school at a quarter to one o'clock and attacked our children by throwing stones."

In the poorer districts children were sent to school in an unfit condition, and attendance was most irregular.

"1891. Nov. 30. Mrs. S. sent her daughter to school absolutely naked except for an old gown—the child complained of cold—the teacher found her a jacket to keep her warm.

"1889. Mrs. C. states that her children often have to come to school without any breakfast. The Doctor informs her that her boy in Std. IV is likely to go out of his mind through studying

and having no nourishment. Mrs. G. states her children are often sent to school without breakfast. The two lads D. are often fed at school by the teachers. I have frequently seen them eagerly devouring a loaf of bread.

"1883. June 1. Organised a systematic cleaning of all dirty boys in the school. 80 cleaned this morning and 60 cleaned this afternoon.

"1884. Nov. 18. A note was sent enquiring as to the reason for a boy's absence. The reply was, 'Fetching the gin and no boots.'

"1871. Aug. Roll 244. Average attendance 164. Master and two pupil-teachers.

"1884. Numbers in classes starting with Std. I were 81, 66, 59, 67, 63, 51, 71.

"1884. In Miss W.'s division of Standard III, 82 were present out of 83 on the roll.

"1883. Nov. 5. To-day being Guy Fawkes Day our attendance was exceedingly bad, only 182 present in the morning and 158 in the afternoon out of 350.

"1879. April. Attendance still very irregular. . . . An impression is abroad among the parents that children are allowed to absent themselves twice a week."

Sometimes H.M.I.s were quite outspoken, as witness the Inspector who wrote: "1896. Dec. 23rd. With much pleasure I give up the charge of this very undesirable little school, where the mistresses come and go, bringing with them years of good reports and leaving with none, due to the many disadvantages and muddling under which they work, it being the practice of the schoolmaster to pick from his school the biggest child-dunce and send in here as 'Teacher' six months prior to my time of Inspection when the numbers are higher. This has been the case for the last two years. The school was condemned when I took charge and earning the lowest grant; it is now taking the higher grant to which I raised it."

Teachers were frequently outspoken about the examinations given by Inspectors, *e.g.* 1890, "The Examination throughout was the most unpleasant examination this school has had during the last five years, the children having to endure a great deal of harsh scolding through the giving of incomplete orders. On the last day, especially, they were expected to be very much on the alert in oral

work, long after their usual dinner hour." 1890, "The following sums were given on Card No. 200 Std. III and the attention of the Inspector was drawn to them as being above the capacity of the children in that standard. No. 2. What is that number which contains six hundred and four, one hundred and thirty-seven times? No. 4. Fifty hens laid an egg each day every other day for 28 days. What profit would be made by selling the eggs at three half pence each if the hens cost a half penny each day for their food?"

At times the entries are definitely humorous, *e.g.* 1893, June 15, "One of the seats is broken in consequence of the Teetotallers' Concert held here on Monday night. The schoolroom was in a bad state on Tuesday morning." One wonders what was the composition of the mineral water which caused such high spirits.

Teaching methods in the 1880's were largely mechanical, partly owing to large classes, partly to the influence of the Revised Code. As additional subjects found their way into the curriculum, teaching methods improved, but very slowly. Elementary science was represented by the object lesson which was lauded as a means of developing the pupil's powers of observation. Frequently they resulted in the pupils repeating after the teacher long strings of technical terms or memorising perfectly obvious facts in a set form of words. Professor Armstrong's Heuristic Method was a protest against the method of teaching science which ignored the child's activity and relied on the memorisation of strings of facts.

Professor Armstrong was convinced that if the pupil were placed in the position of the original investigator and faced with problems similar to those encountered by the pioneers of scientific knowledge, he would understand science and grasp scientific principles more readily. Hence the title of his method—Heuristic—that is, a method of discovery. The method "caught on" and produced both critics and enthusiastic advocates. There is no doubt that Armstrong did good service to the cause of education by drawing attention to certain points which had been sadly neglected by the schools. Instead of lessons consisting mainly of "chalk and talk," he insisted that the learning process should be one of progressive discovery involving observation, experiment, and the use of inference; but, like many reformers, in his zeal he lost sight of a very important principle. The child is still a child with the child's background of knowledge and experience, and an outlook on life different from that of the adult. In strictness, he cannot be equated with the original investigator, and before he can use the method with profit

his background must be widened and deepened by certain facts and ideas, which must be presented to him. Also, the method should be regarded as being supplementary to class teaching and not as a complete substitute for it. Nevertheless, the Heuristic method sounded the death-knell of the old object lesson and emphasised that the teaching of science is an affair of the laboratory and workshop rather than of the classroom. The teaching of elementary science became more practical, and oral lessons and demonstrations were superseded by laboratory work in which the pupils handled apparatus, carried out experiments, and drew their own conclusions from the observations and experiments they had made. Too often, however, the practical work assigned to pupils was conceived in a most unintelligent manner. For example, in some higher-grade schools, pupils spent a whole year in manipulatory exercises and in learning how to measure directly and indirectly, without really understanding the purpose of accurate measurement.

In the middle of the century the influence of Pestalozzi, or more accurately Pestalozzi as interpreted by Fellenberg, was predominant. We have already seen its effect in the importance attached to the object lesson and the emphasis placed on analysing subject-matter into its simplest elements. It seems that the English followers of Pestalozzi had imperfectly grasped his principles. They were attracted more by the external aspects than by the spirit of his system. Unfortunately, they tended to exaggerate certain weaknesses.¹ Andrew Bell, when he visited Pestalozzi at Yverdon, was impressed by his personality, but he was quite unable to grasp the ideals which lay beneath the system of the great Swiss reformer. Bell found no trace of the elaborate machinery which he believed necessary for the smooth running of a school, and he was led to make the rash prophecy that the monitorial system would still be flourishing when Pestalozzi was forgotten.

Another of Pestalozzi's visitors understood more fully what was implicit in the system. This was Froebel, who, although he realised the weaknesses of the system, recognised its merits and gained

¹ The absurdity to which the principle of analysis was carried can be seen in the work entitled *Calisthenics or the Elements of Bodily Culture on Pestalozzian Principles* by Henry de Laspée, Charles Griffin and Company, 1865. The writer advertises his method by saying, "My book was the only one on Physical Training, admitted on the list issued by H.M.'s Committee of Council on Education." The method consists in analysing all the possible positions of the head, eyes, trunk, and limbs. Each of the elementary positions is numbered, and more complicated movements are built up from a combination of the elementary positions.

inspiration from them. Pestalozzi was essentially an empiricist, but Froebel brought a trained philosophic mind to bear upon his problems. Froebel's idea of the Kindergarten at first made a greater appeal to the German and American educationists than to the English. Like Pestalozzi, Froebel had his English imitators, but they failed to grasp the deeper meaning of his teaching and concentrated upon his Gifts and occupations, believing these to be the essential parts of his system. It was only much later that the true spirit of Froebel was understood. Even Sir Joshua Fitch considered that the Froebelian methods were useful only for children under seven, and then as supplementary to the more formal teaching of the infant-school.

The kindergarten idea was introduced into England in 1851 by the Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, who had become a great admirer of Froebel's work. The Society of Arts held an educational exhibition in London in 1854 and for the first time teachers were able to see the Froebelian apparatus and samples of the work done by pupils of Bertha Ronge, the teacher of the first English kindergarten. Charles Dickens, in an article published in *Household Words*, 1855, entitled "Infant Gardens," helped to popularise the idea. Dickens issued a warning, which was largely unheeded, that it would be all too easy to allow Froebel's system or any similar system of training to degenerate into a mechanical routine.

Unfortunately the new ideas had commenced to take root in this country only when the Revised Code, with its insistence upon the three R's, put an end, for a time, to further progress. The kindergarten idea began to revive after the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Emily Shirreff and her sister, Maria Grey, were instrumental in forming the Froebel Society in 1874. Its aims were to popularise the Froebelian principles and to provide training for Froebelian teachers. In the same year the London School Board appointed Miss Bishop to lecture on the system, and the British and Foreign School Society chose Miss Heerwart as principal of the kindergarten college and practising school established at Stockwell. After four years' work, Miss Bishop had to report that the kindergarten system was still widely misunderstood in England. It was regarded as a subject rather than a principle which should pervade the whole life of the infant-school. Also, in 1874 Madame Michaelis, the friend and pupil of Baroness von Marenholtz-Bülow, was appointed head of the kindergarten department of the Croydon High School, a foundation of the Girls' Public Day School Company.

In spite of all this, the Froebelian principles made only slow progress in England, and the existence of the kindergarten was practically ignored by the Cross Commission. English people did not take kindly to educational ideas which came from foreign sources. There was a lack of teachers who had been trained in kindergarten methods. Perhaps the most important reason for the tardy acceptance of Froebel's ideas was the firmly established view that schools for young children were places in which the elements of reading, writing, and counting were inculcated. Added to this, Froebel's works were not translated until the years 1885-93. There was, however, some progress. Froebel societies sprang up at Croydon, Bedford, and Manchester. These were independent associations, and it was obvious that much was to be gained if they coalesced into a national association. This came to pass in 1887, when the National Froebel Union was constituted for the work of examining and certificating teachers. The local societies carried on with propaganda. Meanwhile, the Froebelian movement had made more rapid progress in the United States, and it was a Froebelianism reformed and reconstructed by the critical mind of John Dewey which brought new life into the English kindergarten in the early years of the present century.

Another feature of the 1890's was the increasing attention given to the physical development of the child through games and physical exercises. The Code of 1871 recognised military drill, which was frequently taught by the sergeant of the local volunteers. The boys were instructed in marching in different military formations in the school-yard, and many School Boards arranged an annual contest between the schools of the area, in which banners were presented to the schools which distinguished themselves. This kind of drill made no pretence of giving scientific physical training; its main object was to inculcate a sense of discipline and prompt obedience to orders amongst a large group of children. Indian-club and dumb-bell exercises furnished the only variety from the marching and turnings. The table on p. 299 gives an idea of the type of physical-training work carried out by Standard VI boys under the Birmingham School Board. The table for girls was a slightly less strenuous version of the same course.

Swedish drill was introduced by the London School Board, who in 1879 invited Miss Löfving to give a course of instruction to schoolmistresses. In 1882 an attempt to popularise Swedish drill in boys' schools failed. The Board then instituted a series of courses

MARCHING	GENERAL DRILL	EXERCISES
<p>(a) March at a uniform rate, at even distance, and with a good carriage.</p> <p>(b) Change step, and do the right-about turn on the march.</p> <p>(c) Counter-marching.</p> <p>(d) March in line backwards and forwards.</p> <p>(e) First simple figure march.</p> <p>(f) Marching in fours.</p> <p>(g) Running.</p>	<p>(a) The turns. Right turn; left turn; half-right turn; half-left turn; right-about turn.</p> <p>(b) Dressing of lines.</p> <p>(c) Wheeling in fours forwards and backwards.</p> <p>(d) Opening and closing of ranks for exercises.</p>	<p>(a) Indian-club exercises, or</p> <p>(b) Stave exercises, Nos. 1 to 9.</p>

in physical training on the English system which involved free body and limb movements. Lectures on the theory of physical training were given to teachers. A certain amount of military drill was retained on the ground of its value "as a means of maintaining discipline; obedience and promptness are secured; the tendency to roughness and noise is counteracted." Musical drill was also advocated because "it secures a more interested and consequently a more satisfactory execution of the work." Horizontal and parallel bars were erected in asphalt playgrounds, but owing to the large number of accidents were subsequently removed from the majority of schools.¹

Leeds adopted Swedish drill in 1880 and musical drill in 1890. Special courses in physical training were arranged for teachers, and evening classes for young men in business, and instruction in gymnastics was given at two schools specially equipped for the purpose.

In the 1880's, school football clubs were formed in various London schools, but the idea of forming a school football association was due to Mr. W. J. Wilson of Balham, who, with the help of several other teachers, inaugurated the first elementary-schools football association under the name of the South London Schools F.A., 1885. This was the beginning of a national movement, and by 1895 nearly every important town had a school organisation for the promotion of football and cricket. Competitions between teams in the same town and between towns were organised. One of the earliest inter-town matches was played between the Sheffield

¹ The London School Board introduced dancing into twenty-four of its schools, but owing to the unfavourable comment of the Vice-President of the Education Department in 1901 it was dropped from the school curriculum.

Schools F.A. and the South London Schools F.A. at Bramall Lane, the famous Yorkshire ground, in 1890. In 1894 Manchester and Sheffield schools played before 40,000 spectators. The Sheffield F.A. organised a number of matches for charities, and in ten years raised over £1,000.

Cricket was much more difficult to organise owing to the lack of suitable practice grounds, but in London, Liverpool, and Brighton, park pitches were set aside for the schools on Saturday mornings. Athletic associations were formed for promoting annual school sports, and girls and boys were included. Swimming instruction also received attention. Leeds formed an Elementary Schools F.A. in 1896, and adopted the association game in spite of the fact that Leeds was even then a great rugby centre. The reason given was that association football was a better game for boys who wanted to practise during the midday break and had not time to change. Arrangements were made in 1875 for pupils from elementary schools to obtain swimming instruction, and in 1895 it became part of the ordinary school course.

In many districts the public libraries were made available to school-children. The first municipal rate-supported public library was established at Warrington in 1848 and the earliest Public Libraries Act (Ewart's Act) was passed in 1850. The movement to set up public libraries grew slowly, and in 1870 only about forty places in the kingdom had established public libraries. After 1870, public libraries became more numerous. In 1865 the Birkenhead librarian reported that 743 juvenile books had been borrowed during the year, and the first separate children's library was begun at Nottingham in 1882. The first free public library authority to work in unison with the schools was at Leeds in 1877, and by 1894 sixty-three juvenile libraries had been established in Board schools and six in voluntary schools.

The central library and twenty-one branch libraries in Leeds had special juvenile departments. In one Leeds Board school special lesson-periods were assigned on the time-table for library reading and every pupil above Standard III was supposed to have a library book which he was reading. In some towns every school was supplied with a number of book boxes, the contents of which were changed from time to time. The Education Department urged teachers to make their instruction lead up to an appreciation of art galleries, museums, and public libraries. In 1896 the Cardiff School Board tried out a new experiment. It was arranged that

every class above Standard III should visit the public library at least once a year for an illustrated lesson on a definite subject. The lesson for the first year was the History of a Book, and the library staff organised a most interesting exhibition. Pupils were shown examples of the clay tablets of the Assyrians, the papyrus of Egypt, mediaeval MSS., the Horn Book, early English printed books, books made by the Japanese, and special books for the use of the blind. Other towns repeated the Cardiff experiment.

School apparatus became more plentiful. The early lesson-cards and wall-sheets were replaced by black-boards. Wall-maps and atlases made their appearance and attention was given to the seating arrangements. The London School Board replaced the long, backless forms by dual desks, but in many country schools little improvement took place.

So far in this account of the development of English education we have been considering the provision made for the education of the normal child who comes from a normal home. There is, however, the problem of satisfying the needs of those children who, in some way or other, have been less favoured and cannot take their place in the ordinary schools. Such children fall into the following classes:—

- (1) Those who have been deprived of one or both parents, or whose parents by reason of poverty or sickness are unable to support them. These children require maintenance as well as education.
- (2) Those who come from homes where they have not experienced a happy home life. They may have been ignored and neglected, or actually ill-treated.
- (3) Those living in a criminal environment, or who have by begging or by petty offences infringed the law.
- (4) Children who by reason of some physical or mental defect are unable to take advantage of the education provided for normal children.

The problem arising with the first three categories of children has been that of providing them with an environment which, as far as possible, would supply the training conditions found in a good home and, at the same time, giving them adequate instruction in the subjects of the elementary school. Attention was first directed towards those who had actually transgressed the law. In the early days of the century, quite young children who had been convicted

by the magistrates were sentenced to transportation for periods varying from five to ten years. As in the case of normal children, the first efforts in reform were made by philanthropic societies. The Marine Society, founded in 1756, and the Philanthropic Society in 1788, aimed at receiving and treating juvenile offenders who had been released from imprisonment or transportation under a conditional pardon. The latter was granted if the child entered a "Home" or "Charitable Institution" and remained there for a number of years. The work of the Philanthropic Society in reclaiming young offenders was so highly thought of that the Society was incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1806.

When the voluntary societies showed signs of being unable to solve the problem, the Government intervened. The first Government experiment was at Parkhurst Prison in 1837. All juveniles sentenced to transportation were lodged in the prison and an attempt was made to reform them through outdoor industrial training, religious teaching, and school instruction. As Parkhurst remained a prison, the experiment was not successful and it was abandoned in 1864.

Those of us who remember the two world wars will also recollect the enormous increase in juvenile delinquency which followed them. Such developments were not the result of war conditions only, for at several periods during the 19th century popular attention was directed to the growth of juvenile crime. Thus in the 1840's public opinion was so outraged by the growth of juvenile delinquency that a Select Committee of the House of Lords was instituted in 1847 to consider the operation of the criminal law in respect to children. Statistics produced before the committee showed that the number of criminals under twenty years of age who had been convicted had increased from 6,803 (or 1 in 449 of the juvenile population) in 1835, to 11,348 (or 1 in 304) in 1844. Some witnesses quite illogically connected the increase with the growing number of children attending the Ragged schools. Such children were generally referred to as those belonging to the "perishing and dangerous classes."

The result of the inquiry was the institution of reformatory schools by an Act of Parliament of 1854. By 1860 there were forty-seven reformatory schools, which were training 2,594 juvenile offenders. In the early days the training was not altogether successful, since the atmosphere of such institutions resembled that of a prison rather than a school. The initial mistakes were eventually

corrected, and when a reformatory school was opened at Adel, Leeds, in 1857, its object was declared to be "to promote the reformation of boys convicted of crime by training them up in habits of industry, in outdoor and other employment, imparting to them an education of a plain character, and especially by an earnest endeavour to bring them under the influence of religious principles and also by placing them in suitable situations on their discharge from the institution." This particular school has long enjoyed the reputation of treating the boys as human beings, of trying to discover and develop their individual interests, and of providing a sound basis of religious instruction. The school stands in extensive grounds, and the boys are employed in horticultural work. There is a large carpenter's shop for instruction in woodwork, and special attention is given to physical exercises and games. The boys have taken a great interest in chess, and not only is the game played indoors, but on several occasions they have given demonstrations of living chessmen, in which each boy represents a bishop, knight, or some other piece.

In addition to institutions which dealt with actual offenders, efforts were made to prevent children from unsatisfactory homes from developing into delinquents. The Ragged schools had done good work in this respect, but it was felt that the problem ought to be attacked in a much more systematic way. In some towns Ragged schools developed into industrial schools under the control of the Boards of Guardians. The Industrial Schools Act of 1857 empowered magistrates to commit to industrial schools children who had been found begging or who had committed some minor breach of the law. The Committee of Council gave 3s. a week towards the maintenance of each child who had been committed, but parents who could afford to contribute to the child's keep were expected to do so.

Two kinds of industrial school were recognised: certified and uncertified. The former received children who had actually been committed by the magistrates. Other children who suffered from neglect or who came from destitute homes might attend either type of school. These schools were residential, and it was hoped that by bringing the children into a wholesome environment and teaching them a trade, they would become respectable, self-supporting members of the community. The number of residential industrial schools aided by the Committee of Council was thirty-six in 1858, and 2,822 children were in attendance.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 created an additional problem. Many parents refused to send their children regularly to school. This difficulty gave rise to the day industrial schools which were instituted by the Education Act of 1876. Children who did not attend school could be committed by the magistrates either to a residential or a day industrial school. In some cases parents complained that they could not prevent their children from playing truant. Such children could attend an industrial school on a voluntary basis, but the parent was expected to contribute a small amount towards the child's maintenance. The day industrial schools looked after the children between the hours of 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. They were fed at school, and it was hoped that the training given would counteract the influence of the home and the streets. Unfortunately, in most cases the effect of the training was not sufficiently strong to overcome the adverse influences, and in this respect the residential schools were more successful. As a result of this experience, day industrial schools were abandoned in the early years of the present century.

Until the latter part of the 19th century little attention was given to those children who, because of some physical or mental defect, were unable to benefit from the instruction designed for the normal child. The worst cases never attended school, whilst those suffering from slighter defects formed the dull and backward members of the school. The problem of such children grew more acute when, after 1870, schooling was becoming universal. A common device was to form a Standard 0 in which were grouped all those who could not take their places with normal children, but no attempt was made to discover the cause of their backwardness; whether it was physical, (*e.g.* defective eyesight or hearing) or mental, or whether it was due to accident or to some defect which entailed special treatment.

The earliest attempt to deal with the problem of mentally defective children was by means of the Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1899, which empowered School Boards to provide special accommodation for defective children, but this duty was not made obligatory until 1914. Nevertheless, the School Boards in London and the large towns turned their attention to providing the necessary accommodation. A special curriculum was prepared for these children, and individual and practical modes of instruction were emphasised. Bradford, which for many years was a pioneer of this kind of work, opened a special school for mentally defective children in 1894. The Leeds School Board opened a temporary

school in 1900 until a special building for mental defectives was erected in the following year.

As early as 1883 the Leeds School Board instituted a class for deaf and dumb children. The blind were cared for by a voluntary agency: the Leeds Institute for the Blind. The work of the latter body was transferred to the School Board in 1890, and a separate classroom was allotted to blind children. In Bradford, day classes for the blind and deaf were opened in 1885. The Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act of 1893 empowered School Boards to provide for the education of blind and deaf children. The Leeds School Board opened a residential school for these children in 1899. The provision of accommodation for crippled children was considered by certain School Boards, but nothing definite was accomplished until after the Education Act of 1902. Some School Boards began to take an interest in the health of the school-child. School medical inspection was started in London in 1890 and in Bradford in 1893. For many years the latter city was the pioneer of school medical services. Some School Boards, like that at Leeds, employed a part-time medical officer, but his duties were mainly confined to certifying children for admission to special schools and examining teachers in accordance with the regulations of the Education Department. The rapid extension of the services rendered by the special schools and the school medical service belongs to the first decade of the present century.

CHAPTER IX

THE FOUNDATION OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM

1895-1902

The point has now been reached where the two streams of secondary and elementary education meet and their development can be considered together. At the end of Chapter v, the reason for the appointment of the Bryce Commission was given. The Bryce Commission is noteworthy because for the first time it included women amongst its members, and had wider terms of reference than any previous commission. Its object was "to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies, and having regard to such local sources of revenue from endowment or otherwise as are available or may be made available for this purpose, and to make recommendations accordingly." This Commission, like the Taunton Commission, employed the usual means of obtaining information, and, through Sir J. Fitch, Mr. (later Professor) Findlay, and Mr. (later Sir) M. E. Sadler, secured reports on the progress of secondary education in various countries of Europe, Canada, and the United States.

Certain districts were selected for special study: Devonshire, including Exeter and Plymouth; the north of England, including Leeds, Bradford, Keighley, Manchester, and Liverpool; Bedfordshire, and other counties. After a brief review of the work of the Taunton Commission and the Endowed Schools Act, the Commissioners emphasised with regret that four important recommendations of that Commission had not been carried out: the establishment of a central authority for secondary education, the creation of local authorities, the institution of a register of schools and teachers, and the authorisation for local authorities to apply rate-aid to secondary education. The benefits gained by the Endowed Schools Act were only a fragment of the system the Commission had elaborated with so much foresight and patient statesmanship. Since the Taunton Commission, events had moved rapidly and the Commissioners referred to the establishment of new agencies in the field of education; School Boards for elementary education, which were now financing higher-grade schools, a type of secondary school of the third grade; the Science and Art

Department, whose grants were given to what was virtually secondary education; the university colleges for the higher education of men and women, the University Extension movement, which had brought instruction of an advanced type to people outside the normal university courses, and the recent development of technical education. The latter had been financed from the funds created by the Local Taxation Act of 1890, funds which were being applied by the county councils, who had gained valuable experience in educational administration. The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 provided a new source of suggestions. The report then emphasised the hopelessly chaotic state of educational administration shown by the variety of authorities and the constant overlapping of their functions and lack of co-ordination. The teaching profession was now organised and had given rise to such bodies as the Headmasters' Conference, 1870, the National Union of Teachers, 1870, the Association of Headmistresses, 1874, the Association of Assistant Mistresses, 1884, the Headmasters' Association, 1890, the Association of Assistant Masters, 1892, and others. All this was a sign of the growth of a strong professional spirit which would tend to raise the influence and the status of the teaching profession. Another tendency noted was the growth of the proprietary schools and the better provision of secondary schools for girls. Yet one more agency had appeared in the field of secondary education in the Board of Agriculture, which, since the Act of 1889, had powers of inspecting the teaching of agricultural subjects given in secondary schools and institutes for higher education. In addition to the endowed schools and schools receiving grants from a Government department, there were still numerous private schools. All this added to the confusion into which educational administration had fallen, so that the pressing problem to be solved was that of organisation.

Although not strictly within the terms of reference, the report considered that little progress could be made until the meaning of the term "secondary education" had been defined. "In every phase of secondary teaching, the first aim should be to educate the mind, and not merely to convey information. It is a fundamental fault, which pervades many parts of the secondary education now given in England, that the subject (literary, scientific, or technical) is too often taught in such a manner that it has little or no educational value. The largest of the problems which concern the future of Secondary Education is how to secure, as far as possible, that in

all schools and in every branch of study the pupils shall be not only instructed but educated.”¹

The changes of recent years had resulted in the breaking down of the barriers between cultural and practical subjects. Hence secondary education “is the education of the boy or girl not simply as a human being who needs to be instructed in the mere rudiments of knowledge, but it is a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed.”² Therefore technical instruction cannot be separated from secondary education.

The report recommended certain steps that were necessary for establishing an efficient system of secondary education in England. The primary need was the creation of a central authority to organise and co-ordinate all the different agencies supplying secondary education. The past record of the Education Department had raised suspicions in the minds of certain members of the Commission as to what the establishment of a central authority might entail. “Greater variety and freedom in secondary schools than the old uniform codes allowed in elementary. Teachers . . . have shown a proper and becoming fear lest the hard reign of these codes, which has, indeed, of late years been, with happiest results, gradually made lighter, should be introduced into secondary schools, or lest all spontaneity should be ground out of them by the iron machinery of ‘payment by results’.”³

That these fears were not altogether groundless has been borne out by the tendencies of recent years. On the whole, however, the Commission thought that by combining elementary and secondary education under the same department, the general results would be beneficial because the central authority would be obliged to think of education as a whole and not simply of its several parts. Another advantage would be the greater ease with which teachers and pupils could pass from one type of school to another. The bureaucratic tendencies of centralisation would be checked by the existence of local education authorities, and the policy of the central authority would have a larger and more liberal spirit when it had to reckon with secondary education than when it had to deal with elementary education alone. The central authority should not occupy the position of a dictator. “So far from attempting to induce uniformity, we trust that a free and spontaneous variety, and an open field

¹ *Report of the Commission on Secondary Education*, 1895, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 135-6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

for experiment and enterprise of all kinds, will be scrupulously observed. . . . Some central authority is required, not in order to control, but rather to supervise . . . not to override or supersede local action, but to endeavour to bring about among the various agencies which provide that education a harmony and co-operation which are now wanting.”¹

Professor Archer summed up the difficulty which presented itself to the Commission when he wrote, “Educationalists were undoubtedly groping for some arrangement by which secondary education could be controlled and financed by the State without becoming subject to the party system. . . . It has always been regarded as an integral part of the Constitution that departments which spend the public money should be represented by a minister responsible to Parliament. Under the party system this means that the Education Minister comes into office with his party, goes out with it, however efficient he may be, and is rarely likely to be turned out however inefficient he may be. The system, which was designed to secure parliamentary control, works out in a manner quite the reverse. The minister himself is responsible to Parliament, that is to the party whips, who have no interest in real educational efficiency, with the result that the permanent officials, who are the real authors of educational policy, are responsible to nobody.”²

The Commission recommended the following solution to the problem. The first necessity would be the creation of a central authority as a Government department, having a Minister of Education responsible to Parliament and charged with the supervision of both elementary and secondary education. He should be assisted by a permanent secretary. But some of the work of the department would be “so purely professional, as to belong rather to an independent body than to a Department of State.” Therefore the creation of an Education Council to advise the Minister was recommended. It would act as an executive body and take charge of the compilation of a teachers’ register. The Minister would be responsible for general policy and the control of administrative details, “but we believe that the unwillingness which doubtless exists in some quarters to entrust to the executive any powers at all in this branch of education would be sensibly diminished were his position at once strengthened and guarded by the addition of a number of

¹ *Report of the Commission on Secondary Education*, 1895, p. 257.

² R. L. Archer. *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 311-12, C.U.P., 1921.

independent advisers." Unfortunately for future generations, this recommendation was only partially carried out when the Board of Education was established.

The Commission thought that the Education Council should be a small body of twelve members—one-third appointed by the Crown, one-third by the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Victoria, and one-third selected by the rest of the Council from experienced educationists. The term of office should be six years, and arrangements should be made to prevent all the members retiring at the same time and so breaking continuity. Additional members might be co-opted when necessary. The existing authorities, the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, and the educational functions of the Charity Commission, would be merged in the new central authority.

The local administration should be in the hands of authorities established by the county councils, the county boroughs, and other boroughs having a population over 50,000. These local authorities would carry out the functions of securing a due provision of secondary education in their areas, co-ordinating existing schools, administering sums provided by the rates or the national exchequer, initiating schemes for endowed and public schools, and providing for the inspection of schools. The local authorities should also have the power of granting recognition to private and preparatory schools provided they reached a certain standard as regards buildings and efficiency, and should organise scholarships and exhibitions for deserving scholars, including those being educated in the elementary and higher-grade schools of the district.

The Commission called attention to the anomalous aspect of the higher-grade schools as being under the management of the elementary School Boards and yet, for practical purposes, providing secondary instruction. It suggested that they should be treated as secondary schools, but this recommendation implied the assumption that the School Boards would continue and that the new local authorities would be responsible for secondary education only.

The work of the Bryce Commission had shown the value of having accurate and up-to-date information about education in different parts of Britain, in the Colonies and Dominions, and in other countries. The following year the Department of Special Reports and Inquiries, under the charge of Mr. (later Sir) Michael Sadler, was created and unwittingly became one of the agencies that was to help in laying the foundation of the national system.

The central authority recommended by the Commissioners was created by the Board of Education Act of 1899. The powers of the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, and the Charity Commission, as regards its educational work, were merged in the Board of Education. Legally the Board consisted of the President, the principal Secretaries of State, the First Commissioner of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. During its long history of forty-five years the Board never met, and for practical purposes it consisted of the President, a permanent Secretary, a Parliamentary Secretary, and senior administrative officials.

The Board was to superintend educational affairs in England and Wales, and at the same time a Consultative Committee was established to advise the Board on any matter referred to it. The Committee consisted of eighteen members, men and women, who held office for six years. Another duty of the Committee was to prepare a register of teachers. Thus the Consultative Committee was shorn of most of the powers which had been recommended by the Bryce Commission for the Education Council. The former could not proffer advice to the president of the Board until asked to do so. This was not rectified until 1944, but meanwhile the Consultative Committee had done much valuable work in the issue of reports such as the report on *The Primary School*, the *Education of the Adolescent*, etc.

A Registration Council was set up in 1902, but the National Union of Teachers objected to the division of the register into two columns, one for elementary teachers and one for secondary. The Board withdrew the register, and it was not until 1907 that a new Teachers' Registration Council was established. The new register contained the names of teachers in alphabetical order representing teachers in all kinds of schools, including the universities. Registration was voluntary, and those teachers whose names appeared on the register were entitled to add the letters M.R.S.T. (Member of the Royal Society of Teachers) to their names. A large number of teachers did not avail themselves of the register, mainly because neither the central nor the local authorities made any use of it when candidates offered themselves for educational appointments. In 1948 the Ministry of Education decided to abandon the idea of registration and the Royal Society of Teachers came to an end. No further registrations can be accepted, but those who are already registered are entitled to use the letters M.R.S.T.

The second main proposal of the Bryce Commission in regard to the institution of local education authorities took seven years to materialise. The first move was due to the difficulties in which the voluntary schools found themselves. In the unequal competition with the Board schools they found themselves left more and more behind because of the rising costs of education. The Conservative party were strong supporters of the denominational schools and when they were returned to power in 1895 the archbishops of Canterbury and York drafted a memorial which was presented to the Government. It prayed that in the framing of a new Education Bill the religious character of education should be preserved by retaining the voluntary schools. Parents should have the right to determine the religious instruction given to their children and no school should be penalised because of the religious views held by the teachers or the pupils. The memorial emphasised the value of variety in the type and management of schools and asked for the abolition of the limits on the grants to schools and that the grants should be rearranged so as to assist the poorer schools. They asked for increased exchequer grants, the provision of facilities for separate religious instruction in both voluntary and Board schools, and power to establish denominational schools where parents demanded them.

The Government presented a Bill in 1896 closely following these proposals. The Bill had been prepared by the Vice-President of the Education Department, Sir John Gorst, assisted by the Secretary, Sir George Kekewich, and Mr. Sadler. It suggested making the county and county borough councils the local education authorities controlling elementary, secondary, and technical schools. This was an advance on the proposals of the Bryce Commission which had contemplated retaining the School Boards for elementary education. The grant limit of 17s. 6d. per head was to be abolished and a special grant of 4s. per head was to be paid to the county authority for distribution among the voluntary schools in its area. A clause was inserted to enable separate religious instruction to be given in Board schools to those children whose parents desired it. This amounted to the repeal of the Cowper-Temple clause. The new proposals were assailed from two directions. The School Boards were not inclined to a voluntary surrender which would result in their ceasing to exist, and the Nonconformists and the Liberal party were up in arms against the idea of giving rate-aid to the voluntary schools. The Lord

President, the Duke of Devonshire, decided to drop the measure and broke the news to Sir John Gorst by bursting into his room with the remark, "Gorst, your damned Bill's dead." However, the following year the Government passed a Voluntary Schools Act abolishing the 17s. 6d. limit on grants, freeing the schools from payment of rates, and providing an aid-grant of 5s. per head paid through the Association of Voluntary Schools. The same year a similar Act gave aid to necessitous School Boards.

It seemed that the recommendations of the Bryce Commission would be entirely neglected. That they were not was almost entirely due to the work of one man, Mr. (later Sir) Robert Morant. Morant's career opened with a series of crises. He was born of middle-class parents in 1863, and it was intended that he should enter Rugby. The death of his father when Morant was ten years old seemed to close the door to his mother's hopes of sending him to a public school, but he was fortunate enough to secure the nomination of the headmaster of Winchester. His great ambition in his early years was to take Orders and with this in view he went up to New College, Oxford, in 1881. On account of his poverty he had to take up coaching in order to keep himself at Oxford, and he had just secured a First in Theology when the news came that his mother, to whom he was devoted, was seriously ill. For a time he accepted a teaching post in a preparatory school, but in 1886 he applied for appointment as tutor to the children of the Siamese Minister in London, who had just returned to Siam. In 1888 he became tutor to the Crown Prince of Siam and remained in that country until the end of 1893, when the crisis caused by the French attempts at annexation brought about his dismissal. During his stay in Siam he had worked earnestly for the cause of reform in Siamese education and had been the advisor of the king and his ministers. Now on his return to England he had to look for another appointment. He applied to the Education Department and was given the post of Assistant Director of Special Inquiries and Reports in the newly created department of which Sadler was chief.

Morant made himself familiar with the reports of the Cross and the Bryce Commissions, and assisted his chief and Sir George Kekewich in preparing memoranda in connection with Sir John Gorst's ill-fated Bill. During 1896 he was absent in France studying the French system of Higher Primary Schools. The results of his work were published in the first volume of *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, 1897. Morant's next visit was to Switzerland,

where he made an exhaustive study of the Swiss educational system, and he was struck by the careful organisation of Swiss education, which contrasted strongly with the administrative muddle in England. When he wrote his report on Swiss education he inserted the following paragraph. "The Central Authority has not, as with us, any voice in limiting any additional efforts that the Commune may desire to make out of its own funds, towards extending the educational advantages of its members, or towards making any higher developments of its educational supply. This at once suggests a vital difference between Swiss and English conceptions. For instance, in England many School Boards have desired to improve their higher Elementary Education and to extend its scope by providing Day Schools of a Higher Grade; but they have been frequently told by the Central Authority that they cannot take any such steps as would involve the School Board in any expense for this purpose, that it would be illegal to spend their rates in such a manner, inasmuch as they were only empowered by the Act of 1870 to use the rates to provide Elementary Education."¹

At this time a dispute had been going on between the London School Board and the London Technical Education Board because the latter had applied for recognition as the authority responsible for secondary education. The county council supported their Technical Education Board and the two bodies appealed to the Science and Art Department. Dr. Garnett, the secretary of the Technical Education Board, was given the task of preparing the case for the county council. Morant contrived to bring to Garnett's notice the paragraph in his Swiss report, and followed it up by giving him evidence of the illegality of the London School Board in using the rates to support what was secondary instruction given through the higher-grade schools. Sir John Gorst was astonished at the evidence collected by Morant, and, after giving a decision in favour of the county council, asked Dr. Garnett to

¹ *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. III, p. 47, H.M.S.O., 1898. Morant expressed his views quite clearly in the last paragraph of his report. "Surely it is not too much to hope that England may yet learn to value and to create for herself a true and complete organisation of her schools not merely of her Primary Education, but also of that most valuable asset of the national welfare—her Middle and Higher Schools; so that each and every grade of education, and each and every type of school may have a clear presentment before it, both of the function which it is intended to fulfil, of the results which it is framed to produce, and of the area which it is created to supply. Thus, and thus only, can each and every school, and each and every grade of education, have its due share of national interest and assistance, and be enabled effectually to play its due part in national development."

challenge the legality of the London School Board's position at the next meeting with the Government Auditor, Mr. T. B. Cockerton. The latter was satisfied with the evidence and surcharged the School Board. The School Board took the case to court and lost. On appeal to the Master of the Rolls the court of appeal upheld Mr. Cockerton's view. Sir John Gorst followed this up by relating to Parliament instances of other School Boards which had been acting illegally. A special Act, 1901, was passed to allow the School Boards to carry on until the Government had prepared the Education Bill that everyone now knew was inevitable.

The delay caused by the South African war necessitated the renewal of the Act of 1901, and it was not until the end of March 1902 that the Government was ready to present the new Bill to the House of Commons. Morant, who for some time had been busy with the drafting of the Bill, was present during the debate.¹

The Act carried out the second main proposal of the Bryce Commission and brought education under municipal control. "The Education Act of 1902 . . . brought administrative order where there had been chaos, and set up an organised system of elementary, secondary, and technical education."² In place of the School Boards and School Attendance Committees, the Act constituted the county and county borough councils as the local education authorities. This in itself was a great administrative simplification, since instead of over 2,500 School Boards and nearly 800 School Attendance Committees, about 300 new local authorities took their place. As the county councils and county borough councils were concerned with Part II of the Act, which dealt with higher education, they were generally known as Part II authorities. In addition, the councils of boroughs with a population of over 10,000, and urban districts with over 20,000 inhabitants, were constituted as authorities for the purposes of Part III of the Act, which dealt with elementary education only. Hence the latter authorities were known as Part III authorities, and both were entitled Local Education Authorities, generally abbreviated to L.E.A. The L.E.A. was empowered, for local administration, to set up a Local Education Committee to which it could delegate the exercise of its powers under the Act, with the exception of the power of raising a rate or borrowing money. This ensured that the local finances were under public control. The

¹ The work of Morant in connection with the drafting of the Act is described in detail by Dr. B. M. Allen in *Sir Robert Morant*, pp. 151-71, Macmillan, 1934.

² F. Smith. *A History of English Elementary Education*, p. 347, University of London Press, 1931.

majority of the members of an education committee were to be appointed by the council from its members, unless, in the case of a county, the council should determine otherwise. The council also appointed to the committee persons with experience in education or those who had intimate knowledge of the needs of the various kinds of schools in the district. This enabled teachers to become members. Women as well as men were able to be members of the education committee. If it seemed desirable, persons who had been members of School Boards at the time of the passing of the Act might be appointed as members of the first committee. Separate education committees could be formed for areas within the county, or two or more boroughs or urban districts could amalgamate to appoint a Joint Education Committee. All L.E.A.s took over the duties of the School Boards and the School Attendance Committees with regard to the control of secular education within their areas.

The Board schools now became council schools, and because the buildings were provided by the L.E.A., such schools were known as provided schools. The voluntary schools, because the buildings were not provided by the L.E.A., were termed non-provided schools. Provided schools under a county L.E.A. had six managers, four of whom were appointed by the education committee. In the case of a borough or urban district, the L.E.A. could appoint the number of managers it considered necessary. Non-provided schools also had a board of six managers, four foundation managers appointed under the provisions of the trust-deed, and two (who might possibly be Nonconformists) appointed by the education committee. The foundation managers would preserve the denominational character of the school and the presence of two managers representing the public authority would act as a check to innovations in religious teaching introduced by a too zealous vicar. This clause was inserted to appease the Nonconformists, who feared that Anglo-Catholic teaching might be introduced into a school against the wishes of the majority of the parishioners.

The managers of a non-provided school were to provide the building free of charge, and undertake all repairs except those due to fair wear and tear. As regards secular instruction, the managers were obliged to carry out the directions of the L.E.A., who would decide the number of teachers required and their educational qualifications. The L.E.A. had the power to dismiss a teacher on educational grounds. The managers appointed the

teachers subject to the consent of the L.E.A., which had a veto on educational grounds, but the managers did not need to obtain the consent of the L.E.A. to dismiss a teacher on grounds connected with the giving of religious instruction. In a provided school the latter had to be undenominational as prescribed by the Cowper-Temple clause, but in a school maintained but not provided, religious instruction was to be in accordance with the trust-deeds of the school, subject to a conscience clause. In secondary schools and colleges provided by the authority a new clause governed the nature of the religious instruction. "No pupil shall, on the ground of religious belief, be excluded from or placed in an inferior position in any school, college, or hostel, provided by the council, and no catechism or formulary distinctive of any particular religious denomination shall be taught in any school, college, or hostel, so provided, except in cases where the council, at the request of parents of scholars at such times and under such conditions as the council think desirable, allow any religious instruction to be given in the school, college, or hostel, otherwise than at the cost of the council; provided that in the exercise of this power no unfair preference shall be shown to any religious denomination." (Pt. II, para. 4 (i).)

Elementary education was limited to pupils under sixteen years of age, except in the case where no suitable higher education was available within a reasonable distance of the school, when the L.E.A., with the consent of the Board of Education, could extend the age-limit. Evening schools were considered as belonging to the sphere of higher education. Besides aiding secondary and technical education, the L.E.A. possessed the right to train teachers.

As non-provided schools were now supported by the rates, the Government grant was rearranged to ease the burden on the poorer districts.¹

¹ The rearranged grant consisted of a fixed grant equal to 4s. per scholar together with a variable grant. This consisted of 1½d. per scholar for every complete 2d. per scholar by which the amount which would be produced by a 1d. rate fell short of 10s. a scholar. This complicated arrangement was intended to ease the burden on a poor district where the product of a 1d. rate was not as large as that in a wealthier district having a smaller school population. A district which raised less than a 3d. rate lost from the grant an amount equal to half the difference between the amount raised from a 3d. rate and that raised by the actual rate.

Thus, in a district where the rate was 2s. and which fell short of 10s. by 8s., the grant would be 4s. + $\frac{1}{2}$ of 8s., *i.e.* 10s. If the rate was 5s. the grant would be 4s. + $\frac{1}{2}$ of 5s., *i.e.* 7s. 9d.

The Bill received its first reading without encountering any fierce opposition, but in the interval before the second reading a spirit of bitter animosity towards the proposals developed. Bryce, the chairman of the Commission of 1895, moved the rejection of the Bill when it came before the House for a second reading. Sir Edward Grey criticised the proposal to put the voluntary schools on the rates, but the most determined attack was led by Mr. Lloyd George. The second reading was passed by a vote of 402 to 165, but everybody realised that there would be a hard fight at the Committee stage. In the country, the Nonconformists were aroused by Dr. Clifford by means of letters to the *Daily News* which he later embodied in a penny pamphlet. In Parliament, the Liberal Opposition made capital out of the Nonconformist hostility and Mr. Lloyd George's bitterest invective was employed to defeat the Bill. It was fortunate for Mr. Balfour that he had secured the services of Morant, whose detailed and accurate knowledge of educational administration and statistics provided the ammunition for the support of the Government. Joseph Chamberlain had been injured in a street accident and was not present for the debate. In the midst of the struggle, Lord Salisbury felt he should, on account of age, resign the premiership, and was succeeded by Mr. Balfour.

The Cabinet was reconstructed and Lord Londonderry was appointed president of the Board of Education, with Sir William Anson as parliamentary secretary. Mr. Balfour felt that Sir George Kekewich, the secretary to the late Education Department, was not a strong enough man to carry out the Government's policy and he agreed with Lord Londonderry that it was necessary to have someone who was thoroughly acquainted with all the intricacies of the Bill. The latter suggested that Morant should be the successor to Kekewich. Accordingly, Morant was appointed acting secretary, to become permanent secretary to the Board of Education when Kekewich retired in 1903. Thus in seven years Morant had risen from the rank of junior civil servant to be the head of the Department. Balfour was ably assisted by Morant, and although certain modifications, such as the clause moved by Colonel Kenyon-Slaney to the effect that the religious teaching of a non-provided school must be in conformity with the trust-deed, were adopted on Morant's advice, the Bill became law on December 20th, the second anniversary of the Cockerton judgment, with all its main proposals intact.

The Act of 1902, like most Education Acts, presented many features of compromise. The dual system was maintained and the Kenyon-Slaney clause, adopted to appease the Nonconformists, roused the anger of the Anglo-Catholics. The creation of the Part III authorities was a concession to the supporters of the School Boards and may have been of value in stimulating local interest in education. It led, however, to a number of anomalies (e.g. Birchenough quotes the example of Canterbury, a county borough with a population of 25,000, which became an authority for both elementary and higher education, whilst Part III authorities like Leyton, Willesden, Rhondda, and Tottenham, with populations ranging from 99,000 to 114,000, had powers over elementary education only¹).

The Act of 1902 opened a new chapter in the history of English education. It created local education authorities empowered to co-ordinate elementary and higher education, and provided what at the time was described as "the ladder from the elementary school to the university," because it rendered possible the award of scholarships for promising pupils from the elementary school. It gave the denominational schools a definite place in the system and ensured that the pupils in these schools received an education up to the standard of that provided in the council schools. It led to the provision of an adequate supply of secondary schools to which parents could send their children on payment of moderate fees. Eventually it made other developments possible; the pupil-teacher system was changed and later the secondary school ousted the pupil-teacher centre; it produced a marked increase in the number of teachers' training-colleges; and important developments with regard to evening and technical instruction followed. At the same time, the delegation of power to local authorities made for variety and elasticity. One thing was not achieved by the Act. All through the 19th century, secondary education had been regarded as different in kind from elementary education. The idea that secondary education should be restricted to a certain class in the

¹ C. Birchenough. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day*, p. 163, U.T.P., 1938. The following example will show the difference between Part II and Part III authorities. Harrogate was a Part III authority, and its education committee was responsible for the elementary schools in the town. There were also the Harrogate Grammar School and Technical and Art schools. These came under the control of the Part II authority, the Education Committee of the West Riding of Yorkshire at Wakefield. In many cases friction was avoided by the custom of appointing the Director of Education of the Part III authority as secretary to the governors of institutions for higher education.

community gradually broke down when the scholarship system was extended as a consequence of the Act. But the Act of 1902 still regarded the secondary school as an institution of a different character. It was perhaps too much to expect, at that time, that education should be viewed in stages so that the secondary stage would be a natural sequence to the primary. The Balfour-Morant Act did not go so far as to create a national system of education, but it laid the foundation on which others would be able to build.

Strong support had been given to the Act by the Fabian Society, owing to the influence of Mr. Sidney Webb, who, whilst criticising some of the details, supported its main proposals. London had been left outside the operation of the Act, and it was largely due to the work of Sidney Webb that in 1903 the London County Council became the authority for all types of education in its area.

The Liberals were not content to acknowledge defeat. The rate conflict prophesied by Dr. Clifford and Mr. Lloyd George began. Many Nonconformists refused to pay their rates and distraint was made on their property. This campaign of passive resistance continued for many years. Looking back, one always wonders why the passive resisters did not also refuse to pay their taxes as well, since the latter provided the money from which the Government grant to the voluntary schools was paid. In Wales, certain towns refused to have anything to do with the Act and some counties decided not to pay any money from the rates to the voluntary schools. In 1904 the Government passed the Education (Local Authorities Default) Act which stated that if the L.E.A. did not make adequate grants to the voluntary schools in its area, the Board of Education would deduct an equivalent sum from its grant to the L.E.A. and pay it direct to the managers of the voluntary schools. Lloyd George threatened that if the Government put the Default Act into operation, the whole of Wales would be thrown into educational chaos, since the Welsh authorities would refuse to carry on elementary education and would close the council schools. Mr. Balfour called his bluff and applied the Act to two defaulting authorities. No action of any importance followed since it was realised by Mr. Balfour's opponents that the general public was unlikely to tolerate an action which made the school children victims of a political wrangle. When the election of 1906 was fought, the Liberals included the repeal of the Education Act of 1902, along with the Chinese Slavery and the Big and Little Loaf propaganda, as part of their political programme. The result of the

election was a great landslide in favour of the Liberals and the new Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman, appointed Mr. Birrell as president of the Board of Education. Within a few months, Mr. Birrell presented a Bill to Parliament which was designed to meet the grievances of the Nonconformists. One of its principal clauses proposed the abolition of the voluntary schools by transferring them to the L.E.A.s. After a stormy debate the Bill went to the Lords, where it was amended so drastically that the Government refused to proceed any further with it.

Dr. Clifford wanted to force a constitutional issue with the Lords—to mend or end the House—but the Act had now been working with great success for four years and the Government thought it unwise to follow this line of action. A further attempt to reverse the 1902 policy was made by Mr. McKenna, who was president of the Board in 1908. His proposals did not satisfy the Nonconformists and roused the intense opposition of the Anglicans and Roman Catholics, who threatened in turn a campaign of passive resistance if it became law. The Government, in view of the storm it had aroused, withdrew the Bill but made a concession to the Welsh Nonconformists by establishing a Welsh Department of the Board which would be concerned with all matters of educational administration in Wales. Yet another attempt at reversal was made the same year by Mr. Runciman, who had succeeded Mr. McKenna, but the combined opposition of the Church, the Roman Catholics, and this time the teachers, who were beginning to have their say in matters which concerned them more even than the political parties, convinced him that it would be wise to withdraw his Bill. By this time Mr. Runciman and the Government realised that the Education Act of 1902 had come to stay.

CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL SYSTEM

1902-1944

The main educational problem during the period which began in 1870 and culminated in the Education Act of 1902, had been that of providing sufficient elementary-school places for the child population and seeing that they were filled. In the period 1902 to 1944, the centre of interest shifted to secondary education. During the last decade of the 19th century, two well-marked tendencies had been operative; the school-leaving age had gradually risen and experiments had been carried out in the provision of new types of post-primary schools (higher-grade, higher-elementary). So far little had been done to improve either the quantity or the quality of secondary education given in endowed schools. The number of pupils attending these schools has been estimated at about 30,000 in 1895. A small proportion of elementary-school children had, by means of scholarships, entered the secondary schools; about 2,500 in 1894 and 5,000 in 1900. Most of these scholarships were offered by local government authorities using the powers given them by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and the Local Taxation Act of 1890. Secondary education was still regarded as something quite distinct from elementary education, even though the emphasis on class distinctions was not quite so sharp as formerly.

The first step in the expansion of secondary education was to make more schools available. In 1903 many of the former higher-grade schools and pupil-teacher centres were taken over by the new local education authorities. When they had been under the control of the School Boards, these schools had qualified for the grants of the Science and Art Department and as a consequence had developed a curriculum with a decided scientific bias in contrast with the classical and linguistic studies of the endowed schools. Unfortunately, the Board of Education, influenced by Morant, in looking for a model for the new secondary schools of the future, decided that the public schools and the traditional grammar-schools supplied what was needed. Hence the experience gained during the previous twenty years in regard to curriculum and teaching methods was

largely ignored. In the *Regulations for Secondary Schools*, 1904, the Board attempted a definition of a secondary school. Curiously enough, the only definition of an elementary school had been that given in the Act of 1870, where it was described as a school in which elementary education was the principal part of the education given and the fees did not exceed 9d. per week. In the Act of 1902, secondary and technical education was referred to as "education other than elementary." In the 1904 Regulations, a secondary school was defined as "a Day or Boarding School offering to each of its scholars up to and beyond the age of sixteen, a general education, physical, mental, and moral, given through a complete graded course of instruction, of wider scope and more advanced degree than that given in Elementary Schools." In the absence of a clear definition of an elementary school and the aims and purposes of elementary education, the above does not offer a great deal of guidance in regard to the secondary school, but when the content of secondary education is examined, it is soon apparent that the new schools were conceived along traditional lines.

The Regulations stated that to achieve a sound general education a secondary school must offer a four-year course, at least, in certain groups of subjects. These were: (1) English language and literature, with geography and history; (2) at least one language other than English; (3) mathematics and science, both theoretical and practical; and (4) drawing. Girls were to receive training in practical housewifery, and both boys and girls were to take some kind of manual work and physical exercises. The influence of tradition is clearly seen in the following paragraph, "Where two languages other than English are taken, and Latin is not one of them, the Board will require to be satisfied that the omission of Latin is for the advantage of the school." Thus, from the start, the secondary course was planned according to the needs of the minority who were eventually entering either the university or one of the professions, and it proved a difficult task—and one not by any means fully accomplished even now—to shake off this tradition. Indeed, the recognition of a secondary grammar type of school by the Act of 1944, tends to perpetuate the tradition for a large number of pupils. This kind of school has done valuable work in the past and still has a very important function in the future, but a more realistic and practical approach to its studies would prove an inestimable boon even to those of its scholars who have a university career in view. The description of Sanderson's work at Oundle

given later in this chapter shows what may be accomplished successfully without any loss in the standard of scholarship.

The Spens Report indicates two other errors: an unreal and unnecessary division was introduced between secondary and technical education (the Bryce Commission had emphasised that in a sense all secondary education is technical), and a confusion in the meaning given to the term "general education." The latter reflected the influence of the now discarded "faculty psychology" in which Morant was a firm believer. Finally, the school course was graded according to the demands of the subject-matter rather than based upon the needs, abilities, interests, and outlook, of the pupils at different stages of their development. The schools themselves at first showed little inclination to depart from the academic tradition, and the introduction of the School Certificate Examination in 1917 which gave, under certain conditions, exemption from matriculation tended, in spite of its many obvious advantages, to confirm them in their view.

Morant was much happier in his dealings with the elementary school, and the *Code for Public Elementary Schools* in 1904 struck an entirely new note. The introduction was written by Morant himself and shows that he had thought deeply and to good purpose. The introduction is too lengthy to quote in full, but the opening paragraph shows a completely fresh conception of the meaning of elementary education. "The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both boys and girls, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life." Morant followed its publication by issuing new Regulations for training-colleges and for evening schools and technical institutes. In the former he described his ideal of the elementary-school teacher and the influence he should have. "The influence of a body of thoroughly competent, zealous, and conscientious teachers in our Public Elementary Schools may plainly be an immensely important factor in our national life, and, apart from their professional work, the teachers as a body of well-educated men and women may render services, out of all proportion to their number in the population, in the performance of the common duties of citizenship." The truth of these words was exemplified in 1939 when the teachers of both elementary and secondary schools, by their efforts and their high

sense of public service, saved the evacuation scheme from the chaos into which it was falling.

Apart from efforts, already described, to secure the repeal of the Act of 1902, the events of the first five years were not spectacular. All the partners in the work of education were new and had to learn their job and get to know each other. The Board of Education soon realised the limitations of its powers and chose the path of leading rather than dictating. The new L.E.A.s got down to the business of surveying their areas and preparing schemes to remedy deficiencies, and the managers of the non-provided and endowed schools took their responsibilities seriously and did much to improve the schools under their charge. Sir Michael Sadler, who was then Professor of the History and Administration of Education in the Victoria University of Manchester, rendered most valuable service in gathering detailed information concerning the progress of education in six large boroughs and three counties.¹

The General Election of 1906, which was a great land-slide in favour of the Liberals, for the first time brought forty members of the Labour party into Parliament. With their assistance, the Education (Provision of Meals) Act was passed which empowered L.E.A.s to arrange for the feeding of those school-children whose education was suffering because of lack of food. Where the parent was able to pay, a moderate charge was made, but in cases where the parent could not afford the cost the L.E.A. could meet the expense by levying a rate not exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the £. The following year Mr. McKenna's Education (Administration Provisions) Act introduced some very important changes.

¹ Sadler had resigned his post as Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports in May 1903. This step was taken because of an irreconcilable clash between his outlook on educational matters and the views of Morant. The latter was regarded with awe and even with dislike by some of his colleagues, as Dr. Allen relates (*Sir Robert Morant*, Macmillan, 1934). He was certainly a brilliant administrator who was quite sure what he wanted, but in the achievement of his aims he displayed a certain ruthlessness and an inability to understand and sympathise with points of view other than his own. Sadler was infinitely broader in his outlook and was not prepared to tone down his reports to fit in with Morant's preconceived ideas in administration. When he was told that the work he was doing must be carried out "for the benefit of the Board, at the instance of the Board, and under the direction of the Board," he felt that the only course for him was to resign. Those, like the writer, who had in later years the privilege of serving under Sadler, realise the breadth of vision, the intimate knowledge of educational problems, the ready sympathy and power of inspiration which made Sadler the greatest educationist of his day. The two men, their characters and achievements, are described by John Graves in *Policy and Progress in Secondary Education, 1902-24*, Chapter iv, "The Clash of Ideals," Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1943.

(1) The Act empowered the L.E.A.s "to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Board of Education for attending to the health and physical condition of children in Public Elementary Schools." Morant took immediate advantage of the opportunity given. He had always been a convinced believer in the importance of the physical development of the school-child, and in the Code of 1906 had introduced organised games. Using the powers conferred by the Act, he established a medical department and succeeded in obtaining the services of Mr. (later Sir) George Newman as the Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education. Anyone who has read Sir George Newman's annual reports until he became Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health in 1919 will realise the wonderful work he accomplished through the school medical service. The Act of 1907 instituted a compulsory system of medical inspection in elementary schools, but so far the parent was not obliged to carry out the recommendations of the school doctor.

(2) A clause in the Act empowered L.E.A.s to acquire land compulsorily for the building of new secondary schools, and the raising of the secondary-school grant to £5 per head encouraged the opening of new secondary schools. By 1910 there were 980 schools on the Board's grant-lists.

(3) The provision for the establishment of a Teachers' Registration Council was referred to in Chapter ix.

(4) Last, but perhaps most important, the Board's regulations insisted that in all fee-paying secondary schools in receipt of grant, twenty-five per cent of the admissions each year were to be free places for children from elementary schools. In order to maintain the standards and efficiency of the secondary schools, candidates for free places were to be selected on the result of an attainment test designed to discover whether they were able to profit by a secondary-school education. This was the beginning of the "Scholarship Ladder to the University." In 1906 the number of scholarships was 23,500, of which 11,500 were for intending teachers. This number grew to 60,000 in 1913 and to 143,000 in 1927.

In 1911 the blow fell which deprived the Board of Education of the services of Sir Robert Morant. The circumstances were briefly as follows. Mr. E. Holmes was H.M.I. in the north of England in 1903, where he found that many of the conditions produced by the era of Payment by Results were still prevalent. Some of the inspectors of the local authorities were appointed from the

ranks of elementary-school teachers who had grown up during the period in which the Revised Code was in operation and who were cramped and narrow in their outlook upon school education. When Mr. Holmes was promoted to the chief inspectorship of elementary schools in 1905, he found that the conditions of the north of England were not confined to that region alone. In a confidential report to Morant, he expressed his views at some length. He wrote, "Apart from the fact that elementary school teachers are, as a rule, uncultured and imperfectly educated, and that many—if not most—of them are creatures of tradition and routine, there are special reasons why the bulk of the local inspectors in this country should be unequal to the discharge of their responsible duties." The report was placed at the bottom of a pile of memoranda on Morant's desk and by mistake he signed it, authorising publication. The Holmes circular found its way into outside hands, including those of Sir Samuel Hoare, who saw in it an opportunity for launching an attack on the Liberal Government. The N.U.T. quite naturally resented what they considered a slur on the teaching profession, and Dr. Clifford joined in with glee to crush his old enemy. Holmes had retired before the storm burst. Morant was bitterly attacked from all sides but the Government were too conscious of the value of his services to lose him, and he was offered by Mr. Lloyd George in 1911 the appointment of chairman of the National Health Insurance Commission. Mr. Holmes, on his retirement, wrote a book, much discussed at the time, *What Is and What Might Be*. The first part, "What is, or the Path of Mechanical Obedience," embodies much of his experience as an inspector.¹

The policy of the Board of Education before the First World War encouraged the developments already latent in the Act of 1902. It would have been a simple matter for the Board, following the routine of its predecessor the Education Department, to have issued detailed instructions concerning the syllabus of the elementary school and the methods of teaching to be employed. Morant realised the value of encouraging teachers to display initiative and to experiment with new methods of teaching. In place of attempting to impose a set syllabus on all schools, he issued, in 1905, a *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others engaged in the Work of Public Elementary Schools*. The title was a deliberate choice, and although from a present-day

¹Edmond Holmes. *What is and What Might Be*, Constable, 1911.

standpoint much of the book would be considered out of date, based as it was upon a faculty psychology, yet its issue was momentous because for the first time it gave the teacher freedom to try to work out his job in his own way.¹ This purpose was distinctly stated in the preface: "The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desire to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools is that each teacher shall think for himself, and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. Uniformity in details of practice . . . is not desirable even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use.

"Teachers who use the book should therefore treat it as an aid to reviewing their aims and practice, and as a challenge to independent thought on such matters."

One of the most important consequences of the Education Act of 1902 was the attention given to the training of intending teachers. The pupil-teacher system, even as amended by the establishment of pupil-teacher centres and the reduction of the period of apprenticeship to three years in 1900, was still the target for a good deal of criticism. The Board of Education raised the minimum age for pupil-teachers to sixteen (fifteen in rural districts) and reduced the normal period of apprenticeship to two years. Half of the pupil-teacher's time was to be spent in receiving instruction at a centre, which might be attached to a secondary or higher-elementary school. This stipulation was to ensure a more liberal education for him and to prevent cramming for examinations. The remainder of his time was to be spent in teaching or observing teaching. No school was normally permitted to receive more than four pupil-teachers at a time, and each school employing pupil-teachers had to be certified by an inspector as fit for training them.

The Board proposed an alternative to the pupil-teacher system. Any secondary-school pupil who had received instruction in the school for not less than two years (raised to three in 1910) and who

¹ The influence of faculty psychology may be seen in such phrases as the following: "The process of teaching, therefore, involves a careful development of the faculties of the child"; "enforcement of attention and training of memory are among the essentials of education"; "in the lower classes teaching about common things will be directed mainly to cultivating exact observation . . . In the higher classes . . . the main purpose of the lessons is to exercise the scholars in reflecting and reasoning upon the results of their own direct observation"; "the search for natural laws belongs to a later stage of mental discipline."

A comparison of the *Suggestions* of 1905 with those of 1937 will reveal a complete change of attitude.

wished to become a teacher, could claim a bursary for a year and then either serve for another year as a student-teacher or pass direct to the training-college. Many L.E.A.s adopted this alternative scheme, and the number of pupil-teachers declined sharply after 1907. The whole problem of intending teachers was raised again in 1923 when Lord Burnham's Committee gave the opinion that the normal means of entry to the profession should be through the secondary school. In urban districts, pupil-teachers' centres were to be abolished, but they might be allowed to continue provisionally in rural areas where no secondary school was available. By 1938 the number of pupil-teachers in centres had fallen to 51, and rural pupil-teachers to 287. There were also 545 student-teachers recognised by the Board. In 1907 the King's Scholarship examination, which had been the entrance examination for all training-colleges except those which were an integral part of an institution of university status, was abolished. Its place was taken by the preliminary examination for the elementary-school teachers' certificate. Bursars disappeared after 1921 and, with the decline in the numbers of pupil and student teachers, the usual practice was for the intending teacher to pass direct from the secondary school to the training-college.¹

By the end of the 19th century the training-college accommodation, even when supplemented by the day training-colleges connected with university institutions, had become quite inadequate. By 1902 the number of children in average attendance at elementary schools had risen to 5,030,219, but the annual output of trained teachers was only 2,791. In 1904 separate *Training-College Regulations* were issued. They had formerly been part of the Code. This was an opportunity for the Board to tighten its control over the training-colleges and to raise the standards of the staff and the curriculum. At the same time, the declaration signed by the entrant was made more specific. Each student gave an undertaking that, in the case of a man, he would serve, for seven years in the first ten after leaving college, in a school which received grants from the state, or in a training-college. The woman student pledged herself to serve five years in the first eight after leaving college.

For the first time, L.E.A.s were encouraged to develop their own training-colleges and received a building-grant in aid. Later, the grant was extended to cover erection of hostels in connection

¹ In 1938 ninety-three per cent of training-college students came from secondary schools.

with the training-departments of the universities and university colleges. L.E.A.s quickly took advantage of this offer, and the first municipal colleges to be opened were those at Sheffield, Hereford, Graystone Place, Avery Hill, and Southampton Row. The last three were erected by the London County Council. Following these, the City of Leeds Training-College, the Bingley Training-College for the West Riding, and the Hull and Swansea Municipal Colleges were opened. The City of Leeds Training-College is now one of the largest in the kingdom. By 1938 there were twenty-eight colleges provided by local authorities, including seven for domestic subjects. Some of the new colleges were wholly residential; others partly residential, or similar to the day training-colleges.

These changes have resulted in the widening of the curriculum of the training-colleges, the raising of standards, and the increased attention that can now be given to the professional training of the teacher. There was, at first, a danger that the bulk of the students in the municipal training-colleges would be drawn from the locality, but this was avoided by the local authorities themselves, who only allowed a proportion of their own students to occupy places, and encouraged those from other districts to apply for entrance. The Act of 1902 placed the "Model" schools under the control of the L.E.A.s instead of the training-colleges. In 1909 a regulation of the Board required every training-college to have a "demonstration" school for "the purpose of illustrating the most approved and successful methods of school organisation, discipline, and instruction." The scheme was not always satisfactory. In some districts the L.E.A. co-operated with the college and allowed its authorities considerable power in choosing the staff and planning the curriculum of the demonstration school. In other districts such co-operation was lacking and the so-called demonstration school was of little value for the purpose of training.

One of the most important developments in the training-college curriculum was the introduction of such studies as hygiene, physical training, art, handicrafts, gardening, music, and needlework (for women). In many of these subjects it was difficult to assess the progress of students by means of a written examination, and colleges were instructed to group them according to their proficiency. The inspector could sample the work displayed in different groups and ensure a uniform standard of grouping. The number of students reading for degrees in university departments of education increased rapidly, and training-colleges were encouraged to select their most

able students for a third year of training. Those chosen specialised in the study and teaching of one or more subjects. In 1908 the Board began to pay grants for the training of secondary-school teachers. The majority of teachers in secondary schools had hitherto been untrained. The usual system was to award a fourth year of training to those graduates who wished to enter the teaching profession. After 1921 the four-year course became the normal at universities, and the handicap the graduate student suffered by having to read for his degree and take his professional training all in the space of three years was removed.

Such students fell into three classes: (1) recognised four-year students, who received a grant for the whole period they spent in the university training-department; (2) recognised one-year students, who receive a grant for their post-graduate year only; and (3) recognised fee-paying students, who did not receive a grant, but were certificated if they passed through the training-course successfully. In most universities all these students were prepared for the university diploma in education, success in which included the award of the Teachers' Certificate. At Cambridge a certificate was awarded in place of a diploma. The result of these changes was that the number of trained teachers in secondary schools rose rapidly, and at the present time they greatly outnumber those who have not been trained. Many of the graduate teachers entered elementary and higher-elementary schools, so that it became common for these schools to have a number of graduates on their staffs.

The Cockerton judgment had revealed the illegal position occupied by higher-grade schools, and, in order to legalise schools giving advanced forms of elementary education, the Board, in a Minute for the year 1900, recognised the existence of higher-elementary schools for pupils attending a four-year course between the ages of ten and fifteen. Such schools were the forerunners of the central schools established some years later. At this time the policy of the Board was to discourage the development of higher-elementary schools, and most L.E.A.s preferred to experiment along other lines. Thus London (1911) and Manchester (1912) adopted the central-school system into which higher-elementary schools were absorbed. The central school provided a full-time general education for pupils up to the age of fifteen, with the object of enabling them to enter trade and industry immediately after leaving school, without the necessity of undergoing any additional course of

training. The curriculum of the central school had a commercial or industrial bias without being technical in the narrower sense. Some authorities preferred to develop day trade schools or junior technical schools.

At the same time, experiments were being carried out with regard to the education of younger children. Although the Code of 1905 contained many progressive suggestions concerning the work of the infant-school, the Board on the whole deprecated the attendance of children under five and left L E A s free to refuse them admittance. In 1907 the Consultative Committee was asked to investigate the problem of schools for children under five. In their report in 1908, the Committee submitted evidence from France, Germany, and Switzerland, and, although they concluded that on account of industrial and social conditions in various parts of England nursery schools in such districts were a necessity, they did not think it advisable to change the lower limit of school attendance. No action was taken to carry out the proposals of the report until the Education Act of 1918, and nursery schools were not eligible for grant, although grants were given to day nurseries in 1914. Meanwhile, nursery schools were opened by voluntary effort in several large towns. The best-known example was the school established at Deptford in 1911 by the sisters Rachel and Margaret McMillan, who may justly be regarded as the founders of the nursery-school movement.

Margaret McMillan had been a member of the Bradford School Board which, as the reader will remember, had been a pioneer in the provision of the school medical services. She believed so thoroughly in the necessity of this work that she did all in her power to convince the public that compulsory medical inspection of school-children was essential to the creation of a healthy nation. Dr. Allen, in his life of Sir Robert Morant, tells us that when the school medical service was instituted in 1907 Morant had consulted Margaret McMillan before he decided upon the details of the scheme. He wrote to her on the occasion of the publication of Sir George Newman's first report, "This is the *first* clear proof of the *first* Annual Report of the *first* National System of School Medical Inspection that this country has known; and I cannot resist giving myself the pleasure of sending it, in confidence, to yourself; for you are to me the person who has most signally and most successfully embodied in a private individual the best enthusiasm and the most warming faith both in the possibilities of a Medical Inspection

and in the potentialities of a real honest preventive conscience in the state and in the people.”¹

Rachel and Margaret McMillan opened their first school clinic at Bow in 1908. The example they set was imitated in all parts of the country, and the school clinics were instrumental not only in dealing with minor ailments but also in giving treatment for more serious afflictions of the nose, ears, and throat. From the beginning the McMillan sisters welcomed children under five at their clinic. The clinic was moved to Deptford in 1910. The experience of the McMillans convinced them that to obtain the optimum benefit the clinic should concentrate on preventive measures rather than treat ailments when they had fully developed, and gradually the idea came to them that the conditions of the open-air nursery school provided what they were seeking. With the aid of voluntary subscriptions they started their first nursery school at Deptford in 1911. The London County Council was interested in the experiment, and provided them with a site for a larger school in the early months of 1914.

Unfortunately, progress was seriously hampered by the outbreak of war. Staff was difficult to obtain, and financial difficulties absorbed the time and the strength of the sisters. These eventually brought about Rachel McMillan's illness and death in 1917. She lived long enough to see her principles approved by Mr. Fisher, the president of the Board of Education, and it was he who a few months after her death formally opened the enlarged premises.

The McMillans firmly believed in Locke's dictum that one of the principal aims of education is the creation of a healthy mind in a healthy body. Hence there were two aspects of the nursery-school movement. On the one hand, the services of a band of trained nurses and doctors were considered essential. On the other, the children would be under the care of a trained teacher who would make use of what was best in the Froebelian and Montessori principles. The nursery school was an open-air institution. Margaret McMillan wrote: "Children want space at all ages. But from the age of one to seven, space, that is ample space, is almost as much wanted as food and air. To move, to run, to find things out by new movement, to 'feel one's life in every limb,' that is the life of early childhood. And yet one sees already dim houses, behind whose windows and doors thirty or forty little ones are penned in

¹ *Sir Robert Morant*, p. 233, Macmillan, 1934.

‘Day Nurseries.’ Bare sites and open spaces are what we need today.”¹

Great importance was attached to the garden, in which there were trees and shrubs, a flower garden and lawn, a herb and kitchen garden, and a greenhouse. Children were in the garden whenever the weather was fine, playing and engaged with their simple occupations. In winter and during stormy weather the children were in shelters; the McMillans avoided using the term “classroom.” The shelters were open to the air, but could be closed on the rare occasions when the weather made it absolutely necessary. The open sides of the shelter faced away from the wind, the effects of which were broken by carefully arranged terraces.

Children arrived at the nursery school at 8 a.m., and were given three meals a day. They remained until 5 or 5.30 p.m. After lunch came a rest-period and each child lay on his tiny stretcher-bed to rest and sleep. The McMillans realised the value of sleep in a child’s life. Unless the weather was inclement, the rest-period was passed in the open air. Inside the shelters there was little which resembled the formal classroom. Low tables and chairs took the place of desks, and everything was arranged to give the maximum amount of space. When not in use, the stretchers were packed away in built-in cupboards. The whole atmosphere of the shelter was to be “home life, not school life as we know it. Low chairs for the nurse, who is mother and sister for the time; pictures and prettily coloured walls and light, musical instruments, flowers, and an atmosphere of joy and love.”²

The McMillans did not agree with the Consultative Committee’s Report of 1908 which recommended nursery schools for children from poorer homes only. They believed that such institutions were necessary in an equal degree for those who came from well-to-do homes. “Nurseries and Nursery Schools are wanted simply because little children want nurses. They, being children, need that very important kind of early education called nurture. Can this be given, and given entirely by, let us say, the average mother? The well-to-do mother never attempts to do it alone. She engages a nurse, perhaps also a governess, perhaps a schoolroom maid; a great many engage a cook, also a housemaid. All these mother-helps work in a spacious house, with probably a free garden.”³ Hence, Rachel McMillan wrote: “The open-air Nursery School is

¹ Margaret McMillan. *The Nursery School*, pp. 10-11 (revised edition), J. M. Dent, 1930.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

here for rich and poor. It is here, the thing, lacking which, our whole educational system was like a house built on the sand.”¹

Progress had also taken place in infant-school methods through a more intelligent use of the Froebelian conception of free activity and the introduction of individual occupations due to the influence of Dr. Montessori. The latter had been an assistant in the clinic of psychiatry in the University of Rome, and later she came to develop an interest in the education of mentally defective children. She had been influenced by the ideas of J. Itard and E. Seguin, two Parisian physicians of the first half of the 19th century who had paid special attention to the treatment of feeble-minded children. It was from these sources that Dr. Montessori obtained the suggestions which led to the construction of her didactic apparatus. The results she obtained, when teaching mental defectives, convinced her that similar methods would be equally beneficial in the training of normal children. She had the opportunity of testing this in 1906, and, as a consequence of the success which followed her methods, opened the first of her “children’s houses” in the following year. Her chief work was translated into English in 1912, under the title of *The Montessori Method*, and brought her ideas to the notice of the English and American publics.

It is not the function of a work of this kind to give a detailed account of the didactic apparatus. The aim of this material was to provide a thorough and scientific training in sensory discrimination. Unfortunately, Dr. Montessori was a believer in the faculty psychology and its corollary that formal sense-training is both necessary and possible and can be carried out by special exercises designed for the purpose. If this had been Dr. Montessori’s only contribution to education it would have been of very doubtful value. It is now generally agreed that sensory training is best carried out through play and through activities and occupations which naturally occur in the daily life of the child.

The essence of her system was the importance which she attached to the concept of freedom, although even in this she has been misunderstood. In her view, freedom is not to be confused with anarchy. The principle of freedom in the Montessori system “appears to include (1) that we are to provide full opportunity for the exercise of the child’s motor activities so far as they are not anti-social, and (2) that while we are to repress anti-social activities,

¹ Margaret McMillan. *The Nursery School*, p. 113 (revised edition), J. M. Dent, 1930.

we are to do so with as little conflict as possible between the child's will and our will. . . . The child is to develop his own powers through his own experience, as free as possible from the domination of a superior mind. This is not only because we thus avoid the conflict of wills with its antagonisms and emotions, but also because we get the child into the habit of depending on his own mental powers rather than on the assistance of the teacher."¹ Hence the teacher is to be regarded, not as an instructor, but as a source of guidance, direction, and inspiration.

The Montessori school, like the McMillan nursery school, took a more complete charge of the children than the ordinary school. The children were taught to wash themselves, brush their teeth, and generally to keep themselves tidy. As they attended school for the whole day, lunch was provided, and the children learnt valuable lessons in setting tables, in behaviour during meals, and in clearing away and washing up. The desks of the ordinary classroom were replaced by light tables and chairs which could be easily moved by the children themselves so as to make a space for their spontaneous activities. The didactic material and toys were stored in low cupboards within easy reach of the children, and each child was free to select his own material and play with it how and as long as he liked, provided that he did not interfere with the freedom of other children to do the same. The role of the teacher was to suggest rather than to command.

During the period we are reviewing, the social and moral welfare of the child received much attention. The earlier factory legislation has already been mentioned. During the Victorian era, more than a hundred Acts of Parliament were passed (excluding Education Acts) which directly or indirectly were concerned with the protection or welfare of the child. Thus in 1878 children under ten were debarred from employment in factories, and those under thirteen who were employed were under an obligation to attend school either one session per day throughout the week or one full day on alternate days. The age of employment was raised to twelve in 1901 and remained so until the Education Act of 1918. The Employment of Children Act of 1903 empowered local authorities to fix the minimum age at which children could be employed out of school-hours and the total number of hours per day and per week beyond which employment was illegal. The Act also

¹ E. P. Culverwell. *The Montessori Principle and Practice*, p. 174, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1913.

regulated the conditions under which children could engage in street trading, *e.g.* selling newspapers, and it empowered local authorities to fix a minimum age for this. The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act of 1904 still further restricted the employment of children and fixed heavy penalties for adults who evaded the Act.

Perhaps the most important legislation of the pre-war period was the Children's Act of 1908, which for a long time was known as the Children's Charter. It was a very comprehensive piece of legislation which dealt with such subjects as the prevention of cruelty to children, juvenile smoking (it was made illegal for any young person under sixteen to smoke), reformatory schools, industrial schools, and children's courts. Before this time, juvenile offenders had been tried in the ordinary police courts. The idea of special children's courts was first tried out in the United States, where such a court was established in Chicago in 1899. Several experiments were attempted in England, and the Children's Act provided that all juvenile offenders who were charged should be dealt with in a different building or room from that in which ordinary court proceedings were held, or at different times, or on different days. The idea was to prevent children from coming into contact with adult offenders. Only persons directly concerned with the case were allowed to be present, unless specially authorised by the magistrate. Liverpool was the first English city to provide a special children's court. A further Act, the Juvenile Courts Metropolis Act of 1920, provided for the appointment of special magistrates in London who had experience and qualifications for dealing with juvenile offenders.

The Probation Act of 1907 gave power to magistrates to use their discretion with regard to dismissing cases when the offence was trifling or the age of the culprit, or other circumstances, rendered this the most suitable way of dealing with the offender. Such cases were to be placed under the supervision of a Probation Officer for not more than three years. The latter might be a salaried official or a volunteer probation officer associated with some religious or philanthropic institution, *e.g.* an officer of the N.S.P.C.C., a leader of a boys' or girls' club, a Church worker, or a Sunday School teacher.

The Children's Act instituted "remand homes," which served the dual purpose of accommodating those children who were awaiting trial and those who were waiting until a suitable school could be found for them. The maximum time for which a child could be retained in a remand home was one month. No child could be

sentenced to imprisonment, and a young person could only be committed if he was so badly behaved that it was impossible to keep him in an ordinary institution. Juvenile offenders, on conviction, might be sent by the court to an "industrial" or a "reformatory" school. The former fulfilled the double function of acting as a reformatory for those who had committed less serious offences and had not become habitual delinquents, and as an institution for providing a training for children whose home life, because of the criminal or intemperate habits of the parents, was deemed unsuitable. The reformatory provided for young persons between fourteen and sixteen who had been convicted of an offence that in the case of an adult would have been punished by a term of imprisonment. Children between twelve and fourteen who had been convicted of a similar offence for the second time, and industrial-school children whose behaviour was such that they could not be retained in the school might also be committed to a reformatory.

Such institutions might be certified or uncertified. The Home Office encouraged private persons to experiment with schemes for re-educating delinquents. One of the best-known private institutions was the Little Commonwealth in Dorsetshire, which was under the charge of Homer Lane. The Little Commonwealth was a co-educational community which aimed at developing in its members the ideal of self-discipline. Homer Lane insisted that the community should have freedom to make and enforce its own laws. The disapproval of the community was the only sanction which the law-breaker encountered, and when he found that there was no authority but that of his fellows, the anti-social child discovered that no glory was to be gained by defying rules he had helped to make. Thus, instead of breaking, he made and enforced laws. Such communities had been established in the United States, and it was their success that induced Mr. George Montagu (afterwards the Earl of Sandwich) to experiment with the idea in this country. Mr. Lane, who had acquired a successful reputation for his work in the Ford Republic in America, was asked to come to England in 1913 to take charge of the experiment. Its failure in 1918 was one of those unfortunate circumstances which casts no reflection upon Homer Lane or the ideals which inspired the community. In fact, similar ideals have proved most successful with younger children in such experiments as those carried out by the Caldecott Community.

The Children's Act of 1908 represented a considerable advance in dealing with the problem of delinquents, but it left certain

important questions untouched. Thus the distinction between industrial schools and reformatories was fast losing all meaning and value. It was also felt that the question of supervision when the young person had left school, and the finding of suitable employment for him, had not received sufficient attention. These defects were remedied by the Children and Young Persons Acts, 1933 and 1938. Children were defined as those persons under fourteen years of age, and young persons as those between fourteen and seventeen. The courts were given power to remove from their homes all children who had broken the law, or who were out of control, or who stood in need of care and protection. No child under eight years of age could be charged with an offence. The juvenile court was given authority to order that young people in the above categories could either be sent to an "approved" school, *i.e.* a school approved by the Secretary of State for the purposes of education and training, or they could be committed to the care of a fit person who was willing to receive them. Local authorities were recognised as fit persons for this purpose. They were empowered to maintain their own approved schools, which were to be classified, according to the age of the pupils, into "junior," "intermediate," and "senior" schools. Further developments under the Children Act of 1948 will be mentioned in the following chapter.

These experiments were held up for four years by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. As increasing numbers of men were needed for the Forces, the schools became gradually depleted of their men teachers. Some women teachers also obtained leave of absence to serve in nursing units or in the women's auxiliary services. As a consequence of under-staffing, classes became larger and many boys' schools were taught almost entirely by women teachers. Conscription was introduced in 1917 and all men under thirty-one and in medical categories A-1 and B-1 were called to the colours. Teachers of a lower medical category who were on home service were released to take up their school duties again. The severe fighting of 1917-18 stepped up the service demands so that all men in A-1 category under forty-five, and B-1 men under thirty-six, were called upon to serve. Approximately half the male teachers in the country were absent on war service. Retired teachers, married women who had previously been teachers, clergy, and others who had sufficient educational attainments, volunteered to teach in the schools during the emergency. Further dislocation was caused by the requisition of school premises as billets for the

troops, and many schools had to use places of worship, Sunday Schools, and public halls, as school accommodation. Certain schools and colleges were used as hospitals or for the accommodation of refugee children from the Continent.¹ It is idle to pretend that the efficiency of the schools did not suffer under these straits, but both teachers and scholars made a magnificent contribution to national service. The children assisted in the War Savings effort through the Elementary Schools Savings Associations. There had been a penny bank in connection with most schools for a large number of years. In School Board days a school bank had existed in Leeds since 1874. In 1891 the Leeds School Board entered into an arrangement with the Yorkshire Penny Bank whereby a bank was established in every school. Similar arrangements were working in most areas by the end of the century. The purpose of the school bank was to encourage the children in habits of regular savings. Pupils brought their contributions to school each Monday morning and accumulated deposits which could be drawn upon for holidays and in emergencies.

In Leeds, in 1890, there were 9,915 school accounts, and the sum deposited from 1890 to 1926 amounted to £1,747,143 8s. 10d. In 1916 War Savings Certificates were introduced and could be purchased through the school bank. During the war, Leeds children bought Savings Certificates to the value of £52,233 9s. 0d. The War Savings Associations were continued as a permanency and thus were able to render valuable service once more during the Second World War.

During the war of 1914-18, encouragement was given to the establishment of school gardens and allotments, which produced valuable food at a time when supplies were restricted by submarine warfare. Teachers and pupils collected wild fruits for jam, and horse-chestnuts which were used in the manufacture of anti-gas masks. Through the Scouts and Guides, older children were able to perform some important public services. The shortage of food was so great towards the closing stages of the war that the Board allowed children of school age to be excused attendance for a limited period to assist in agricultural and other work. The absence of fathers on military service and of many mothers on munition work resulted in a relaxation of parental control and the growth of hooliganism and juvenile delinquency. The Government encouraged

¹ Thus in both World Wars the Leeds City Training-College was used as a military hospital.

education authorities and voluntary associations in the establishment of play-centres for children in order to keep them off the streets and out of mischief and to provide them with opportunities for organised play and healthy recreation.

Well before the conclusion of hostilities the Government had been giving serious thought to the work of post-war reconstruction, and in 1916 the Ministry of Reconstruction was constituted to prepare schemes for the transition from war to peace. Education occupied a prominent place in the deliberations of the Ministry because the war had revealed many of the inadequacies of the national system. When Mr. Lloyd George considered the time ripe for a reorganisation of national education, he decided to secure the services of a well-known scholar as president of the Board of Education. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, a distinguished Oxford historian who had been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, was chosen for this position and given the services of a number of men who possessed expert educational knowledge and technical experience. For the first and only time in our history a distinguished scholar was given the opportunity of overhauling the national system, and the results of his planning, as seen in the Education Act of 1918, justified the Prime Minister's choice.

The striking feature of the Act of 1918 was the attempt to place the onus of reconstruction on the local authorities and to rely on their public spirit and initiative to carry through the proposals in the way that was intended. Mr. Fisher had thought of increasing the powers of the Board of Education so that laggard and reluctant authorities could be compelled to put the Act into operation. At the same time he considered that some of the Part III authorities should be merged with the county councils. These proposals had appeared in the Bill of 1917, but they awakened so much opposition that Mr. Fisher did not consider it worth while imperilling the acceptance of the measure by insisting on the administrative clauses. Thus the administrative framework of 1902 was retained, but the powers of the local authorities received a definite extension. Much of the legislation was permissive instead of being mandatory, and therein lay the weakness. It was possible for certain educational services to be obligatory in one district and not in another; thus the provision of continuation schools was compulsory in the area of the London County Council, but not in some of the surrounding districts. Barnard blames post-war financial stringency as the

cause of the ineffectiveness of the main provisions of the Act.¹ The "Geddes Axe" is, however, only part of the story, and the clean sweep it made was facilitated by administrative weaknesses in the Act itself. The powers of the L.E.A.s had been augmented, but those of the Board of Education remained as nebulous as before. Another weakness of the Act was that the dislocation caused by the war prevented its main clauses from coming into operation immediately. The reconstruction contemplated involved building a large number of new schools and obtaining an adequate supply of trained teachers suitable for the particular work they would be required to undertake. The author remembers being present at a discussion of officials of the Board, where the main objects for consideration were the extent to which existing buildings could be improvised for continuation schools until new buildings were ready, and what potential supplies of teachers existed to carry on the work until a sufficient number of new entrants to the profession could be obtained and trained. He recollects well the enthusiastic spirit with which major difficulties were attacked and demolished. The fact remained, however, that the dates on which the various clauses of the Act would come into operation could not be stated.

The purpose of the Act, as given in its opening clause, was to establish a national system of education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby. Hence "It shall be the duty of the council of every county and county borough, so far as their powers extend, to contribute thereto by providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education in respect of their area, and with that object any such council from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education, submit to the Board schemes showing the mode in which their duties and powers under the Education Acts are to be performed and exercised, whether separately or in co-operation with other authorities" (Clause 1). The L.E.A.s were directed to use the powers conferred on them by the Act of 1902 to provide by means of central schools or classes, practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities, and requirements of the children, and to organise advanced instruction for the older and more intelligent pupils who remained at school after the age of fourteen; to provide for adequate attention being given to the health and physical condition of children

¹ H. C. Barnard. *A Short History of English Education, 1760-1944* p. 274, University of London Press, 1947.

attending public elementary schools; and to co-operate with other authorities with regard to the preparation of children for further education in schools other than elementary and their transference at suitable ages to these schools, and to make arrangements for the supply and training of teachers.

It was evident that the term "elementary education" was becoming obsolete, since, to avoid the repetition of anything resembling the Cockerton judgment, the definition of the elementary school as given in the Act of 1870 was not to apply to the above advanced courses of instruction.

The period of compulsory full-time attendance at school was to be from the age of five to fourteen. A pupil could not leave school until the last day of the term in which his fourteenth birthday occurred. A local authority had the power to enact a by-law to raise the school-leaving age to fifteen. The system of "half-timers," which had been gradually disappearing, was to be abolished from 1st July 1922.¹

Pupils who left school at the age of fourteen would be required to attend a continuation school for 320 hours in each year. The distribution of the hours was left to the discretion of the local authorities, who would have regard to the circumstances of the district. Thus it might be convenient in an urban district for pupils to attend for one whole day or two half days a week, but in a rural area a block attendance of several weeks at a time might be desirable. L.E.A.s would be required to submit to the Board schemes for the progressive organisation of a system of continuation schools in their areas. Pupils in full-time attendance at secondary or technical schools were exempt from this part of the Act provided they remained at school until sixteen and passed matriculation or an equivalent examination. For the first seven years after this part of the Act came into operation, attendance at a continuation school would be required until sixteen years of age, but after that period compulsory attendance would be extended to eighteen. All fees in elementary schools were abolished.

The Act amended the law in regard to the employment of children. No child under twelve could be employed, and the employment of those over twelve was limited to two hours on Sundays, and on school days a child could not be employed before

¹ Half-time scholars in Leeds numbered 1,264 in 1860. The number had fallen progressively: in 1890 there were 846; in 1900, 61; in 1902, 44; and in 1915 there were only five.

the close of school, nor on any day before six o'clock in the morning, nor after eight o'clock in the evening. Local authorities were empowered to enact by-laws permitting children over twelve to be employed on a school day before 9 a.m. for one hour, provided also that the same child should not be employed for more than one hour in the afternoon. In many towns the by-law enabled news-agents to employ children for the delivery of the morning papers. No child of school age was permitted to be employed in factories, mines, or in street-trading. This clause put an end to the selling of newspapers by boys in the streets. Children might be employed to take part in entertainments, *e.g.* in a pantomime, under a licence issued by the L.E.A. The powers and duties of L.E.A.s were extended with regard to the provision of facilities for physical training and organised games, holiday camps, and facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening. In provided schools, medical inspection and treatment was extended to secondary pupils, but was to be optional in aided schools. Permission was given to local authorities to open nursery schools or classes where they were necessary and desirable, and such schools, if open to inspection, would be able to receive a grant.

The Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1914 had made the provisions of the Act of 1899 obligatory. Accommodation was to be provided for mentally defective and epileptic children. The Act of 1918 extended this to include physically defective children.

Power was given to local authorities to pay maintenance grants to pupils holding scholarships at secondary schools; so that a child who had the ability to profit from a secondary education should not to be held back through poverty. The dual system was retained but managers of non-provided schools might group them if they found it desirable. All private schools were to be registered and open to inspection by the Board and the L.E.A. The worst abuses of private-adventure schools had disappeared, largely through the progressive enlightenment of public opinion, but there still remained a number of private schools which were inadequate either as regards buildings or in the quality of the instruction they gave.

The system of grant payment to L.E.A.s was entirely revised. In the 19th century, grants had been made for specific purposes or for specific subjects taught in the schools. The grant procedure had been simplified in 1902, but since that time the rapid increase of education expenditure had been throwing a heavy burden on

the rates, and a percentage plan was introduced. It depended on the principle that the State and the L.E.A. should each pay half of the net approved expenditure of the L.E.A. on higher education. The income of the L.E.A., mainly from fees and sale of work and produce, was first deducted from the gross expenditure. Half of the expenditure was met from the rates and the other half by a grant which was termed the Deficiency Grant. As the State was already paying more than half of the expenditure on elementary education, the grant only applied to higher education. A more complicated percentage formula was devised for calculating the elementary grant. In order that administrators would be able to apply the existing law on education more easily, a consolidating measure, the Education Act of 1921, was passed. It included the Act of 1918 and clauses of earlier Acts which had not been repealed.

Mr. Fisher realised the importance of attracting to the teaching profession the right type of person. As long as the salaries of teachers were inadequate, people of ability and character would be attracted elsewhere. Some people believed that teachers should be civil servants, but it was considered that the withdrawal of the control of teachers from the local authorities would destroy the whole framework of the system developed since 1902. Teaching had always been poorly remunerated as compared with other professions, although the average salary of certificated teachers had been gradually improved.

The cost of living in 1918 was more than double that of 1914. There was no standard scale, and wealthy and progressive authorities, by paying higher salaries, were always able to attract the best-qualified teachers. In secondary schools graduate assistant masters might receive anything between £120 and £200 per annum. The salaries of elementary school certificated assistants averaged £167 (men) and £123 (women) in 1918. This represented an increase on 1870 when the figures were £94 and £57 respectively, but it was not sufficient to meet the cost of living under post-war conditions. The Board issued a minimum scale of salaries in 1917 and gave a supplementary grant for elementary education to improve the salaries of teachers. As a result of the report of a departmental committee and of negotiations with the teachers' associations, the Burnham Committee of 1919 was constituted. Under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham, it comprised representatives of the education authorities and the National Union of Teachers. Three standard scales were authorised for different

areas, and later a fourth scale for London and a number of metropolitan authorities, which was higher than the provincial scales owing to the additional cost of travel and living in the metropolitan area. Similar scales were constructed for teachers in secondary and technical schools, and all the new scales came into force in 1921. The scales cannot be said to have offered a generous remuneration, but they eased the teachers' financial problems considerably. Thus the average salaries of men and women certificated teachers had risen in 1923 to £310 and £254 respectively. Extra increments on the scales were given for additional years of training and for a first degree, but one major criticism was that no reward was available for the teacher who obtained further qualifications. Immediately the scales came into operation, the serious condition of the national finances called for reduction of expenditure, and in 1922 the teachers agreed to a five per cent voluntary cut in salary. Other small adjustments, such as the abolition of Scale I in 1936, were made, but the principles of the original Burnham Scale remained in operation at the outbreak of the Second World War.

The superannuation of teachers was bound up with the problem of salaries. The pension scheme instituted by Kay-Shuttleworth had been withdrawn at the time of the Revised Code, and teachers in endowed schools had never received any form of State pension. The Teachers' Superannuation Act of 1898 offered a contributory deferred annuity scheme, and after 1902 some authorities allowed teachers to participate in the superannuation schemes devised for their officials. Mr. Fisher's Superannuation Act of 1918 included all teachers in grant-earning schools except those in universities and similar institutions which had adopted their own federated schemes. At first the scheme was a non-contributory one, but the financial stringency of 1922 necessitated an amendment by which teachers were obliged to pay five per cent of their salaries towards superannuation. To benefit under the scheme the teacher must have reached the age of sixty and have spent thirty years in approved service, of which at least ten years must have been recognised service. Other forms of teaching, *e.g.* in a university, counted as qualifying but not as recognised service. The superannuation consisted of an annual pension equivalent to one-eightieth of the salary in respect of each complete year of recognised service or a half of the average salary of the last five years, whichever was

less, and a lump sum calculated on a similar basis. Further Superannuation Acts in 1925 and 1937 dealt with certain anomalies and extended the provisions to include recognition of service in Scotland and overseas.

The slump in trade, the increase in unemployment, and the financial difficulties which followed the boom years immediately after the war, caused the appointment of the Geddes Committee on National Expenditure. Education was one of the services which came under review, and various measures of economy were introduced which called a halt to forward progress. The developments planned by the author of the 1918 Act were curtailed or postponed, and in particular the scheme for establishing continuation schools on a compulsory basis was left to the local authorities to make attendance voluntary or compulsory as they wished. The L.C.C. and some other authorities went ahead bravely enough with a compulsory scheme. They soon found themselves pitted against immense difficulties in the way of obtaining the necessary buildings and suitable teachers. Many buildings designed for other uses were employed as schools, and the author remembers one case where a working-men's club was utilised as a school, the bar being carefully covered up in the day-time. Further difficulties were created by the attitude of some employers. Some saw the benefits of further education and, in voluntary areas, encouraged their boys and girls to attend school. Others grudged the time the young people were absent from employment in order to attend school. Thus, for some distance, the Edgware Road constituted the boundary between London and Middlesex. Young people applying for posts were often asked where they lived. If their homes were in the London area where attendance at a continuation school was compulsory, some employers refused to consider their applications further. One by one, the local authorities dropped compulsion and established the schools on a voluntary basis. After some years the majority of authorities abandoned the idea altogether, although some large industrial undertakings established continuation schools for their employees. Rugby was the only district in which the Act was fully carried out, and continuation schools have been retained until the present time.

In 1924 the Labour party came into power for a brief period and progress was resumed. Dr. Tawney had for some years advocated "secondary education for all" but had carefully defined what he meant by secondary education. He wrote: "The Labour

Party is convinced that the only policy which is at once educationally sound and suited to a democratic community is one under which primary education and secondary education are organised as two stages in a single continuous process; secondary education being the education of the adolescent and primary education being education preparatory thereto.”¹ This view had been gaining support after the war, and many teachers and officials emphasised the meagre provision made for the training and instruction of the majority of our adolescents at a period which was perhaps the most important and critical of their lives.

The problem appeared such an urgent one that the Consultative Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir W. H. Hadow, was asked to inquire into “the organisation, objective, and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, other than secondary schools, up to the age of fifteen.” The report of the Committee, *The Education of the Adolescent*, appeared in 1926, and its publication inaugurated a new era in education which culminated in the Act of 1944.

The report drew attention to the essential nature of the problem under investigation. “There is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve. It is called by the name of adolescence. If that tide can be taken at the flood, and a new voyage begun in the strength and along the flow of its current, we think that it will move on to fortune.” The Committee advocated a clean break in the education of children between the ages of eleven and twelve. All those who did not go forward to “secondary” education in the traditional meaning of the term, should receive a secondary education in a truer and broader sense in selective and non-selective central schools and senior departments. This newer form of secondary education would differ from the older in two main ways; it would be shorter in duration on account of the existing school-leaving age of fourteen, and it would be characterised by a practical and realistic rather than by an academic bias. In order to clear the ground for the new proposals, the Committee recommended the adoption of a new terminology. The word “elementary” had become misleading and the term “primary” should be substituted for it. This would apply to all education up to the age of eleven or twelve. Education after this age should be termed post-primary, or secondary, and would include that given in the existing secondary schools and that given in the schools now

¹ R. H. Tawney. *Secondary Education for All*, p. 7, Allen and Unwin, 1924.

called central. Hence secondary education would be given in schools of two different types, one in which the leaving-age would be over sixteen—the grammar-school—and one with a leaving-age of fourteen-plus to fifteen-plus—the modern school.

This would necessitate a complete reorganisation of the existing elementary schools into separate departments catering for infant, junior, and senior pupils respectively. The report expressed the hope that the school-leaving age would soon be raised to fifteen to secure an adequate course of instruction for the adolescent. The ideals behind the scheme were, "the forming and strengthening of character . . . the training of boys and girls to delight in pursuits and rejoice in accomplishments—work in music and art; work in wood and metals; work in literature and the record of human history—which may become the recreations and the ornaments of leisure in maturer years. And still another is the awakening and guiding of the practical intelligence, for the better and more skilled service of the community in all its multiple business and complex affairs."

The modern schools would be of different types corresponding to the existing selective and non-selective central schools or, where this was not possible, senior classes or departments would be established in the elementary schools. In addition, the Committee believed that certain children would benefit by being drafted from these schools at the age of thirteen-plus to trade or junior technical schools.

The next problem was that of deciding upon the types of post-primary education suited to the abilities and interests of the individual child. The report made suggestions concerning the methods of selection which, with certain minor variations, were put into practice by L.E.A.s. The author's experience at this period as senior external examiner for the City of Wakefield Education Committee may be quoted as typical of the procedure adopted. An examining board consisting of the Director of Education, members of the education committee, and representatives of the teachers in primary and post-primary schools, was constituted as the body for controlling administration, receiving the examiner's reports, and recommending the awards to the education committee. Every child in the junior schools between the ages of ten and twelve who had passed through Standard IV sat for a preliminary examination consisting of written papers in arithmetic, English, and composition, together with an intelligence-test. The papers were set by the external examiners and marked by a panel of head

teachers according to a marking scheme submitted to the board by the examiners. Those who reached a minimum standard of attainment were permitted to enter the second examination, which was the scholarship examination proper, and consisted of tests similar to those in the preliminary examination. The papers in the second examination were marked by the external examiners and the marks were adjusted by the addition of an age-allowance. All borderline cases were examined orally and the reports of head teachers taken into consideration. The examiners presented their recommendations to the board. Candidates were classified into three groups: those considered suitable for secondary grammar-schools, those fitted for selective central schools, and the remainder who entered non-selective senior schools. Additional examinations were provided for pupils in central and senior schools between the ages of twelve and fourteen, and for those in secondary schools of twelve to sixteen years of age who for some reason stood in need of a free-place award. At first the weakness of the system was due to the allotment of a fixed number of free places in grammar-schools by the Board of Education. This was obviously for administrative reasons, but it had the effect of producing slight variations of standard each year. Later, when the fixed allotment of free places was withdrawn, a more uniform standard could be maintained. Some authorities did not employ an intelligence-test, and others dispensed with a preliminary examination.

The Hadow Report expressed anxiety lest the modern school should become an inferior "secondary school" and deprecated any attempt to ape the academic outlook and curriculum of the grammar-school. It was thought desirable that some type of school-leaving certificate should be provided, but the presentation of pupils for such an examination should be optional. The curriculum of the modern school was considered under its respective subject-heads, but the principle on which it should be based is that it should be suited to the needs, outlook, interests, and ability, of the pupil and not *vice versa*. Thus "There is no question that among the pupils of the new post-primary schools the desire and the ability to do and to make, to learn from concrete things and situations, will be more widely diffused than the desire and the ability to acquire book-knowledge and to master generalisations and abstract ideas. Accordingly, 'practical work' in its several forms must fill a large place in the curriculum. But this does not mean that the pupils' intellectual training is to be regarded as of secondary importance,

It has been amply shown that for many children the attainment of skill in some form of practical work in science, handwork, or the domestic arts may be a stimulus to higher intellectual effort. . . . Moreover, apart from the question of stimulus, boys and girls with the type of interests we have in view can grasp concepts through practical work much more easily than by devoting long periods to the abstract study of ideas."

The report on the *Education of the Adolescent* was a notable step in educational progress, but its full implementation depended on certain requisites, such as the whole-hearted effort of local authorities to reorganise, as soon as possible, the raising of the leaving-age to fifteen, and the necessity of convincing parents that the modern school was different from, but not inferior to, the grammar-school. The school-leaving age was not raised, so that the number of pupils who remained at school after fourteen years was extremely small. The examination system had the unfortunate effect of persuading parents that the children who were passed on to modern schools were of an inferior type. Many education authorities pressed on vigorously with their schemes of reorganisation, but in some cases authorities made no move until pressure was applied by the Board of Education. Those like the West Riding authority, who went ahead with the building of new schools, accomplished much of the work before the next economic slump slowed up developments, and were on the way to carrying out the requirements of the Act of 1944. Less progressive authorities found themselves with large numbers of unsuitable schools, so that in consequence they have an enormous building programme in front of them.

The clean break at eleven-plus has been criticised on the ground that it was adopted for administrative reasons to ensure a full three-year course of post-primary education and that from a psychological point of view twelve-plus or even later would have been more suitable. The answer is that it was necessitated by the conditions of 1926. As long as the official school-leaving age remained at fourteen it was necessary to make the transfer to a post-primary school at eleven-plus in order to ensure that every child would have a three-year course. The Report might have admitted this more boldly instead of trying to justify the decision of the committee by bringing in psychological arguments. In England a child of eleven-plus is rarely an adolescent, and the psychological evidence quoted by the Report is more pertinent to the thirteen-year-old age-group. The impression that gained ground was that as soon as the child

reached the age of eleven-plus new characteristics had begun to appear which necessitated different treatment for him. Another criticism was that, logically, the Committee should have considered the education of infants and juniors before that of the adolescent. It must be admitted that the order was unfortunate, since in most areas priority was given to the needs of the adolescent.¹ The report on the junior school appeared in 1931, whilst that on the infant and nursery schools was not issued until 1933. Meanwhile, a good deal of damage had been done. The scholarship examination had taken possession of many junior schools and the whole of their work was orientated to obtaining as many entrants to grammar-schools as possible.

The report on the junior school emphasised that the curriculum should be considered in terms "of activity and experience rather than knowledge to be acquired or facts to be stored," and laid stress on the working out of suitable projects rather than a rigid division of the time-table into subjects. In quite a number of cases the free-place examination turned schools away from this wise advice and there was a considerable danger of a new form of Payment by Results controlling the junior schools.

During 1931 the economic condition of the country became so alarming that the Labour Government called into being Sir George May's Economy Committee to advise the Chancellor of the Exchequer about reducing national expenditure. The Committee recommended a number of drastic reductions which were accepted by the new National Government. The fifty-per-cent Exchequer grant made for building purposes was withdrawn, teachers' salaries were cut, and other economies were made. No new buildings could be erected except in cases of necessity, such as providing school facilities for a new housing estate. Many progressive schemes were abandoned, and in some cases economy was carried to such an extent that from a long-term point of view it became an extravagance. The worst aspects of the slump began to fade after 1933, and the work of reconstruction began once more, but more slowly and steadily, and perhaps with greater practical wisdom and foresight. The economy campaign produced a change in the free-place system. The free-place examination became a special-place

¹ The Government approved in principle the recommendations of the *Education of the Adolescent* and urged the re-organisation of the Elementary schools into Junior and Senior Departments. The pamphlet *The New Prospect in Education* explained the principles of re-organisation and gave as illustration a number of areas in which it had been completed.

examination. Parents of children selected for entrance to grammar-schools were required to pay fees on a sliding scale according to their incomes. Only those whose income was below certain limits, fixed according to the number of children in the family, could obtain a free place for their children. The amount of grant paid to students in training for the teaching profession depended upon a similar "means-test" and still does.

The dual system presented difficulties to reorganisation, especially in rural districts, owing to lack of transport facilities. When an all-standard school was converted into a junior school, the distances children had to travel to a senior school were greatly increased. If the school happened to be a Church of England school, the senior pupils either had to be drafted to a council school or a new senior non-provided school would have to be built by the Church authorities, thus throwing a heavy burden on their finances. The Education Act of 1936 was meant to answer this and other problems.

This Act raised the school-leaving age to fifteen, to take effect on 1st September 1939. Exemptions were allowed where it could be proved that the child was proceeding to "beneficial employment," but so many loop-holes were left that it was feared that the provision would become ineffective on account of the number of exemptions which might be granted. This was not tested, as the outbreak of the Second World War postponed the scheme. The Act empowered L.E.A.s to make grants to managers of non-provided schools up to seventy-five per cent of the cost of the school buildings for senior children. Such schools were to be known as "special-agreement" schools, and managers were given a time-limit in which to make up their minds. Altogether, 519 schemes were submitted, and at the outbreak of war thirty-seven had materialised. The Act of 1944 honoured this "gentleman's agreement." In return for the grant, managers surrendered the appointment of teachers to the L.E.A. Denominational teaching could be given by reserved teachers, but undenominational teaching was to be given to those children whose parents desired it. This was to be in accordance with an agreed syllabus.

By the close of 1938, about sixty-four per cent of school-children were attending reorganised schools, but further progress came to an end with the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939.

One of the marked features of the period 1914-38 was the rapid increase both in the number of secondary schools and in the number

of the pupils attending them.¹ In 1937 the total admissions to grant-aided secondary schools was 97,115, and of these 78,912 were from elementary schools.

In 1911 the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education was asked to investigate the question of external examinations for secondary schools because of the increasing confusion owing to the multiplicity of examinations and examining bodies. As a consequence of the Committee's report, the Board, in consultation with the universities and a number of professional bodies, produced a scheme to limit the number of examinations. It was proposed to recognise the universities as the responsible bodies for conducting such examinations, and to co-ordinate the work of the eight examining bodies, an advisory committee consisting of representatives of the universities and L.E.A.s was to be formed.² The advisory committee was constituted in 1917 under the title of the Secondary School Examinations Council. Two standard examinations were proposed. The first was the School Certificate examination, taken at about sixteen years of age, which was to test the results of a four-year course of general education. The second was the Higher School Certificate examination which allowed for a degree of specialisation and would be taken about two years later. The latter was intended for the pupils who remained in the VIth Form to follow an advanced course in arts or science for which the Board of Education gave a special grant. It was intended that both examinations should be in groups of subjects and that in the School Certificate, drawing, music, handicrafts, and housecraft (for girls) should be included. The form and not the pupil was to be the unit for examination. The examinations were not to be purely external, and it was thought that this could be achieved by bringing teachers, through their representatives, into touch with the examining bodies, by allowing them to submit alternative syllabuses for examination

¹ This is illustrated in the following table:—

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Grant-aided Schools</i>	<i>No. of Efficient Schools (Non-grant-aided)</i>	<i>No. of Pupils in Grant-aided Schools</i>	<i>No. of Pupils in Efficient Schools*</i>
1913	1,027	121	187,647	22,546
1921	1,249	233	362,025	46,610
1937	1,397	397	484,676	73,421

* Excluding preparatory schools.

² Originally seven and eventually eight, the recognised examining bodies were the Joint Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities; the universities of London, Bristol, and Durham; the Central Welsh Board; the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board; the Oxford Delegacy for Local Examinations; and the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate.

and by obtaining from heads of schools their estimate of the merits of candidates from their schools in each of the examination subjects. The examinations came into operation in 1917. Although the Board of Education had emphasised that it should be "a cardinal principle that the examination should follow the curriculum and not determine it," that precept was largely ignored. This was partly due to the fact that the School Certificate examination was made to serve a double purpose. On the one hand, its function was that of a Vth-Form examination for those who would leave school about the age of sixteen, but, on the other, since universities accepted the certificate under certain conditions as providing exemption from matriculation, it also was considered a university entrance examination. In the same way a Higher School Certificate was looked upon as a qualification for entry to a university honours course. Quite erroneously, employers regarded the possession of a Matriculation Certificate as something very much superior to an ordinary School Certificate. Thus, as the Spens Report showed, the examinations reacted upon the schools in a fashion that those who framed the original regulations had never contemplated. The School Certificate examination began to control the curriculum of the schools and often caused overstrain and excessive anxiety to some of the pupils. The requirements for exemption from matriculation narrowed the choice of subjects already restricted by the group system. Thus pupils who had received instruction in scripture, art, music, and handicrafts in the lower forms often relinquished these subjects on approaching the Vth, since only art or music was originally recognised for purposes of exemption from matriculation. In view of these unfortunate results the Spens Report considered that a Matriculation Certificate should no longer be awarded on the results of the School Certificate examination. This recommendation was accepted, but the outbreak of war interfered with the amendments, and for a time the original regulations were in force as a special concession.

The Spens Committee thought that in many ways the examinations had been a valuable influence in raising the general standard of attainment in each of the school subjects, but this had been offset by the narrowing effects of the group system and the tendency to regard those subjects which were not recognised for matriculation requirements as inferior. In 1941 the president of the Board of Education appointed the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council, under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Norwood,

to consider suggested changes in the secondary-school curriculum and the problems of school examinations. The Norwood Committee recommended that "in the interest of the individual child and of the increased freedom and responsibility of the teaching profession, change in the School Certificate Examination should be in the direction of making the examination entirely internal, that is to say, conducted by the teachers at the school on syllabuses and papers framed by themselves." (P. 140.) Such a drastic reorganisation of the examination called for a transitional period during which the School Certificate examination would be carried out by the existing examining bodies and supervised by a Standing Committee of eight teachers, four members of L.E.A.s, four university members, and four H.M.I.s acting as assessors. The schools should be encouraged to offer their own syllabuses, and some of the present ones should be lightened. No restrictions should be placed on the subjects pupils wished to offer, but such changes would require two years notice given by the examining bodies. It was suggested that the transition period should be seven years, at the end of which the whole problem would be reviewed to decide whether conditions were such that a change to a wholly internal examination would be possible.

The Norwood Committee thought that a school-leaving examination should be conducted twice a year for pupils of eighteen-plus to meet the requirements of university entrance and of entry into the professions. Pupils should take in this examination the subjects required for their particular purpose. The present Higher School Certificate examination should be abolished and State and Local Education Authority scholarships should be awarded on another basis. The winning of a scholarship at a university "should constitute a claim upon public funds for assistance towards the cost of living at the university, subject to evidence of the need." The university examining bodies should hold an examination in March for the award of State and Local Education Authority scholarships. Recommendations would be made to L.E.A.s by the examining bodies and would be considered by specially appointed boards, who would take into account performance in the examination and the school records of candidates. The State would make the final award and bear the cost of the scholarships. It was thought that the amount of the scholarships should be sufficient to enable the holders to take a full part in university life and activities. Many L.E.A.s had for some years assisted university candidates by loans,

a system which the Committee deprecated, since the repayment of the loan threw a heavy burden on the student.

The report on *The Education of the Adolescent* had been concerned with those types of post-primary schools (senior, selective, and non-selective central schools) which are now included under the term "secondary modern." It had omitted from consideration two other important forms of secondary education, the secondary grammar-school and the junior technical school. This omission was rectified by the Spens Report, 1938, which took for its terms of reference "to consider and report upon the organisation and interrelation of schools, other than those administered under the Elementary Code, which provide education for pupils beyond the age of 11+; regard being had in particular to the framework and content of the education of pupils who do not remain at school beyond the age of about sixteen." Although the report was not specifically concerned with the modern school, yet the Committee found it impossible to discuss the problems with which they were dealing without some reference to other types of post-primary school. It was felt that the schools covered by the terms of reference should retain a special character and must retain a special importance, though this did not entail the enjoyment of specially favourable conditions. The Committee had carefully considered the possibility of multilateral schools which, by means of separate streams, would offer all types of secondary education. For two or three years there would be a common core to the courses provided, but at the age of thirteen or fourteen pupils would be able to follow courses suited to their individual needs and capacities. These would include grammar, modern, technical, and perhaps other courses. The idea was an attractive one in that it would bring together pupils of different abilities, interests, and objectives, and would ease the transference of pupils from one type of course to another. The Committee, however, did not favour this solution. The multilateral school would of necessity be a large institution with at least eight hundred pupils, and it would involve the difficulty of finding a head who would be competent to control and inspire to the same degree each side of the school.

Great importance was attached to the influence of the VIth Form upon the rest of the school. In the multilateral school, the VIth would be mainly recruited from pupils on the grammar side and would therefore be too small to exert an appreciable influence on the life of the school. There was also the risk that the grammar

side, because of its traditional prestige, would have an undue effect on the modern side. Moreover, the value of a technical school would be diminished unless it was closely associated with the staff of a technical college and able to use the equipment of the latter institution. For these reasons the report considered it best for grammar and modern schools to exist and develop independently, though there was some scope for experiment with the multilateral idea.

The report envisaged secondary education under three forms, grammar, technical, and modern, so that every child could receive that kind of education for which he was fitted. As soon as the national finances permitted, admission to both the grammar and technical high schools should be on the basis of one hundred per cent special places. "If parity of schools in the secondary stage, so generally advocated by our witnesses, and regarded by us as essential, is to be established, payment of fees in one school and not in another becomes incongruous." (P. 309.) The technical high school would offer a five-year course to its pupils from eleven-plus, and would thus be distinguished from the existing junior technical school with a two- or three-year course from thirteen-plus. In view of the difficulty of ascertaining at eleven-plus whether a child was more fitted for a grammar than a technical high school or *vice versa*, the curriculum of each type of school should be broadly of the same character in the first two years. The technical high schools should be housed in the premises of technical colleges or institutes, and, although they would have their own headmasters, they would secure the benefit of the teaching staff and special equipment of the parent institution. "Whilst we do not recommend that every Junior Technical School should as a matter of course be converted into a Technical High School, we do consider that a generous provision of such Technical High Schools should be made by the conversion of existing schools and the establishment of new schools." (P. xxx.)

The technical high school should have its own leaving-examination. "We recommend that a new type of leaving certificate should be established for pupils in Technical High Schools on the basis of internal examinations founded on the school curriculum, and subject to external assessment by assessors appointed or approved by the Board of Education. . . . We recommend that these certificates should be given an equal standing with School Certificates as fulfilling the first condition for Matriculation." (P. 373.) The criticisms of the School Certificate examination have already been

mentioned. The existing grammar-school curriculum was "still coloured by obsolete doctrines of the faculties and of formal training; and the endeavour to teach a wide range of subjects to the same high level to all pupils has led to the overcrowding of the timetable." (P. xxii.) Although eighty-five per cent of the pupils left the grammar-school at about sixteen, the curriculum was still planned in the interest of the minority who looked forward to a university career. Up to sixteen, the courses provided should be complete in themselves and this need not prejudice the interests of those pupils who wished to proceed to the university.

In a few places experiments were carried out on the lines suggested by the Spens Report, but the outbreak of war put an end to new developments for the time being. However, many of the ideas suggested were incorporated in the Act of 1944.

The Hadow Report of 1926 had considered the types of post-primary education which are now included under the term "secondary modern." Later, in 1938, the Spens Report had been concerned with other forms of post-primary education, the secondary grammar and the technical high school. The relation between these different types of post-primary education was the concern of the Norwood Report.

The Norwood Committee accepted the view that secondary education is the stage following that of primary education. "At the primary stage the main preoccupation lies with basic habits, skills, and aptitudes of mind, using as data the veriest elements of knowledge which all children should be put into the way of acquiring. . . . In the secondary stage, on the other hand, the attempt is made to provide for such special interests and aptitudes the kind of education most suited to them; they may have begun to indicate themselves at least roughly in the last phases of primary education, or they may not declare themselves in such degree as to deserve attention till a different kind of education is encountered. It is the business of secondary education, first, to provide opportunity for a special cast of mind to manifest itself, if not already manifested in the primary stage, and, secondly, to develop special interests and aptitudes to the full by means of a curriculum and a life best calculated to this end." (Pp. 1-2.) This would mean that secondary education should meet the needs of three main groups of pupils, and to achieve this there should be three types of education, secondary grammar, secondary technical, and secondary modern. The ideal would be a relation of parity between the types, but the

Committee added significantly, "Parity of esteem in our view cannot be conferred by administrative decree nor by equality of cost per pupil; it can only be won by the school itself." The age of eleven-plus or even earlier was chosen as the beginning of the secondary stage in education, and pupils would pass into the type of school which seemed to meet their needs. As the selection in a number of cases would be tentative, it was recommended that the pupil should pass into what may be described as the "lower school" of one of the three types of school and should spend three years there. During this period the child would be carefully studied to see what special interests developed and, if found necessary, a transfer to another type of school should be arranged. This would entail a curriculum which in its broad lines would be common to every type of school for the first two years. From thirteen-plus to sixteen-plus the pupil would pursue a course of study suited to his abilities and interests in the type of school which could offer it. At the end of the course he might enter employment and pursue a part-time education, or remain at school to take a more advanced course leading to the university or some other institution for further study. The secondary grammar-school course was envisaged as extending to eighteen-plus, but it was thought that pupils from secondary technical schools should have more opportunities than at present of proceeding to institutions providing advanced study.

The report then makes a very important statement. "On educational grounds we are in favour of a break of six months, in which boys and girls between the ages of eighteen and nineteen years would render public service interpreted in a broad sense. . . . Before this break comes, pupils going on to universities and other places of advanced study would have taken the examinations necessary to secure admission and financial aid, and would take up residence after the period of service." (P. 16.) This recommendation has materialised for quite a different reason. The needs of national defence in these post-war years have necessitated the retention of a form of conscription for, at any rate, some time ahead. Boys intending to enter a university usually receive deferment of service until they have completed the university entrance requirements. At present they have the option of doing their two years service before entering the university or of deferring it until they have completed their degree course. Opinion is divided as to which of these options is the more advantageous. Some claim that the loss in academic knowledge during the period of service is

compensated by the greater maturity of mind and the fuller knowledge of the world in general and human nature in particular, that they bring to their university studies.

The problem of selection at eleven-plus was carefully considered by the Committee. The difficulties were acknowledged and the value of effective school record cards, showing the history of the child's progress through the school, was stressed. The judgment of the teachers in the primary school might be supplemented by intelligence or other tests. In order to make transfer to another type of school at thirteen-plus easier and more effective, the establishment of multilateral schools had been suggested. The attitude of the Norwood Committee on this matter is similar to that expressed in the Spens Report. The Norwood Report also adds: "The phrase 'multilateral school' has frequently been used in evidence offered to us orally and in writing. It is a phrase which few of our witnesses have used in the same sense. To some of them the larger secondary schools of to-day are already 'multilateral' in the sense that they offer alternative courses of study; others would carry further the diversity of courses so as to include curricula which would offer specialised courses in preparation for particular occupations; others again would extend the range of a multilateral school to include technical work such as is now undertaken in a Junior Technical School and also the curriculum appropriate to the existing Senior School. The vagueness of the phrase has in our opinion been responsible for much confusion of thought and statement."¹

The relation of a technical high school to local industry was deemed an essential one and the Committee doubted whether that relationship could be maintained unless the school were free to direct its own destiny. A more satisfactory arrangement seemed to be that of a "bilateral" school in which a grammar-school and a modern school were combined. The separate sides of such a school should not fall in number below a certain limit if variety of courses was to be offered. "On the other hand the tradition of English education has always valued human contacts and is not favourable to large schools in which the Head Master cannot have sufficient knowledge of each boy; thus a maximum figure is imposed beyond which expansion is undesirable, and in this connection it must always be remembered that there are far more pupils for whom a Modern School is appropriate than there are pupils for whom a Grammar School is appropriate."²

¹ pp. 18-19.

² p. 19.

Owing to the work and influence of such outstanding headmasters as Arnold and Thring, the public schools had risen high in public esteem, but by the last decade of the 19th century they showed a tendency to rest upon their laurels. They were shaken out of their complacency by the challenge issued by Mr. F. W. Sanderson, headmaster of Oundle, who in his conception of the function of the public school was a lineal descendant of Thring. Many of his own generation regarded Sanderson as an innovator and were sceptical concerning the developments which were taking place at Oundle, but his contribution to education is perhaps the greatest made by any headmaster of a public school, since it has influenced many secondary schools outside the circle.

Sanderson never claimed to be a philosopher or psychologist, nor had he made any serious study of the theory of education. He arrived at his conclusions because he felt profoundly dissatisfied with the outlook and the teaching of the public schools. He was an earnest student of science and social affairs and he saw school problems through the eyes of a social reformer.

At the end of the last century Oundle School was an ancient grammar-school which had been developed by the Grocers' Company into a public school with accommodation for about 500 boys. It had dwindled, partly because of its proximity to Rugby and Uppingham, but more so because it adhered to the stereotyped traditions of the past. Sanderson was appointed in 1892 to bring new life to the school, which had fallen to about 100 pupils. At first he met with violent opposition to his reforms both from the older boys and from the masters. He persevered and wore down the opposition and succeeded in carrying out his reforms to a degree he never imagined possible at first. All through the period of his office, he was continually progressing and experimenting with new ideas. At the time of his sudden death in 1922, the school had grown to over 500 pupils, with a long waiting-list, and parents all over England were only too anxious to enter their sons for a place at Oundle. As the school increased in numbers, it grew in material equipment. This growth consisted not only in classrooms and boarding-houses, but, to fulfill Sanderson's educational aims, the school was equipped with workshops for joinery and engineering, a machine-shop, a forge, a foundry, and an experimental farm. Sanderson added laboratories for physics, chemistry, and biology, art rooms, an observatory, a large library, and a museum. In these respects, the school became one of the best-equipped educational

institutions in the country. As a consequence of Sanderson's changes, Oundle not only continued to win university scholarships but its scholars gained interests and developed an enthusiasm for work and study of a kind unknown to the average public-school boy.

Sanderson was essentially a practical teacher. Hence we find certain weaknesses in his understanding of educational aims. He had little experience of the class-teaching which had developed in our elementary and secondary schools. We find in him, therefore, a violent dislike of classroom studies, which he considered merely as a drill. Also, as a scientist he failed to appreciate fully the value of cultural studies in the service of humanity, and thought of science as affording the best example of creative thought in the service of mankind. The last phrase indicates that his breadth of view helped him to a large extent to overcome his limitations. Science for itself, apart from its service to humanity, had, in his eyes, little value in school.

As a form-master at Dulwich, and in his early years at Oundle, he became increasingly impressed with the futility of methods of teaching and learning in which pupils were passive, receptive, and generally bored. He found that the average boy disliked school lessons and only worked if there was an incentive in the way of examinations, marks, and punishments. Sanderson regarded such as artificial incentives which, if relied upon, destroyed the true spirit of work and study. It was not a question of the subject-matter of instruction. The evil was as rampant in science and mathematics as in classics and literary studies. As he said, "Education must be fitted to the boy, not the boy to Education." He further realised that the education of the schools was out of touch with the natural tendencies of youth and failed to prepare the pupils for entering into the life and work of the community in the right spirit of work and service. He said repeatedly that the traditional spirit of school learning was individualistic, acquisitive, and possessive, when it should be social, co-operative, and creative.

He thought of the ordinary methods of teaching boys mathematics, languages, and elementary science, as the gaining of the tools of knowledge. Too much time was spent on learning the tools without using them, and he spoke of the classrooms where boys go to be taught, as tool-sharpening rooms, necessary but subsidiary. For creative work, other types of room and other occupations were needed. Sanderson visualised the school as

preparing the boy for complete living, not merely for making a livelihood, but for entering into the work and life of the world with wide and active interests and in the spirit of progress and service. For this reason he thought that practical work similar to the real work of the world was essential in school. Thus he introduced workshops, a foundry, and a farm. But nothing was further from his purpose than the training of engineers and farmers. He believed in putting boys to these subjects because their abilities or tastes showed that by means of them he could train their powers. In other words, he sought to satisfy the needs of each individual. He considered that the aim of the school was to stimulate a life, not to acquire possessive knowledge but one which would develop more intense interests in work and thought. At the same time, he did not despise scholarship or knowledge. He held, however, that these were secondary, by-products of creativeness. Given interests and creative power, these would follow.

So, too, with examinations. He did not despise them, but he realised that his schemes would not be sound if they did not produce thorough learning, and examinations acted as an incentive and a test of this. But he also realised that if the school produced nothing else but examination results, then the learning was empty and profitless.

Sanderson believed that the schools should be in the closest and most intimate touch with the life and work of the community. As he said, "Work in schools should be for service and should be turned to the practical and social needs of the community." Again, "Adult life should not be a breaking away from school, but a continuation and a development of school." Like Dewey, he conceived schools as miniature copies of the community. They should exercise boys in the same kinds of activities and interest as they would be called upon to use when they left school to enter life. Hence he was not afraid of the term "vocational." He saw vocation as the centre about which a boy's interests were moving, and he wished to seize this natural interest and turn it to good account, to develop it in the right atmosphere into a right spirit of true work in the service of the community.

In his last lecture at University College, London, a lecture followed by his sudden collapse and death, Sanderson told his audience, "When I became a headmaster I began by introducing engineering into the school—applied science. The first effect was that a large number of boys who could not do other things could

do that. They began to like their work in school. That led on to introducing a large number of other sciences, such as agricultural chemistry, horse-shoeing (if that is a science), metallurgical chemistry, biochemistry, agriculture; and of course, these new sorts of work interested a large number of other boys of a type different from the type interested by the old work, so we got an exceptional number of boys, curiously enough, unexpectedly liking what they had to do in school. Then I ventured to do something daring; it is most daring to introduce the scientific method of finding out the truth—a dangerous thing—by the process of experiment and research. We began to replace explicit teaching by finding out. We did this first with these newly introduced sciences. Then we began to impress the aims and outlook of science on to other departments of school life. History, for instance: we began to replace the old classroom teaching and learning by a laboratory for history, full of other books and other things required in abundance, so that boys in all parts of the school could, for some scientific purpose (not to learn; to go into schools to learn was egotistical), find out the things we required for to-day. We set them to find out things for the service of science, the service of literature, modern languages, music.”¹

Sanderson despised the formal mechanical measurements which often masqueraded under the name of practical science. He believed that the work in laboratories and workshops in the school must be real work. “Sanderson was always strongly in favour of the work done in the shops being ‘real,’ something that boys would realise at once was of genuine value; models and toys and petty jobs were all useful enough in giving a certain manual dexterity, but genuine commercial work could be made much more truly educational. The whole process from drawing-office to the final erecting and testing, he held, should be followed, if possible, and a real insight gained into the reason for the design, into the properties of various materials used, and into the way in which each part fulfilled its purpose.”² Thus when the First World War broke out the workshops at Oundle were sufficiently well equipped to take a valuable part in the manufacture of munitions. “The plan was adopted of sending into shops each form for a complete week, and this arrangement seemed so satisfactory that it has been retained. It was soon found that the regular work of the school

¹ *Sanderson of Oundle*, p. 357, Chatto and Windus, 1924.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36.

did not suffer. In fact the life and elasticity given by these calls for help seemed to have the effect of invigorating the regular work. There is no doubt that the opportunities provided for creative work make a strong appeal to most boys, and many who might be voted dull in the classroom show themselves to be possessed of exceptional powers in other and no less important directions. Such boys frequently find that a problem they have met in the classroom or laboratory is presenting itself to them again in a form which evokes a much readier response from their understanding.”¹

Sanderson's work was carried out in the environment of a great public school, but it has lessons for other types of school. Those who are concerned with the curricula of secondary modern schools can learn much from a study of what he accomplished at Oundle.

The years 1902 to 1939 were very important for Welsh education. The Board of Education, by creating a separate Welsh Department in 1907, recognised that the Principality had special educational problems of its own. The attempt to force English upon a Welsh-speaking population was finally abandoned, and the new department set to work to encourage the use of Welsh and English side by side. Where Welsh was the language of the home, it was considered that it ought to be taught in the schools and used as the medium of instruction in other subjects. Whenever possible, the teaching of both English and Welsh was encouraged so that pupils would become acquainted with two languages and two literatures. Emphasis was also placed on the study of Welsh history, traditions, and institutions. In secondary schools where a language other than English was taught, it was recommended that the second language should be Welsh, and instruction in other subjects might be given wholly or partly in Welsh. In training-colleges, provision was to be made for the teaching of Welsh. Since that date, in appointing inspectors the policy has been to select those who have a knowledge of the Welsh language and of social and economic conditions in the Principality. The intentions of the Board were set forth by the publication in 1927 of the *Report on Welsh in Education and Life*.

During this period, almost revolutionary advances were made in regard to school buildings and equipment. The central-hall type of school in its many modifications, which was popular at the beginning of the century, suffered from certain grave disadvantages. It was difficult to ensure adequate ventilation of the classrooms, and

¹ *Oundle School Commemoration Book*, 1927, p. 54

although attempts were made to overcome this by the use of artificial means of ventilation the results were not entirely satisfactory. Moreover, when the central hall was being used for music, or for physical training as was often the case in bad weather, the occupants of the classrooms on either side were seriously disturbed.

A marked improvement was afforded by the introduction of the pavilion type of school after 1907. In this type the classrooms led off from a veranda or corridor, and it was a simple matter to arrange for windows on each side of the classroom to give cross-ventilation. The assembly-hall was apart from the classrooms, either at one end of the building or in the centre of the line of classrooms. The new arrangements for ventilation could be very troublesome in cold and boisterous weather. Experiments made to avoid this resulted in semi-open-air schools in which the provision of folding glazed doors, which could be closed or opened according to the state of the weather, effected a great improvement. Whenever possible, the classrooms were built to face south. Most pavilion types of school are one-storey buildings and take up a good deal of ground, an important consideration in districts where land is limited and expensive.

An alternative arrangement was provided by the quadrangle type of school, in which the classrooms were sited on the long sides of the quadrangle, and on the shorter sides the assembly-hall and rooms for art, science, and handicrafts were located respectively. In towns, where land is expensive, the quadrangle type of building is in greater favour. Many variations of each type exist. Corresponding improvements were made in the lighting and heating of school premises in areas where electric light and power were available.

The modern tendency has been to abolish the rigid-desk accommodation, either by providing single or dual desks with chairs and lockers, or by substituting chairs and tables for desks. The emphasis has been upon arrangements which allow greater freedom of movement to the children. As the value of practical occupations became more widely recognised, special rooms for activities began to be provided. Attention was also paid to the provision of adequate playground space, playing-fields, and school gardens. All these features have been made compulsory by the *Building Regulations* which followed the Act of 1944.

Between 1902 and the outbreak of the Second World War there was a corresponding development in methods of instruction.

This was closely connected with the development of educational psychology. Many American critics of the earlier part of the century expressed their surprise that so little attention was given to the study of educational psychology in English training-colleges. The small amount of psychology taught consisted of a simplified version of the adult psychology of the associationist school, and was marked by a definite intellectual bias. There were, however, brilliant exceptions to the prevailing tendency, e.g. Professor Sully and his studies of childhood. Attention had been drawn to the importance of the child's innate endowment, by the American psychologist William James, and his *Principles of Psychology*, *Text Book of Psychology*, and *Talks to Teachers*, became popular in England. Perhaps the writings of William McDougall were principally responsible for popularising the new outlook in psychology. His *Social Psychology*, first published in 1908, ran through an amazing number of editions and reprints. His views on the nature of instinct were criticised by the biologists, and this led him to restate the principles of the Hormic psychology in the *Energies of Men*, 1932.

Immediately prior to the outbreak of the First World War the works of the psycho-analysts were becoming known in England. At first, many people were inclined to accept the conclusions of the psycho-analysts uncritically, and by their very enthusiasm aroused opposition. Time has shown, however, that many of their conclusions have been of the greatest value, not only in connection with the problems occasioned by the difficult and delinquent child, but also as leading to a better understanding of the development of the ordinary pupil.

The employment of tests of general and special ability, and standardised tests of attainment, was another important development. The germ of this is to be found in the works of Sir Francis Galton and Karl Pearson, but the first workable intelligence-tests were those of Alfred Binet, published in 1905 and revised in 1908 and 1911. They were adapted to English conditions by Sir Cyril Burt. The Binet tests were originally compiled for the discovery of dull and defective children. Moreover, they were individual tests, and to apply them to a class was a lengthy procedure. During the war the American army made use of group tests (the well-known Alpha and Beta tests), and similar group tests were introduced into England, first as an additional paper in the Civil Service examinations, and then as a means of selecting pupils for entry to secondary schools. In the latter capacity, group tests were first used by the

Bradford L.E.A. in 1919, and their employment soon became widespread.

Important contributions to the theory of intelligence testing were made by Professor Spearman, Sir Cyril Burt, and Professor Godfrey Thomson. The first-named made considerable use of the correlation method and originated the two-factor theory (*s* and *g*). Modern tests show a high degree of reliability and possess considerable prognostic value, though recent criticism seems to indicate that some of the assumptions made in the early days of intelligence testing need to be revised.

All these developments have had a striking repercussion on classroom practice. Their practical applications were brought to the notice of teachers through the publications of a number of well-known educational thinkers, many of whom were connected with the university departments of education. It is not the purpose of this book to discuss the development of educational theories, but among those who have influenced educational practice may be mentioned the names of Sir John Adams, Sir Percy Nunn, and Professors Bompas Smith, Valentine, Campagnac, Olive Wheeler, and Frank Smith.

The result has been that the schools, at the outbreak of war in 1939, were far different places from those of 1902. Many were still hampered by inadequate buildings and unsuitable sites, but on the whole it may be said that they had become bright and pleasant places, pervaded by a friendly atmosphere, in contrast with the formal, repressive conditions of the 19th century. The modern school has become "child-centred," that is it no longer tries to mould the pupil to a preconceived curriculum, but in the matter and method of its instruction it endeavours to suit its teaching to the abilities, experience, natural interests, and outlook upon life, of the child at different stages of his development. The capacities, needs, and interest of the individual child are now considered, and the old idea that all children have the same interests and learn in the same way has been abandoned. This change not only affects the curriculum, but also the methods of teaching. Group and individual methods have come to supplement traditional class teaching, *e.g.* the Dalton and other plans of supervised study. The idea that education means learning from books has given place to a wider interpretation, and the project method and activity methods have replaced the meaningless grind of earlier days. In this respect the ideas of John Dewey have had a strong influence, and the value of

practical occupations in the school has become widely recognised. There has been a great improvement in the standard of school textbooks, and the importance of visual means of presentation is now acknowledged. The danger, some think, is that the pendulum may have swung too far in the direction of freedom and activity, so as to be detrimental to sound discipline and the acquirement of the fundamentals of knowledge. All agree, however, that the development of physical training and games, and the work of the School Medical Service, have resulted in a generation of healthier, cleaner, better-nourished, and better-clothed children. To gain the full benefit of these developments, classes will have to be much smaller than in years past. Although the absurdly large classes common in the 19th century are seldom seen, there are still many cases in which numbers present an insuperable obstacle to the employment of the individual methods advocated by modern educationists.

CHAPTER XI

THE OVERHAUL OF 1944 AND THE FUTURE

The extension of the school-leaving age proposed by the Act of 1936 was not realised, since the beginning of hostilities in September 1939 brought an end for the time being to all schemes of educational development. The vital need was the removal of school-children in vulnerable areas to districts where they might enjoy comparative safety. Before fighting broke out, plans had been drawn up for this mass evacuation, and in the uneasy days at the end of August they were put into operation. The evacuation scheme was carried through by a co-operative effort of the Ministries of Health, Transport, and Home Security, working according to plans prepared by the Board of Education in conjunction with the local authorities.

The transference of children from the danger to the reception areas went smoothly and with only minor and occasional hitches. The difficulties began when the children arrived in the reception areas. The first thing to be done was to settle the children in their temporary homes and then to arrange for their schooling. The school accommodation in the reception areas was, naturally, not sufficient for the flood of young people who came pouring in. Therefore schools had to be split, and one found instances of head teachers whose pupils were scattered over a wide area of several villages, perhaps a considerable distance from one another. The usual plan adopted was that of a double shift, whereby the same school buildings were used, say, in the mornings by the original school and in the afternoons by the evacuated children. The hours of instruction were cut down, but recreational and practical activities in the open air were arranged for pupils during the periods in which they were not receiving instruction in the school. In some places there were sufficient public halls and Sunday Schools for the accommodation of the incoming children. Teachers and inspectors worked at high pressure to produce some order out of chaos and get a degree of education functioning as quickly as possible. The division of the counties into small areas of local administration was partly responsible for the muddle which followed; and the overlapping of authorities and contradictory orders issued by neighbouring directors of education, who worked without much

co-operation, proved a constant source of frustration to those who laboured day and night to create some kind of efficient educational organisation. It says much for the self-denial and public spirit of the teachers, inspectors, and other helpers, that a breakdown was avoided. The friendship and sympathy of the Dominions and the United States were most marked. Arrangements were made, chiefly in Canada and the United States, to receive children whose parents were willing for them to travel overseas. Some availed themselves of the opportunity, but the submarine menace quickly put an end to such arrangements.

The evacuation of town children to the country was bound to slow down the progress of their instruction, but it produced beneficial results of another kind. Large numbers of children derived benefit from the change to a more healthy atmosphere and the open-air activities of the countryside. Children whose experience of nature had been restricted to odd hours of play in the parks were now placed in an entirely new environment. Some found it difficult to settle down, and complained of the lack of cinemas, fish-and-chip shops, and other excrescences of modern urban civilisation.

After an interval, parents were allowed to visit their children, a step which on the whole was unwise because of the unsettling effect produced by the visitors. Those who did not accompany their parents back home obtained marked benefit from the change. Teachers began to find that education involved a great deal more than classroom instruction, and since circumstances compelled them to improvise and experiment, they developed new and more realistic methods of approach, and, through continual contact with their pupils, began to know them more thoroughly than ever before. Town and country were brought together and their mutual suspicion and distrust began to disappear. All of us have heard stories, often perhaps exaggerated, of the wretched condition of certain of the evacuated children—insufficient clothing, bad home influences, dirty and verminous bodies, lack of manners, absence of interests, and low standards of behaviour—but such instances were helpful in opening the nation's eyes to the shortcomings of many homes and schools. In no small measure, the events of these days served to strengthen the conviction that a stock-taking of the educational situation of the country was necessary at the earliest possible opportunity.

On looking back, we now realise that the two mistakes of the evacuation scheme were that it was not compulsory for children

living in the vulnerable areas, and that parents were permitted to visit their children at too early a stage and too frequently. The air-raids that everyone confidently expected had not yet materialised and, by the beginning of 1940, large numbers of the evacuees had drifted back home.

In the "danger" areas, the Government closed all schools, and many of the buildings were used as billets for the forces or to house the different civil-defence organisations. The children who were left behind received no form of education whatever, and the withdrawal of control from the school and, in many cases, from the home, left them to roam the streets and fall into mischief. In some towns the teachers visited the children in their homes and attempted to supply at least a minimum of education. In Leeds a system of temporary schools was organised by voluntary effort. In February 1940 the Government realised that on the whole the evacuation plan had failed, and instructed L.E.A.s to reopen all schools not occupied by the military authorities, as soon as sufficient air-raid shelters had been constructed. Many children had not attended school for over seven months and the effect on their education may be measured by the large number of illiterates in the intake to the forces in the post-war period. After Dunkirk came the air-raids. Children in the towns which experienced the blitz suffered a further set-back. The actual number of schools destroyed or rendered unserviceable through enemy action was not as great as might have been supposed, and the absence of the evacuees allowed for transference to undamaged schools without serious overcrowding. The more serious aspect was the effect upon the children of night after night spent in shelters during aerial bombardment.

It is significant and very characteristic of the British people that, long before the crisis of the war had been reached, serious thought was being given to the problems of post-war reconstruction, and that amongst them that of education occupied a prominent position. Lester Smith considers the stimulus was the speech of the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, made to his old school, Harrow. "When the war is won, it must be one of our aims to work to establish a state of society where the advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed by the few shall be more widely shared by the men and youth of the nation." ¹

The Churches were the first to move. The Anglican archbishops, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and the

¹ W. O. Lester Smith. *To Whom Do Schools Belong?*, p. 166, Blackwell, 1943.

Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council united in drawing up a memorial at the end of 1940, entitled *A Christian Basis for Peace*, and at the beginning of 1941 Dr. Temple, chairman of the Anglican Conference at Malvern, made a number of proposals, some of which found their way into the Act of 1944. When, in the summer of the same year, Mr. R. A. Butler was appointed president of the Board of Education, a joint deputation of Anglicans and Free Church men placed before him their views on religious education. By this time discussion groups in the forces, in civil life, and in the broadcasting studios were debating the proposed educational reconstruction. The N.U.T., the trade unions, and the Association of Directors of Education, all put forward their views. The Government had no lack of counsellors. In June 1941 the "Green Book" was issued by the Board to representatives of L.E.A.s, teachers' associations, and certain individuals. The book was supposed to be a confidential document, but, in Lester Smith's phrase, "it was distributed in such a blaze of secrecy" that its contents became public property. Its publication was an attempt to collect opinions of educationists on such subjects as the raising of the school-leaving age, the abolition of secondary-school fees, the recruitment and training of teachers, and other important problems.

As a result of the answers to the questionnaire, and the enormous amount of information presented to the Government from every source, Mr. Butler, in July 1943, issued the White Paper on *Educational Reconstruction*, in which he forecast the lines the future Education Bill would take. The White Paper was eagerly received and discussed, and the general approval with which it was accepted encouraged Mr. Butler to go ahead in preparing his Bill. Certain important topics, such as the recruitment and training of teachers, examinations and grammar-school curriculum, and the relations of the public schools to the national system, did not find mention in the White Paper as they were the object of consideration by certain committees formed for that purpose. In December 1943 the Education Bill received its first reading, and it became law on 3rd August 1944. All parties and both Houses of Parliament accepted its main principles, discussions and criticisms being directed to practical and minor considerations. It was an agreed measure in so far as anything in this world can be agreed. Mr. Butler was fully aware that all the clauses of the Act could not be put into operation immediately, and, by his description of the day on which the first of its proposals became effective as "D-Day in

education," he negated the idea that it would be a final solution for all the problems of national education.

The Education Act of 1944 is officially designated "An Act to reform, *i.e.* to reshape, the law relating to education in England and Wales." Thus its avowed aim is that of a complete overhaul and the creation of a national policy in education. In Part I of the Act the deficiencies of the Board of Education are remedied. The department is raised in status to that of a Ministry and its head is the Minister of Education, "whose duty it shall be to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area." The term "promote" emphasises that the initiative comes from the Ministry.

The appointment of the Parliamentary Secretary and other officers of the Ministry is in the hands of the Minister, who has the power of fixing their remuneration subject to the consent of the Treasury. The Consultative Committee has disappeared, and in its place there are two Central Advisory Councils for Education, one for England and the other for Wales. The chairman and members are appointed by the Minister and he also nominates an official of the Ministry to be secretary of each Council. Each Council includes persons who have had experience of the statutory system of public education and persons who have had experience of educational institutions outside the State system. The latter members may be drawn from the public schools, universities, the professions, commerce or industry, or any other aspect of national life as the Minister thinks fit. The use of the term "persons" indicates that both men and women may be members. The term of office and retirement of members are regulated by the Minister, and the conduct and procedure of meetings are determined by the Council. The Consultative Committee could advise only on matters referred to it, but the new Councils are not so restricted. They have the duty of advising the Minister upon matters concerned with the theory and practice of education as they think fit. In other words, while administration is the concern of the Ministry, the Advisory Councils give advice upon the actual content of education. This new departure approximates closely to the recommendations of the Bryce Commission.

The number of local education authorities has been reduced by the abolition of the Part III authorities. The present L.E.A.s are the county councils and county borough councils. The 315 L.E.A.s created by the Act of 1902 have now become 146, and the first schedule of the Act provides a possibility of further reduction. Where it would be to the public advantage because of economy or increased efficiency, the Minister may order the areas of two or more councils to be combined through the establishment of a Joint Education Board which will be the L.E.A. for that district.¹ As in 1902, the L.E.A. may delegate its functions (except those of raising a rate or borrowing money) to an education committee. The majority of the members of an education committee must be members of the authority, but the committee should also include persons of experience in education and those who have special knowledge of the educational conditions of the locality.

Some critics urged that the members of the education committees ought to be directly elected. It was felt, however, that this course might reintroduce some of the unsatisfactory features of the School Boards. The same schedule also gave permission to any borough or urban district council which on 30th June 1939 had a population exceeding 60,000 or which had not less than 7,000 elementary-school children on its rolls on 31st March 1939, to prepare its own schemes to be submitted to the Ministry through the county education authority. Such an authority is known as an "excepted district." Some councils availed themselves of the option and claimed this status, *e.g.* Keighley in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

In counties a certain degree of decentralisation is permitted through the formation of Divisional Executive Committees with power to exercise on behalf of the L.E.A. certain functions concerned with primary and secondary education. The Minister may also agree to the delegation of functions relating to further education. The net result has been that excepted districts and divisional executives have taken the place of the Part III authorities without the power that the latter had of raising a rate or borrowing money. *Circular 5*, 15th September 1944, provided details with regard to the constitution, functions, and procedure of divisional executives. It also settled the question of the admission of the press to meetings of divisional executives by suggesting that the press should be admitted unless, because of the nature of the business transacted, a

¹ A Joint Education Board for the Soke and the City of Peterborough has been constituted.

special resolution was passed asking the representatives of the press to retire. Provision is also made for the settlement of disputes between the divisional executives and the county authority. In such cases of disagreement the disputants have the right to appeal to the Minister, whose decision is final.

The partnership between the central and local authorities is retained by the Act. This part of the Act, which came into operation on 1st April 1945, makes it the duty of all local authorities to provide for their areas sufficient schools for primary and secondary education. "Sufficient schools" should be understood as not only sufficient in number but also in character and equipment "to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different abilities and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain at school, including practical instruction and training appropriate to their respective needs." Reorganisation is now compulsory, since primary and secondary education must be provided in separate schools.

The permissive authority of the 1918 Act in regard to the establishment of nursery schools has now become the definite duty of providing such schools or classes where they are needed. Children suffering from disability of mind or body must have education in special schools by special methods appropriate for persons suffering from that disability. L.E.A.s are also to have regard to arranging boarding accommodation "either in boarding schools or otherwise, for pupils for whom education as boarders is considered by their parents and by the authority to be desirable."

It should be noted that these clauses are mandatory so that the relations between the central and local authorities are explicitly stated. The Act of 1918 put the initiative on the local authorities; in the Act of 1944 the initiative is taken by the Ministry. During the period following 1918 the policy of the Board of Education was one of decentralisation, and as a consequence the scope and power of the local authorities had increased to an enormous extent. This period may justly be termed the Age of Directors. In many cases, the office of Clerk or Secretary to the Education Committee had been changed to that of Director of Education. The directors were expert and able administrators and frequently men of outstanding personality and ability. In some districts the policy of the L.E.A. was that of the director, and the growth of local autonomy had become such that the education authorities tended to become

states within the State.¹ The present tendency is to replace the title of Director by that of Chief Education Officer. The Act of 1944 tightens the control of the Ministry over the local authorities, but at the same time the latter are left with a considerable amount of freedom and initiative. Hence reorganisation is not left until the local authority chooses to make a move. By 1st April 1946, every authority was instructed to make a survey of the immediate and prospective needs of its area in regard to primary and secondary education and to submit its development plan to the Ministry.

Many L.E.A.s found that the time granted for the preparation of their development plans was insufficient. *Circular 90* of 1946 granted an authority permission to apply for an extension up to three months, or even longer in special cases. Thus the London County Council asked for an extension of one year. The development plans are drawn up in relation to the statutory system of education, which is organised in three progressive stages of primary, secondary, and further education, and it is the duty of each L.E.A. to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community by securing efficient education at each stage throughout its area. Thus the views expressed by the Hadow and Spens reports have been given official sanction, and the term "elementary," long out of date, has now disappeared. The managers and governors of voluntary schools are consulted before development plans are submitted for the Ministry's approval. When the Minister has approved the development plan, he will issue a local education order by which it is given statutory force. The development plans for many areas have already received the Ministry's approval.

The dual system has been retained, but the provided and non-provided schools of the Act of 1902 are replaced by the titles "county" and "voluntary" respectively. The voluntary schools fall into three groups, primary and secondary schools being represented in each group. The smallest class, numerically, consists of special-agreement schools which had been sanctioned by the Act of 1936.

The agreements entered into under that Act are honoured and may be carried into effect. Aided schools are those in which the governors or managers have agreed to meet fifty per cent of the costs of improvements or alterations to the school buildings to bring the

¹ In the north of England, the directors of certain local authorities were known amongst teachers as the "Big Four."

school into conformity with the building regulations of the Ministry, and also make themselves responsible for fifty per cent of the cost of indoor repairs. The remainder of the cost will be met by the L.E.A. The aided school retains its right to give denominational instruction according to the trust-deed of the school, and its managers and governors have the power of appointing their own teachers. If the governors or managers are unable or unwilling to contribute fifty per cent of the cost of the necessary improvements, the school will become controlled. In this case, the maintenance of the school passes into the hands of the L.E.A. Two-thirds of the governors or managers will be appointed by the L.E.A., the denominational instruction will be limited to two periods a week and will be given by reserved teachers, and the remainder of the religious instruction will be based on an agreed syllabus. The managers, however, will be consulted as regards the appointment of the head teacher.

When the governors or managers of a voluntary school are informed by the Ministry of the approval of the development plan for the area, they will have to declare within six months whether they wish the school to be aided or controlled. If they prefer the former they must satisfy the Minister that they are both able and willing to defray their portion of the expenses for alterations and improvements. Meanwhile, the voluntary schools continue to be transitionally assisted.

The religious denominations will therefore be called upon to make a decision which will involve serious financial responsibilities and have far-reaching consequences. Church of England schools, being by far the most numerous of the voluntary schools, may be considered as an example. When the consent of the Church to this arrangement was obtained, there was no information available as to the demands which might be made by the new building regulations. Acquiescence closely resembled the signing of a blank cheque. When the building regulations were issued, it was seen that the standards were immeasurably higher than before, so that very few Church schools, if any, would be considered adequate. This would mean, in nearly all cases, alterations and improvements of a drastic nature, to be undertaken when building costs are extremely high. In a great many cases, the site of the school forbids any extensive alterations and the only solution is to rebuild the school on another site. When a school is rebuilt on another site because the former is inadequate, or when, because of the movement of population, the new school is in a different area, the new

building is known as a transferred school. The cost of a transferred school will no doubt deter most managers from claiming aided status. The old building remains the property of the managers and in making their decision they will have to take into account the saleable value of the school (which will vary greatly according to the locality) and the possibility of obtaining a loan from the Ministry under Section 105 of the Act. In considering the question of a loan to the governors or managers the Minister will consult the diocesan finance and education council. The diocesan authority or the managers would presumably be required to furnish adequate security, and the first instalment for repaying the loan would have to be made not later than five years from the advance of the loan. Most diocesan authorities have by now decided upon the number of schools they will be able to maintain. The effect will be a definite decrease in the number of denominational schools, and most of those which secure aided status will be primary schools.¹

The management of primary and the government of secondary schools are to be conducted under an instrument of management or government. The Act furnishes details of the constitution of managers and governors of county and voluntary primary and secondary schools and gives power to a local authority to group two or more county or voluntary schools under a single governing body. Thus in Leeds the governors of each secondary grammar-school form the governing body for one or more additional secondary schools, usually secondary modern. In the West Riding, primary schools are grouped for management purposes.

The rules governing the appointment and dismissal of teachers in county and voluntary schools contain the following significant item: "No woman shall be disqualified for employment as a teacher in any County or Voluntary school or be dismissed from such employment by reason only of marriage."

¹ The Bishop of London, in an article contributed to the *Church Times* of 5th March 1948, writes: "We in the London diocese are affected by two authorities, the London County Council and the Middlesex County Council. The plan of the former has just been issued, and that of the latter is expected shortly. Fortunately, the Diocesan Board of Education has had close contact with these authorities, and has come to a general agreement with them about the schools we should desire to keep and the new ones we should want to build. If the plans go through, we shall have fewer schools than before the war—one hundred and seventy instead of two hundred and eighteen—but at least the new plans will be better adapted to present needs, and the new sites better fitted to meet the new shifts of population. Most of the hundred and seventy schools for which we are asking will be primary schools, and we are anxious they should be 'aided' schools, that is to say, Church schools in the full sense."

For the first time, religious worship and religious instruction, subject to the usual conscience clauses, have become compulsory in every county and voluntary school. Every school-day must begin with an act of collective worship attended by all the pupils (except in schools without an assembly-hall, where worship may take place in the classrooms). No form has been prescribed for the act of worship, except that in county schools it must not be distinctive of any religious denomination. Religious instruction is to be given in all schools and may be at any time during the school session instead of being restricted to the beginning or the end of the session.

In county schools the religious instruction must be given in accordance with an agreed syllabus, and no teacher is obliged to take part in it if he does not wish to do so. The first agreed syllabuses appeared in the decade following the conclusion of the First World War. The earliest was the Cambridgeshire syllabus in 1924, and its issue was followed by a number of other syllabuses prepared for the larger education authorities. Experience in the use of the syllabuses showed that the teachers would welcome more detailed guidance in regard to methods of presentation, illustrations, books, and background material, than the first syllabuses provided. Accordingly, most authorities revised their syllabuses and reissued them in a considerably enlarged form. The raising of the school-leaving age and the retention of pupils in some types of secondary schools to eighteen, and the compulsory part-time attendance at county colleges to that age, have necessitated further revisions.

The fifth schedule of the Act of 1944 details the procedure for bringing into operation an agreed syllabus. The L.E.A. is instructed to convene a conference consisting of representatives of the Church of England, other religious denominations, the teachers' associations, and the local authority. The conference may decide to recommend the adoption of an agreed syllabus issued by another authority or it may be in favour of a syllabus specially prepared for the area. In voting, each of the four panels constituting the conference has one vote, so that the members of each panel must recommend unanimously and the conference as a whole must be unanimous in its recommendation. If the conference cannot agree, or if the authority fails to adopt a syllabus, the Minister himself will appoint a conference to prepare a syllabus.

Many ardent denominationalists have described agreed syllabuses as colourless productions. but a study of several recent ones

will show how mistaken such an idea is. During the past twenty years there has been growing dissatisfaction with mere scripture teaching, and the view has been developed that it is the duty of the school to place before its pupils a rational statement of Christian belief, suited, of course, to their age and abilities, and presented in such a manner as to be in close contact with their own problems of daily life. Most agreed syllabuses now attempt to present the fundamentals of the Christian faith and do so with considerable effectiveness. In spite of our unhappy differences, it is astonishing how great is the agreement on many fundamentals, and it is quite a fair statement to say that nine-tenths of Christian teaching is common to all the different denominations.

Denominational teaching in voluntary schools is to be inspected, as in the past, under arrangements made by the religious denominations, but in county schools, for the first time in our history, religious instruction is inspected by H.M. inspectors. This should not fail to enhance the importance of religious education in the eyes of pupils and teachers alike. The problem for some years to come will be that of obtaining sufficient teachers who are both willing and suitably qualified to give such instruction. The Ministry holds vacation courses for teachers of this subject, and in most training-colleges and university training-departments, voluntary courses for students have been offered dealing with both the content and method of religious education. Evening courses, correspondence courses, certificates, and diplomas, have been established to meet the need, and the Institute of Christian Education is responsible for refresher courses and lectures for teachers and others interested in religious education. All these efforts should have an appreciable effect in raising the quality of religious instruction in our schools.

A most important provision of Part II of the Act is that which raises the school-leaving age. Originally it was intended to raise the school-leaving age to fifteen on 1st April 1945, but shortage of teachers and lack of accommodation postponed this for two years. As soon as conditions render it practicable, the school-leaving age will become sixteen.

The continuation schools of the Fisher Act are to be revived, and this section of the Act is to come into force three years after Part II is in operation. The name "continuation school" was changed to that of "young people's college," since it was thought that the change of title would render these institutions more attractive. It was pointed out in the House of Lords that young people have a

distinct aversion to that name, and the happier phrase "county college" was adopted. It will be the duty of each L.E.A. to establish county colleges for part-time education of those pupils of sixteen years of age who do not remain at the secondary school or attend an institution for higher education. Every young person not exempted from this provision will receive a college attendance notice directing him to attend at a county college. The minimum attendance until eighteen years of age will be 330 hours a year, arranged as half days, whole days, or continuous periods, as is most convenient. Suggestions in regard to the curriculum of the college are given in the Ministry's pamphlet No. 3, *Youth's Opportunity*, 1945.

In accordance with the view that secondary education is a stage in the education of every child, all fees were abolished in maintained schools from 1st April 1945. When established, county colleges will be free. Fees may be charged for pupils who receive board and lodging at a school or college; but where financial hardship can be proved, part or whole of the fees may be remitted. Thus parents who wish their children to obtain the benefits of a boarding-school education will be enabled to do so.

Fees were, however, retained in direct-grant schools. In 1926 grant-aided schools not maintained by L.E.A.s were given the option of receiving grant direct from the Board of Education instead of through the L.E.A. Quite a number of schools availed themselves of this arrangement.¹ Direct-grant schools were required to offer a certain number of their places to ex-elementary-school pupils. A similar option was given to certain independent day-schools working with schemes under the Endowed Schools Act. When this section of the 1944 Act became operative, schools were asked to resubmit claims to be considered as direct-grant schools. Some of these claims were not admitted even when the school had previously enjoyed direct-grant status.² Some schools which had sufficient endowments declined the offer of direct grant, and by raising their fees were able to continue as independent schools. Thus Bradford and Wakefield grammar-schools accepted direct-grant status, but Leeds Grammar School and Leeds Girls' High

¹ The Fleming Report gives the following statistics for 1942:—

		<i>No. of Schools</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>
Maintained schools	793	303,986
Aided schools	381	124,535
Direct-grant schools	232	85,681
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Totals	1,406	514,202

² e.g. Archbishop Holgate's School, York.

School preferred to become independent. Although the decision to retain direct-grant schools has been criticised in some quarters as conferring privileges on certain sections of the community, education will probably benefit from this action. The maintained schools have discovered what it involves to be deluged with forms and returns, and many head teachers complain that preoccupation with administrative details is drawing them away from the really important aspects of school life and turning them into almost pure administrators. One solution will be to provide head teachers with more clerical assistants and other helpers. The heads of the direct-grant and independent schools are spared a great deal of the "red tape" and consequently will have more time and freedom to experiment in different directions.

The Act requires each L.E.A. to establish and develop facilities for school camps, playing-fields, swimming-baths, gymnasia, and other forms of recreation. They are empowered to provide clothes and books for children, but the cost may be recovered from parents who can afford to pay. The school medical services and treatment are extended and the continuation and extension of school meals and milk are provided for. In 1943 nearly one-third of elementary-school pupils and over one-half of secondary-school pupils were receiving meals. Three-quarters of elementary-school and two-thirds of secondary-school pupils were being supplied with milk.

Part III of the Act contains a provision that has been needed for more than a century. The Minister is directed to appoint a Registrar of Independent Schools, who keeps a register of them. They are also open to inspection. Certain schools which had been recognised as efficient secondary schools, and some preparatory schools which had previously been open to inspection, are exempted from registration. This part of the Act is chiefly concerned with private-adventure schools. Any of these which, by reasons of inadequate buildings or unqualified staff, or through other causes, are found to be inefficient, may be removed from the register. The proprietor has the right of appeal to an Independent Schools Tribunal consisting of a chairman appointed by the Lord Chancellor from the legal profession and two other members appointed by the Lord President of the Council from persons who have had teaching or administrative experience. Officials, either of the Ministry or of an education authority, are not eligible for appointment.

Section 76 states the governing principle of the Act: "In the exercise and performance of all powers and duties conferred and

imposed on them by this Act the Minister and local education authorities shall have regard to the general principle that, so far as is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents."

Every local authority is now required to appoint a fit person to be the chief education officer of the authority. In most cases this had already been done, but it now becomes obligatory for every authority to make such an appointment. The Burnham Committees are maintained by the Act and are reconstituted as a Main Committee to deal with the salaries of teachers in primary and secondary schools and county colleges, and a Technical Committee is concerned with teachers in technical schools and colleges. Any award made by either committee is now binding on all local authorities.

Section 100, which deals with finance, is one of the most important of the Act. Before 1945 there were separate grants for elementary and higher education, and the expenditure was approximately divided on a fifty-fifty basis between the local authorities and the Board of Education. The Act authorised the Minister to make regulations dealing with the amount of grant paid to local education authorities. L.E.A.s would receive grants from the Ministry of Health in regard to their functions relating to the medical inspection and treatment of pupils. The Ministry of Education formulated new grant regulations (*S.R. and O. 709* of 1945-6 and *1215* of 1946) under which the Government grant was to be comprised under six heads: a main grant; an additional grant; school milk and meals grant; training-college grant; emergency training of teachers grant; and a grant for the removal of air-raided shelters and temporary defence works. The main grant represented an average of 54.36 per cent of net recognisable expenditure.¹ In the case of the Leeds authority, this worked out as 54.72 per cent. The additional grant was drawn from a sum of £1,500,000 to £2,000,000, ear-marked by the Exchequer for extra assistance to poorer L.E.A.s. The main grant thus represented an increase of five per cent on the pre-war grant. The school milk and meals grant was payable for all maintained, direct-grant, and independent

¹ The main grant is now calculated on the following formula:—Main Grant = 60 per cent of net recognisable expenditure, plus a capitation grant of £6 for each unit of average attendance, minus the product of a 2s. 6d. rate. This was adopted to equalise the burden between richer and poorer areas.

schools. Leeds received in 1945-6 a grant at the rate of 80.25 per cent of net recognisable expenditure for school meals, and 100 per cent for school milk and the removal of air-raid shelters. The latter rate per cent was also paid for the emergency training of teachers, but training-colleges maintained by L.E.A.s received a grant based on a more complicated arrangement.

The school meals grant was amended in 1947, and provided for a premises grant of 100 per cent, a dinner grant of 100 per cent, and a grant for meals and refreshments other than dinners at the rate of 54.7214 per cent. At present, except in necessitous cases, pupils pay a small sum for meals, but when each school is served by a canteen the policy is to make all meals free.

The Act, as regards many of its main provisions, has been in operation for several years, and, in spite of certain flaws which could be discovered only in the course of its administration, one can say, generally, that it constitutes the greatest single advance made in the development of English education.

For the first time the country has been given the plan of a fully co-ordinated system of national education, arranged in three successive stages of primary, secondary, and further education. Whilst giving full praise to the accomplishment of the Butler Act, it is well to remember that some of its provisions have yet to be implemented, and the fate of the Fisher Act still has its lesson for us. The Act has not solved all our educational problems. At the present time the country is in a stage of educational transition. The Ministry has already approved many of the development plans, but acute difficulties are being faced, especially in those districts which were tardy in carrying out the Hadow reorganisation. Local authorities are struggling with problems of accommodation and staffing. Serious difficulties in regard to building-programmes are likely to be experienced for some time to come owing to shortage of materials. These are certain to delay the construction of new schools beyond the dates previously anticipated, and the rising costs of building are robbing the estimated expenditure of its meaning. The chief difficulty at the moment is the increased number of children needing school places due to the upward movement of the birth-rate during the war and the extension of the school-leaving age to fifteen. These two factors have added nearly a million children to the school population. Local authorities are making desperate attempts to cope with accommodation problems and are employing every possible form of improvisation, from making use of army

huts and camps to increasing the size of classes and closing nursery classes in order to provide accommodation for infants.

During the war, various estimates were made in regard to the number of teachers who would be required for the reorganised national schools. The Government decided that 70,000 was the minimum number, and it was hoped to obtain most of the new teachers from the Services and from men and women who had been employed in other types of national service. In 1943 the Emergency Training scheme was launched, and, in co-operation with L.E.A.s, arrangements were made to open training-colleges in different parts of the country. Most of the suitable buildings were occupied by the Services, but as the demands of the latter decreased more colleges came into operation. The emergency training-college offered a one-year course of intensive training, and after its completion the student was required to follow a course of directed reading to improve his academic background. Many head teachers have warmly praised the enthusiasm, character, and personality, of these new entrants to the profession. The chief criticisms of the scheme are that the period of training was unduly short and that in some cases the academic background of the teachers was sketchy, a fault which is being remedied by the provision of suitable refresher courses for these new entrants to the profession. However, in spite of the emergency scheme, the supply of teachers, especially women teachers in nursery and infant schools, is a matter of grave concern.

One criticism of the Butler Act is that it accepted without question the recommendations of the Hadow Report as regards the clean break at eleven-plus. This had been severely criticised by many well-known educationists and psychologists on the ground that it is not possible at such an early stage to ascertain with any exactitude the special interests, aptitudes, and abilities, of children. It should be noted in this connection that the Scottish Advisory Council has recommended the age of twelve-plus for transfer, which fits in with the practice followed in many parts of Scotland.

The Butler Act has nothing to say about the organisation of the different forms of secondary education. Most local authorities have chosen the tripartite arrangement of secondary-grammar, secondary-technical, and secondary-modern schools, each housed in a separate building. A few local authorities, including the L.C.C. and Middlesex, originally decided in favour of the multi-lateral school, which to be effective must contain at least 1,200 pupils. The motive for this choice is said to be the conviction that

by accommodating all the different types of pupils in one building a breaking down of class distinctions will follow and the ideal of social unity will be achieved. Many educationists believe that it is premature to come to a conclusion until further experience of the different types has been gained and that the more rational procedure would be to experiment with different organisations and to form one's policy in the light of the knowledge so acquired.

The Education Act of 1944 has been amended by two subsequent Acts, and its educational policy has been developed through a large number of Statutory Rules and Orders (S.R. and O.) and Ministry of Education Circulars. The first amending Act came into force on 22nd May 1946.

Section 7 of the Act is a very important one. It states that the collective worship with which the school day in county and voluntary schools begins must take place on the school premises. The managers or governors of an aided or special-agreement school may desire that on special occasions the collective worship should take place elsewhere, *e.g.* in the parish church. They can make arrangements for this, but *Circular 111*, dated 24th May 1946, reminds managers that "it is important that parents should be given adequate notice of any proposal to hold the collective act of worship off the school premises in case they should wish their children to be excused from attending, under Section 25(4) of the 1944 Act. The method of informing parents will be affected by local circumstances, but it will not be sufficient only to make the time-table entry required by the regulations. Notice should be prominently displayed in the school, if possible not less than fourteen days beforehand, and the children instructed to inform their parents." This concession does not apply to controlled schools.

The Education (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1948, amends certain provisions of the principal Act

Section 3 is perhaps the most important of the Act. It amends the definitions of primary and secondary education as given in Section 8, Subsection 1, of the principal Act. Primary education is now defined as that which is suited to the requirements of junior pupils who have not attained the age of ten and a half years, or of pupils over that age whom it is expedient to educate in the junior school. Likewise, secondary education is that suited to pupils who have attained the age of ten years and six months whom it is deemed expedient to educate together with older children. This authorises the promotion of exceptionally able children to a secondary school

six months earlier than the accepted age. The amendment has been accorded a very mixed reception. Those who held strongly that eleven-plus was too early an age to decide the abilities and aptitudes of the majority of children emphasised that all the objections to the previous age of transfer applied with the more force to those of ten and a half, who could not by any means be considered as even approaching adolescence.

The Statutory Rules and Orders made by the Minister under the Act of 1944 are so numerous that only a few of special interest and importance can be mentioned in a book of this size. *The Regulations prescribing Standards for School Premises* (No. 345 of 24th March 1945) give minimum standards for all primary and secondary schools. They apply to existing as well as to new schools, and are based on a school-leaving age of sixteen. The majority of existing schools fall far short of the prescribed standards, and many of them cannot be brought up to the new standards by alterations and extensions.¹ They must be replaced, and L.E.A.s have had to

¹ The following extracts from inspectors' reports provide examples of unsatisfactory buildings which are still in use:—*

(a) A North-Country manufacturing town.

"The predominant impression made by the schools is of one- or two-storey red-brick buildings, whose architects, uncertain as to whether their model should be a church, a barracks, or a railway station, created something solid, serviceable and ugly, which is unmistakably labelled 'late nineteenth century school.' ... Other schools in the oldest part of the town are described as "not only ugly but also inconvenient and in constant need of renovation. Indeed, so dilapidated had one of these schools become that a few weeks ago the authority were obliged to close it as it was no longer safe, and to house its 800 children temporarily in other schools, in canteens, and church halls."

(b) An unreorganised all-age school.

"The building dates from the 1840's, and though said to have been remodelled in 1894, is still a fine specimen of Victorian Gothic. The rooms, though high and fairly spacious, are separated by partitions, and most of them are passage ways. They are dimly lit either naturally or by gas. There are no practical or store rooms, no hall, no library, no dining room, no hot water, and no drying facilities. Sanitary arrangements are archaic. The staff lack all amenities. In fact, conditions have not changed since the last century. A new HORSAs hut is the brightest thing on these premises." (HORSAs = Hutting Operation for the Raising of the School Age.)

(c) A secondary-technical school.

"Most of the rooms now in use must date from that time (1825), though adaptations of a minor sort have been carried out. ... There are about 280 pupils. Most of the rooms are of good size—but are horribly dark. Gas is still the means of artificial light and has, in some rooms, to be used during the whole day. There are dark dungeon-like passages. One of the rooms used as a laboratory has to serve as an assembly hall and as a dining room. The dust and grime that collect in the rooms seem to dishearten the cleaners, who tend to give up the unequal struggle. There is no playground at all; thus there can be no mid-session recreation breaks."

* *Education in 1948*, H.M.S.O., 1949, pp. 16-18.

decide, in their development plans, not only which schools must be replaced, but also their relative urgency. The *Regulations* are too detailed to summarise, but some idea of them may be gained from the following example. The minimum size of a site for a three-class primary school is two acres, without gardens. A three-form entry secondary-modern school would require a site of twenty acres, with two or three acres for gardens. The playground is included in the site, but it should be noted that the playing-fields are additional to the site. A playing-field must be provided for every primary and secondary school or department. Thus the secondary-modern school given as example would need another fourteen acres for playing-field accommodation.

Many existing classrooms will eventually have to be used for other purposes, since they do not conform to the classroom accommodation prescribed. A five-class school, or over, must have an assembly-hall of at least 1,800 square feet, and every primary school of seven to twelve classes must have a dining-room. In schools of more than twelve classes, two dining-rooms will be required. All secondary schools must have, in addition to the assembly-hall and dining-room, a gymnasium, library, art and craft rooms, and practical rooms. All schools should have arrangements for film projection and the use of episcopes, and some classrooms should be wired for wireless reception. The assembly-hall must have a stage or platform, a projection-room, and be wired for wireless reception. There must be sufficient cloak-room, lavatory, storage, drying-room, staff-room, and kitchen accommodation. All large schools should have a separate room for medical inspection and a waiting-room for parents.¹

The problems connected with the training of teachers and the relations between the State system and the independent schools outside it were the fields of reference of two committees specially appointed for the purpose. The first, under the chairmanship of Sir Arnold McNair, was concerned with the training of teachers and youth leaders, and reported in 1944. Until 1930 the examination of training-college students had been conducted by the Board of Education, but in that year a new policy was adopted. The colleges were organised in groups, each of which was established round its appropriate university or university college. Joint Examination Boards were established, each consisting of representatives of the

¹ Because of the urgent need for economy, the Ministry in 1950 made certain modifications as regards buildings.

university and the colleges concerned. It was hoped that this scheme would bring about a closer relationship between the universities and the training-colleges. The Joint Board was responsible for the examination of students, the Board of Education continuing to examine in practical teaching, physical training, and other practical subjects, where desired by the university. Boards of Studies, on which both universities and training-colleges were represented, were constituted to frame syllabuses and nominate examiners. The McNair Committee felt that the Joint Board system had not brought about any great degree of co-operation between the training-colleges and the universities or between the colleges themselves. The Committee suggested the appointment of a Central Training Council for England and Wales, consisting of from three to five members and having the duty "of advising the Board of Education about bringing into being that form of area training service recommended in this Report which the Board may decide to adopt."¹

On the question of the method of integrating the institutions responsible for the training of teachers in each area, the members of the Committee were equally divided, and alternative schemes were suggested. The first, now generally known as Scheme "A," envisaged the setting up of University Schools of Education, and those who supported this alternative admitted that it involved a "major constitutional change" in the organisation and administration of the education and training of teachers. The institution of University Schools or Institutes of Education "will demand of the universities a richer conception of their responsibility towards education: it will also involve additional staff, both teaching and administrative. On the other hand, we are not proposing that the universities should burden themselves with detailed administration, but rather that they should accept responsibility for the general supervision of the training of teachers and that in that task they should have the active partnership of those already engaged in the work and of others who ought to be engaged in it."²

The majority of the universities favoured Scheme "A," but since conditions in them varied considerably, minor differences naturally exist in the set-up adopted. The general plan has been to constitute a University Institute of Education for the purpose of co-ordinating in the university's area the provision for the training of teachers and to promote and provide facilities for study and

¹ Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, p. 143, H.M.S.O., 1944.

² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

research in education. The Institute supersedes the Joint Board and is responsible for awarding certificates in education of the Institute to candidates of the member institutions who have satisfied the examiners, and for recommending each successful candidate to the Ministry for the award of the status of "qualified teacher." Some Institutes also administer schemes for the award of a higher qualification to mark the successful conclusion of a further period of professional training. In order to integrate the training and educational activities of the area, most Institutes are housed in a suitable building equipped with libraries and conference-rooms. When desirable, interchange both of teachers and of individual students or groups of students between member institutions can be arranged, so that the resources of the university and the other member institutions form a pool that can be utilised when and as required.

Some universities were seriously concerned about the major constitutional change involved in adopting System "A" and preferred a modified form of Joint Board system, which has come to be known as Scheme "B." In this arrangement the university department of education and the training-colleges continue their separate identity, but their work is co-ordinated by a Joint Board.

The McNair Committee were deeply concerned with measures for the recruitment and supply of teachers for the post-war years and the following recommendations were made. The advantages and prospects of the teaching profession ought to be presented to older pupils in all types of secondary school. Men and women of mature years should be encouraged to enter the profession and, if accepted, their initial salaries should be based on their age and previous experience. The conditions of service should be improved and the salaries of teachers in primary and secondary schools should be substantially increased. There should be a basic salary scale for all qualified teachers and the possession of special qualifications and experience should be recognised by suitable additions to the minimum and maximum salaries. Allowances for posts of special responsibility ought to be more widely distributed than at present and the Board of Education should recognise only one grade of teacher, namely the grade of "qualified" teacher.¹ The "pledge" system, under which entrants to training-colleges or universities declared that it was their bona-fide intention to take up teaching as a profession, should be discontinued as soon as possible; and the normal course at a training-college should be extended to three

¹ Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, p. 142, H.M.S.O., 1944.

years. Although many experienced educationists thought that the four-year university course ought to be extended, the report was not in favour of this.¹

The McNair recommendations regarding salaries were considered by the Burnham Committees and their reports were approved by the Minister. A new scale of salaries came into force on 1st April 1945. A single basic salary for all qualified teachers was introduced irrespective of the type of school in which they taught, and additional allowances were granted for special qualifications and experience. Although initial salaries were subsequently increased, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by graduate teachers and heads of grammar-schools, who felt that their special qualifications and experience were insufficiently rewarded. The salary scale was revised in 1948 and again in 1950 and certain concessions were made to graduates; but there is still a strong feeling that the rewards of the teaching profession, even when supplemented by the more generous allowances for posts of special responsibility and allowances for special services, are inadequate to attract the best type of entrant.

The relations between the State system and the schools outside it were the object of consideration of the Fleming Committee, which presented its report on the Public Schools and the General Educational System in 1944. During the war period the public schools had been the subject of much criticism, some justifiable but much of it misinformed. The most general criticism was that the public schools had little contact with the State system and ought to be brought into line with it. As Professor Barnard says, the public schools form "a closed private system, running parallel with the national system but having few points of contact with it."²

The public-school question has been debated so frequently in recent years that it is worth while recapitulating some of the points discussed in earlier chapters of this book in order to gain a clear picture of the issues involved. We saw that in their origin the public schools differed in no respect from other free grammar-schools which drew their scholars from all parts of the country. In fact, the terms "grammar-school" and "public school" were frequently interchangeable, but, even in the later Middle Ages, Winchester and Eton, because of the scale of their foundations and

¹ Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, p. 145, H.M.S.O., 1944. The four-year grant was abolished for candidates entering University Training Departments after 1951.

² H. C. Barnard. *A Short History of English Education, 1760-1944*, p. 282.

their connection with the older universities, were becoming pre-eminent amongst English schools. The number of these "great" schools was swelled in Tudor times by the foundation or refoundation of certain others, both day and boarding schools, such as Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury, Merchant Taylors', and St. Paul's. Towards the end of the 17th century the distinction between these schools and the rest of the grammar-schools began to be more marked, and the divergence had become accentuated in the 18th century when the term "public school" began to be applied in the narrower sense.

The general state of stagnation in the public schools resulted in the critical attacks of the early 19th century and eventually led to the appointment of the Clarendon Commission. We saw that the Commission made certain suggestions about the curriculum of the public schools, but they were largely left to reform themselves. That work had already begun with the efforts of Butler and Arnold. Other ancient foundations, such as Uppingham and Oundle, were added to the number of the public schools through the ability and personality of such headmasters as Thring and Sanderson. Moreover, the rise of a wealthy middle class, as distinct from the landed gentry, after 1832, led to the demand for more public schools, which was met by the establishment of new schools such as Marlborough, Haileybury, and Wellington.

The next extension of the term was to include under it a number of large schools of modern foundation and grammar-schools whose heads were members of the Headmasters' Conference, founded in 1869 and incorporated in 1909. This usage was recognised in 1942 when the president of the Board of Education, in an official answer, defined the public schools as those "which are in membership of the Governing Bodies' Association or Headmasters' Conference." The Association of Governing Bodies of Public Schools, founded in 1941, represents the governing bodies of those schools which are either independent or in receipt of direct grant. Certain maintained schools, for special reasons, have also been admitted to membership. The association was formed to create a means by which questions of common policy outside the sphere of those discussed at the Headmasters' Conference might be decided.

The reforms in the life, curriculum, and teaching methods of the public schools had raised them by the end of the 19th century to an exceedingly high position in public esteem; and their contributions to the nation, especially during the First World War, had

increased their popularity, as was evidenced by the founding of new schools such as Stowe and Canford in 1923 and Bryanston in 1928. It was felt, however, that the central problem had not been solved. Much of recent criticism follows the line that the closed system of the public schools is open only to the sons of the well-to-do and that, in public and industrial life, too great a share of the senior appointments is given to ex-public-school boys. In short, the existence of a number of schools which charge high fees is a contradiction in a democratic community. Some critics assert that the public schools are hotbeds of snobbery, while others are opposed to the boarding-school system and prefer day-schools for all but a few abnormal types of children. The unfortunate point about the controversy is that political considerations seem to have greater weight than educational ideals. So much of public opinion is so ill-informed about the schools in question that it may be worth while to mention a few facts.

On the whole, though it is true to say that the public schools constitute an independent system in contrast with the State schools, one should remember that many direct-grant and maintained secondary schools enjoy membership of the Headmasters' Conference and the Association of Governing Bodies. The two systems, however, have other points of contact. The earliest associations between the public schools and the State were a result of the Clarendon and Taunton Commissions. The Charity Commissioners drew up schemes under the Endowed Schools Act, some of which applied to schools now recognised as public schools, and in some cases their action rescued the schools from oblivion and decay. Although the Headmasters' Conference owed its origin to the apprehension felt in regard to possible government interference, it was foremost in urging upon the Bryce Commission the appointment of an Educational Council with powers similar to those now possessed by the Central Advisory Councils created by the Act of 1944.

The Board of Education was given permissive power to inspect any secondary school which expressed a desire to be inspected. Many public schools asked for inspection, and as a result were recognised by the Board. Thus, by 1914, nine had been inspected and recognised, and since that date Harrow, Rugby, Eton, Shrewsbury, and Oundle have been added to the list.¹ Since 1917 the

¹ The number of independent secondary schools recognised by the Ministry in 1948 was: England 491, Wales 21. These figures include many private schools.

schools belonging to both the State and the independent systems have entered their pupils for the same School and Higher School Certificate examinations, and both compete for open scholarships at the universities. Whilst many public schools are controlled by independent governing bodies, quite a number have representatives of publicly elected authorities on their boards of governors. The public schools shared with many direct-grant schools the privilege of furnishing contingents of the Junior Division of the Officers' Training Corps. The State schools have been influenced by the public schools in many ways, *e.g.* in the development of organised games, the prefect and house systems, the experiments of Sanderson at Oundle, and the work of Dr. Rouse and his colleagues at the Perse School, Cambridge. Many masters from public schools have become heads of State grammar-schools, and there have been instances of members of public-school staffs accepting the headship of secondary-modern schools. There is a greater two-way traffic between the systems than the general public imagines.

The criticism that the public schools form a closed system is more true of the schools fifty years ago than at the present time. A fundamental mistake is that of regarding the public schools as though they all conformed to one pattern. In fact, they present a large variety of types, and thus sweeping generalisations about them are apt to be erroneous. The criticism that owing to their high fees very few pupils from the State schools can enter them is a case in point. It is a generalisation true of some schools but not of others. Thus a large proportion of boys at Christ's Hospital have always come from the elementary schools; at Rendcombe College in Gloucestershire nearly half the pupils were admitted on the results of the special-place examination; and at Giggleswick nearly a third of the scholars come from the locality and are admitted on the results of a scholarship examination. Winchester, under Canon Spencer Leeson, established a generous scheme of scholarships.

It is less well known than it should be that in 1919 the schools represented on the Headmaster's Conference offered places to elementary-school children. Mr. Graves gives the details of negotiations which took place.¹ Mr. (later Sir) Frank Fletcher of Charterhouse, who was chairman of the H.M.C., put forward from the chair a proposal which met with acceptance, "that the schools which could afford to give pensions without applying for State aid

¹ J. Graves. *Policy and Progress in Secondary Education, 1902-42*, pp 188-9, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1943.

should voluntarily accept the same conditions of State service as those which applied for and received it. We were prepared to offer as a voluntary service, or rather to claim as a privilege, that share in the education of ex-elementary school boys which was demanded by the State from other schools." One of the conditions for State aid was that a school should offer from ten to twenty-five per cent of its entry to boys who had attended elementary schools. The offer was sent to Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, who replied that there was at present no demand for places from elementary-school boys, and added: "It is full of encouragement for the future of English education. It represents a sincere desire to make the public system of education as comprehensive, as accessible, and as effective as possible. . . . I think that we recognise as clearly as you do the importance of diversity and individuality both inside and outside the State-aided system of education, and the value of tradition."

An increasing number of people believe that the public schools have something to offer to the nation that is valuable and worth while preserving, but they differ in regard to the policy they would adopt. They are of opinion that the existence of a small number of fee-paying schools is a strength rather than a weakness in a democratic State by providing a variety of types and giving freedom of experiment that is more difficult to achieve under the State system. They also urge that, if parents are willing to save in order to provide for their children the type of education they wish them to have, there is no reason why they should not be permitted to do so. Thus, Donald Hughes writes, "The Public School system is part, and no insignificant part, of that decent British life and society which has been slowly and patiently built up, and I cannot believe that we shall allow it to be swept away in the days when our need for enlightened and effective education will be so urgent. We shall want, in future, not fewer but more and better Public Schools."¹ Mr. E. H. Partridge, the headmaster of Giggleswick, claims that the typical public boarding-school is a truly democratic institution representing a wider cross-section of the public than any other type of school, and that it reconciles and abolishes class distinctions rather than perpetuates them.²

One of the practical difficulties which has to be taken into consideration when it is proposed that boys from the primary schools should be admitted to the public schools, is the age of entry. Pupils

¹ D. Hughes. *The Public Schools and the Future*, p. 71, C.U.P., 1942.

² E. H. Partridge. *Freedom in Education*, Faber and Faber, 1943.

are transferred from the primary to the secondary school at eleven-plus, but during the latter part of the 19th century the age of entry to the larger boarding-schools became settled at thirteen. Because of the importance assigned to the classics, the general curriculum of the public schools is not completely parallel with that of the State grammar-schools. Again, because of the later age of entry to the public schools, a large number of preparatory schools have developed. The preparatory schools accept pupils at the age of eight upwards and prepare them for the Common Entrance examination, which was established in 1903. Most of the preparatory schools are in private hands, but a few public schools, such as St. Paul's, have their own preparatory establishments. The difference in the method of preparation for entry to the two types of school accentuates the gulf between them.

These difficulties, however, are not insuperable. Various suggestions have been made for overcoming them. One of the most reasonable solutions seems to be the provision of residential preparatory schools for boys and girls who seem likely to profit from a public boarding-school education. Such preparatory schools would have an age-range of eleven to thirteen and would be part of the State system. The pupils would be introduced to the additional subjects studied at public schools, and their progress would be watched carefully. Those who were not able to make headway with their studies could be transferred to one of the types of secondary school within the State system. Pupils chosen for the public schools would not be selected on account of their intelligence and attainments alone. Due consideration would be given to character, temperament, and powers of leadership. At the present, too much importance is attached to intelligence and attainment, to the neglect of other factors, possibly because the latter are more difficult to ascertain. The suggestion that suitable pupils should be transferred from the secondary grammar-schools at the age of thirteen is one that is not likely to find favour with grammar-school headmasters, who would rightly object to their schools being "creamed" in this fashion. Such problems as we have outlined were the object of the considerations of the Fleming Committee.

The Fleming Report stated the belief of the Committee "that the education given by the Public Schools includes elements of very high educational value, especially but not entirely on the boarding side. It would, therefore, be wrong to destroy them as the more extreme of their critics desire (by the appropriation of their

endowments and the diversion of their buildings to other purposes) or to refuse to associate them in any way with the general system of education, provided that the number of boys admitted to them from Primary Schools is sufficient to avoid the dangers which have been discussed," e.g. the fear that boys from poorer homes would not be able to adjust themselves.¹ The Committee believed that opportunities of education in such schools should be made available to boys and girls capable of profiting from them, irrespective of the income of their parents. It was recommended that the Board of Education should compile a list of associated schools, and that the terms of admission to the list and the conditions under which they would work should be of two types, described respectively as Scheme "A" and Scheme "B." Both schemes should apply equally to boys' and girls' schools. Scheme "A" schools would consist mainly of the direct-grant schools. To be accepted as associated schools they would be required either to abolish tuition fees or "to grade them according to an approved income scale which shall provide for total remission if a parent's income requires it."² L.E.A.s should have the right to reserve at such schools a number of places, day and boarding, for pupils for whom they are responsible. The number of local places should be settled between the governors and the L.E.A.s, with reference to the Board of Education if necessary, and the L.E.A.s should pay to the school the cost of tuition and boarding at the approved rate for all pupils they send. The Board of Education would pay direct grant for the remainder of the pupils.

Scheme "B" would apply to "such Boarding Schools or schools taking a substantial number of boarders as the Board may accept, being schools recognised by the Board as efficient and not being conducted for private profit."³ The Board of Education would grant bursaries to qualified pupils who had been educated for at least two years at a grant-aided primary school to enable them to proceed to such a boarding-school. The amount of the bursaries would be graded according to an approved income scale with total remission where necessary. It was recommended that the number of bursars should not be less than twenty-five per cent of the school's annual admissions and that the admission schemes should be reviewed every five years. As in Scheme "A," L.E.A.s should be

¹ *The Public Schools and the General Educational System*, p. 56, H.M.S.O., 1944.

² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

empowered to reserve places at particular schools for pupils from their areas. Parents desiring a bursary would apply through the L.E.A to the Board of Education, and candidates would be interviewed by a Regional Interviewing Committee of four persons, one of whom would be the head of the associated school, another the head of a primary school, and the third a member or officer of an L.E.A.

The Fleming Report was so patently a compromise that it failed to satisfy the extremists on either side, and its value consists in indicating a possible way by which the relations between the public schools and the national system might be developed and strengthened. The State secondary schools were obviously not content with a proposal whose implementation would deprive them of some of their most promising pupils.

This brief sketch of post-war education would not be complete without a reference to two important social developments which are having a profound influence upon English education. One is the development of the youth service, and the other the Curtis Report which has resulted in the Children Act of 1948.

The youth service, like so many of the important movements in this country, began with voluntary effort. Space forbids all but the mention of the Y.M.C.A., founded in 1844; the Y.W.C.A., in 1853; the Boy Scout movement, originated by Lord Baden-Powell in 1908; and the Girl Guides, founded in 1910. All these voluntary organisations, together with youth clubs in connection with the churches, did most valuable work, but they extended their influence to only a section of the adolescent community. The State did not actively concern itself with young people above school age until the uneasy period between the two world wars. King George's Jubilee Trust was formed in 1935 and funds were accumulated for the purchase of playing-fields. The Government began to make grants for physical training and the provision of recreational facilities, and in 1937 the National Fitness Council was formed to administer the money. This was merged into the National Youth Committee at the outbreak of war. The Board of Education *Circular 1486*, of 1939, emphasised that, in spite of all that had been accomplished by voluntary organisations and the L.E.A.s, the social and physical development of adolescents who had left school was being neglected. If the clauses of the Fisher Act dealing with continuation schools had been in operation, many of the problems would have been solved. The Circular recommended that L.E.A.s

should set up Youth Committees to survey, encourage, and co-ordinate the youth services in their areas. Existing voluntary organisations should be represented on the local committee. A further Circular (1503), issued in March 1940, announced that the Board of Education was prepared to make grants covering fifty per cent of the expenses incurred by L.E.A.s in their youth services. In June 1940, *Circular 1516*, entitled *The Challenge of Youth*, recognised the youth service as part of further education. The State declined to create a compulsory youth service and defined its function as one of filling the gaps by supplementing the resources of existing voluntary organisations. A later Circular (1577) of December 1941, entitled *Registration of Youth*, dealt with boys and girls who became liable for registration by the Ministry of Labour and National Service. Boys and girls were interviewed by the Youth Committees of L.E.A.s and those who were not already members of a youth organisation were urged to join one. They were also encouraged to take up some kind of pre-Service training.

Owing to the war, new types of pre-Service training were coming into existence. When Lord Haldane reorganised the Army and created the Territorial Force in 1907, the Officers' Training Corps was formed. It was divided into a Senior Division attached to universities and a Junior Division attached to certain public and secondary schools. Junior cadets were prepared for Certificate "A," and the seniors for Certificate "B." The aim of the O.T.C. was to provide officers for the Territorial Army and the Special Reserve. During the Second World War, the demand for officers was so great that the O.T.C. was reorganised and greatly extended. The two divisions became the Senior and Junior Training Corps respectively, and all university students who were of military age were compelled to join the S.T.C. The establishment was increased and students were given a preliminary training to enable them to pass eventually to an O.C.T.U. if they were suitable. Compulsory service ended in November 1944, and as a consequence the numbers of the S.T.C. fell rapidly. The War Office recently announced its proposals to bring the S.T.C. (now the University Training Corps) into line with the new National Service scheme. On 1st April 1948 the U.T.C. became an integral part of the Territorial Army, and undergraduates who join are eligible for the same benefits and bounties as other members of the T.A.

The O.T.C. had been mainly restricted to undergraduates and the pupils of a small number of schools. The war greatly increased

the demands for pre-Service training and, in 1941, the Air Training Corps was formed. This was followed by the institution of Sea Cadets and the Army Cadet Force. Similar pre-Service organisations were available for girls, and at present the War Office is considering the re-creation of some of them. All these organisations were educational in so far as they gave attention to the social and recreative needs of their members.

The National Youth Committee was replaced by the Youth Advisory Council in 1942. The latter was created to advise on problems submitted to it by the Board of Education and also to bring new suggestions to the notice of the Board. One of the most important problems in connection with the youth service is the training of those who, for want of a better name, have been called youth leaders. This problem received special attention at the hands of the McNair Committee. The report considered youth leaders under the broad classification of full-time workers, such as organisers, wardens, and heads of large institutions, who received a salary, and part-time workers, who might be paid or unpaid. The contribution of voluntary workers was warmly praised and the Committee hoped that any augmentation of the numbers of the professional youth leaders would not diminish the assistance given by the voluntary workers. It was recommended that those preparing to take full-time posts should receive a three-year course of training. People who already possessed experience of the work might enter upon a shorter course, but in any case the course of training should not be less than a year. It was considered that there should be a close association between service in youth organisations and teaching. To achieve this the suggestion was made that the salaries of youth leaders should be comparable with those given in the teaching profession and that service should be pensionable. To enable a person to transfer from one service to the other, a linking of superannuation arrangements and the provision of short courses of training would be necessary.

For some time public feeling had been shocked at the revelation of certain cases where children who had been boarded out under the care of foster-parents had lived under most unsatisfactory conditions. As a consequence, the Care of Children Committee, under the chairmanship of Miss Myra Curtis, was constituted, and reported in 1946. The Committee inquired into the existing methods of providing for children who for various reasons had no home of their own, and recommended legislation to ensure that they would be

brought up under conditions which would compensate them for the lack of parental care. These children included those maintained by local authorities under the Poor Law Act of 1930, evacuated children who for some reason were unable to return home,¹ children brought before the courts as delinquents or in need of special care and protection, children cared for by voluntary organisations, those maintained by foster-parents, adopted children, handicapped children educated away from home, those orphaned by the war, and mentally defective children. Altogether, these classes included 124,900 children.

The Clyde Committee conducted a similar inquiry for Scotland. The recommendations of the two committees were included in the Children Act of 1948. The Act lays upon the councils of counties and county boroughs in England and Wales, and of counties and large burghs in Scotland, the statutory duty of caring for every child under seventeen without parents or guardians, or who has been abandoned or lost, or whose parents are unable to provide for his upbringing. By making provision for children formerly dealt with under the Poor Law, the Act was complementary to the National Assistance Act, which proposed the abolition of the Poor Law and formed part of the new social legislation which came into operation from 5th July 1948. Each local authority is required to appoint a Children's Committee and an approved officer to carry out the functions which devolve upon the committee. The local authority should provide for a child in their care by boarding him out with foster-parents or, where this is not practicable or desirable, by accommodating him in a home provided under the Act or in a voluntary home. Local authorities are empowered to provide children's homes in which there will be the necessary facilities for the observation of the physical and mental condition of the children. Regulations governing the conduct of homes are made by the Home Secretary. The person in charge of a home, unless suitably qualified, must be approved by the Home Secretary. Already a course of one year has been arranged at universities to prepare sixty young women as supervisors, and one hundred women have been selected for training as house mothers. Local authorities are also empowered to open hostels for young persons between fifteen and twenty-one who are or have been in the care of a local authority.

¹ On 31st March 1946 there remained in the reception areas 5,200 children unable to return home. Some were orphans; others had a parent or parents who could not provide a home for them.

The hostels will be close to the places where the young people are being employed or trained. Certain financial powers are given to local authorities for training or maintaining such young persons. The only persons liable to pay contributions towards the upkeep of these young people are the parents, whose liability will cease when the child reaches the age of sixteen.

The Act includes important provisions affecting voluntary homes and organisations. Every voluntary home must be registered by the Home Secretary, who can refuse or withdraw registration if he considers the home unsatisfactory. All homes are to be open to regular inspection, including that undertaken by local authorities. An exchequer grant not exceeding fifty per cent of the expenditure incurred by local authorities in the discharge of their functions will be made. An Advisory Council on Child Care will assist the Home Secretary in his administration and there will be a separate Advisory Council for Scotland. The Home Secretary, the Minister of Education in England and Wales, and the Secretary of State in Scotland, are empowered to make regulations defining the spheres of responsibility of local authorities and L.E.A.s.

It should be noted that the Act, following the Curtis Report, gave a preference to private foster-homes or small corporate houses rather than to larger institutions. The principle was that of providing a real home life for children without homes. Another feature of the Act was the attention given to after-care by provision of hostels and the award of financial assistance to those over eighteen who need to complete their education and training.

To conclude this chapter, a reference must be made to the Report of the Secondary School Examinations Council, 1947. Its recommendations modify and extend the Norwood Report. They were based on the following principles: (a) All secondary-school courses should be designed with appropriate variety of subjects and treatment to suit the ages, abilities, and aptitudes of the pupils. In the later years, the future careers of pupils should have some bearing on the courses provided. (b) Those children who can profit by an extension of full-time education should be encouraged to stay at school beyond sixteen. (c) The conception of "sixth-form" work should be maintained and specialisation should never be premature or excessive.

It was recommended that on leaving school, each pupil should be provided with a school report giving the fullest information about him and his abilities and potentialities. Different types of

objective tests should be given periodically and the results preserved in school records and used to guide pupils towards suitable courses of study or types of employment. Each school should carry out systematic internal examinations based on their courses of study. External examinations serve to maintain national standards, and, for pupils who do not need an external examination, some form of internal examination would be necessary.

External examinations for pupils who wish to compete for university scholarships or secure exemption from professional examinations should be taken as late as possible in their school career. They should also be accessible to candidates who have ceased to be full-time pupils at a secondary school.

An examination at Ordinary, Advanced, or Scholarship level should be available each year to candidates who are at least sixteen on September 1st of that year. The Ordinary papers should provide a reasonable test in the subject for pupils who have taken it as a part of a wide and general course up to the age of sixteen or for those who have studied the subject in a non-specialist way in the sixth form. The Advanced papers are for candidates who have taken the subject as a specialist study for two years in the sixth form. Scholarship papers should provide specially gifted pupils an opportunity for showing distinctive merit and promise. The group system should be abolished so that all subjects at all these levels should be optional. Satisfactory candidates are awarded a General Certificate of Education on which is recorded the subjects and the levels at which they satisfied the examiners. Once the certificate has been granted, it can afterwards be endorsed for subsequent successes. No grant should be payable in respect of a candidate under sixteen on September 1st in the year of examination. Ordinary and Advanced papers in the same subject are not to be taken in different years, so that a single certificate takes the place of the present School and Higher School Certificates. The Pass in the Ordinary papers should be approximate to a Credit standard in the School Certificate, and a Pass at the Advanced level should be roughly equivalent to a Pass in the Higher School Certificate.

The Council recommended that the examinations should be held at such a time as will enable the results to reach the Ministry of Education by August 1st. This would probably involve the holding of the examinations in May. The Ministry of Education approved the main recommendations of the Report and announced

on 26th April 1948 that the new system would be introduced by stages. The first examination under the new scheme was held in 1951. The Minister agreed with the principle that external examinations should not be taken before the age of seventeen, but, until the number of pupils remaining at school after seventeen has substantially increased, he provisionally fixed the minimum age for candidates at sixteen. The Minister's decision was severely criticised by members of the staffs of certain schools and universities, on the grounds that the minimum-age requirement unduly handicaps the brilliant pupil who is ready to sit for the examination before he is sixteen.

The recommendations of the Council should be compared with those of the Scottish Advisory Council described in chapter XV. The "new" examination provoked considerable controversy, especially in regard to the minimum age of entry and the abolition of the mark of distinction for candidates who showed exceptional knowledge and ability. Many of these criticisms came from the grammar schools and the universities, the institutions which were most closely concerned with the changes. The Minister of Education, Miss F. Horsbrugh, considered the representations made to her and announced in the Commons 24th April 1952, that certain modifications would be made in 1953 and after. In the light of the experience of the examinations of 1951, she considered that while the existing age limit should be retained as a general principle, heads of schools should not be debarred from entering a pupil at an earlier age if the candidate is up to the required standard and it is educationally right for him to sit for the examination. She also approved the suggestion that a distinction mark should be awarded to exceptionally able candidates at the advanced level.

CHAPTER XII

THE MODERN UNIVERSITIES AND THE ANCIENT UNIVERSITIES IN THE MODERN WORLD

Until the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, Oxford and Cambridge had been the only two English universities. It is true that in 1575 Sir Thomas Gresham, a wealthy London merchant, had bequeathed his City mansion to be the home of a college, and had endowed seven professorships—in divinity, civil law, medicine, rhetoric, astronomy, geometry, and music. Gresham College was opened in 1596 and, as we have related, played a part in the movement which led to the formation of the Royal Society; but it was never a university. During the Commonwealth, Parliament petitioned for the establishment of a university at London, but it was not until 1825 that the movement for the founding of the University of London became practical politics.

As we have seen, membership of the ancient universities was restricted to adherents of the Anglican Church and the wealthier section of the population. The studies of the universities were predominantly classical and mathematical; and those who were interested in sciences, and manufacturers who desired a practical and technical education, were convinced of the need of a new institution for higher education. Thus there came about an alliance of all the dissatisfied elements, which included Liberals, Nonconformists, Roman Catholics, Jews, and all those who supported the scientific and secularist movements. The only way of satisfying so many diverse points of view was the establishment of a new university from which religious teaching would be excluded.

The opening move was made by the poet Thomas Campbell, who contributed a letter to *The Times*, 9th February 1825, in which he pleaded for the establishment of a "great London University." Campbell had visited, in 1820, the German University of Bonn and had been impressed by its constitution and its programme of studies. The letter was addressed to Henry Brougham, who supported the idea with great enthusiasm. It was also welcomed by Dr. Birkbeck, Francis Place, Zachary Macaulay, Joseph Hume, and other members of the "education-mad" party. In his letter Campbell conceived the proposed university as a means of educating the

"middling rich" Great strides had been made in providing education for the working classes, and he thought the time was now ripe to attend to the educational needs of the middle classes. He considered that £100,000, which could be raised by 2,000 families subscribing £50 each would be a sufficient sum for building and endowing the new university.

A large number of the supporters of the proposed university had been educated in Scottish universities and therefore had clear ideas about the kind of institution they wished to establish. They were in favour of a non-residential university at which the fees would be moderate and thus make it available for the middle classes. The leading article of *The Times* published on the same day as Campbell's letter was not sympathetic towards the proposal. The writer stigmatised the scheme as "crude in conception and meagre in development." The promoters of the plan were full of enthusiasm and a joint-stock company was formed under the name of the Proprietors of the University of London, and subscriptions were invited. The tuition fee in all subjects except medicine was to be £25 per annum and, taking Bonn and the Scottish universities as a model, it was to be non-residential; but, unlike them, it was to be purely secular. A plot of land in Gower Street was purchased and the foundation-stone of the London University was laid by the Duke of Sussex in 1827, and by October of the following year the new institution started its life. Classes were formed in arts, law, and medicine. So far, the foundation was without a charter, and its efforts to obtain one were successfully resisted by Oxford and Cambridge.

Its secular constitution provoked much opposition. Thomas Arnold denounced it as "that godless institution in Gower Street," and many Nonconformists, among them the headmaster of Mill Hill, agreed with him. When the council of the university considered approaching the Crown for the grant of a charter, the Anglican party was roused to action. The initiative was taken by Dr. George D'Oyley, rector of Lambeth. He proposed the establishment of a second university in which religious instruction should be an essential part of the education provided. At a public meeting held on 21st June 1828, presided over by the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, a resolution was passed which agreed to the foundation of a new college in which the doctrine and form of worship of the Church of England should be recognised. George IV had promised his patronage, and the new institution received the

name of King's College. It was granted a royal charter of incorporation in 1829, and the college was opened in the Strand near Somerset House in October 1831. It was anticipated that the endowments of the new foundation would be on a considerable scale, but Wellington's support of Catholic emancipation offended many of the subscribers who withdrew their patronage, and the college was left rather meagrely endowed.

As a consequence of these events, London was provided with two rival colleges based on different principles. The older college was supported by the Whigs and the Nonconformists, but was unchartered. King's College received the support of the Tories and the Established Church. Neither college had the power of granting academic degrees. The situation was felt to be extremely unsatisfactory. Efforts were made to unite the colleges, but all proposals for union were rejected by King's. The older institution petitioned Lord Melbourne's Government for a charter, which was granted in 1836. It received the title of University College. A compromise was reached on the same day as the charter was granted. A royal charter of 28th November 1836 created the University of London as a body with power "to perform all the functions of the Examiners in the Senate House of Cambridge."

At the time, University College and King's College were quite satisfied with the compromise, but it was not long before its defects became apparent. The University of London was merely an organisation for examining candidates and conferring degrees. It was not a teaching body, and its affiliated colleges in which the instruction took place possessed no organic relationship with the university. The first Senate of the University was appointed by the Government in 1837, and included in its membership Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, who later became one of the foremost critics of the university, and Michael Faraday the distinguished scientist. The former was responsible for framing the curriculum in arts.

The original charter had granted power to the University of London to affiliate other colleges. This policy was actually carried out in 1850, when a large number of institutions, some of which were nothing more than secondary schools, were affiliated to the university. Eight years later this practice was abandoned and the university proclaimed "the comprehensive principle of testing acquired knowledge by strict examination, with reasonable evidence of antecedent continuous study." The latter point, it was thought, would be secured by the establishment of Intermediate examinations

in arts and science. With the exception of the examinations in the Faculty of Medicine, the university was prepared to examine any candidate, whether he had pursued a recognised course in some institution of university rank, or whether he had been prepared by private tuition. At the same time, a Convocation consisting of graduates of the university was formed and given a share in the administration of the university.

The new arrangement provoked much criticism. Matthew Arnold described the University of London as "a mere *collegium*, or Board of Examiners," which gave no teaching itself but only examined for degrees. He believed that the teaching function of a university was far more important than that of examining, and urged that University College and King's College should be brought into full relationship with the university. Arnold's criticisms were but the forerunners of others which were more bitter in tone.

The first move towards reform came from Convocation, which in 1877 asked the Senate to consider means of strengthening the connection between the affiliated colleges and the university, and promoting in an efficient manner the ideals of sound learning and a liberal education. It should be remembered that it was at this time that the question of admitting women to the examinations and degrees of the University of London was being discussed. In the following year, Convocation adopted a number of resolutions which they presented to the Senate. These included a recommendation that the courses of study at those institutions which furnished candidates for London degrees should be brought into closer connection with the Senate. Convocation also urged the foundation of university Chairs in certain studies and the development of post-graduate work and research. The Senate, unshaken in its belief in the examination system, showed little sympathy towards the proposals.

In the Faculty of Medicine, events were moving to a crisis. London provided a number of famous hospitals in which students from the medical schools could obtain excellent training in practical medicine and surgery. Unfortunately these institutions were unable to provide an equally effective training in general science. The candidate who wished to obtain a medical degree at London had first to show, at the matriculation stage, that he had reached a good standard in his general education, and then the preliminary examination demanded from him a considerable knowledge of general science. The scientific training given in the endowed grammar-schools was so unsatisfactory that very few candidates were able

to reach the standards demanded by the university. The majority of students found these conditions made it impossible for them to read for a university degree in medicine, and preferred to seek the professional qualifications given by the Royal College of Physicians or the Royal College of Surgeons. Moreover, the Scottish universities granted medical degrees without such stringent requirements in science, though they could not provide opportunities for clinical work on a scale comparable with London.

The result was a gradual drift of medical students to the north. The university authorities refused to change their policy, for they considered that this would lower the standard of the medical degree.

Another storm was appearing from a different quarter. The first member of Parliament for the University of London was Robert Lowe, whom we have already encountered in connection with the Revised Code. He had not changed his opinions with regard to examinations, and he believed that a university was essentially an examining body. This view was warmly opposed by such people as Lord Playfair, Professor Hales of King's College, and Professor Karl Pearson. University College considered that its position with relation to the university was so unsatisfactory that its governing authority contemplated affiliation to the Victoria University.

The controversy eventually led to the formation in 1884 of the Association for Promoting a Teaching University for London. It was suggested that there should be two universities, with the respective functions of teaching and examining. There might be one Chancellor, but each university should have its separate Vice-Chancellor. The relations between the examining and the teaching university were not fully worked out, but it was suggested that there should be an intimate association between the teaching university and the professional bodies in law and medicine which granted professional qualifications. Convocation approved the scheme, and a draft constitution of a reconstructed University of London was drawn up. It was impossible, however, to obtain the general agreement of all parties concerned, and it seemed as though the university would break up because of the threatened secession of its constituent members.

In 1887 there was a new turn to events. King's and University Colleges decided to petition the Crown for a charter giving them authority to grant degrees in all faculties. This move, once more, did not secure universal agreement, and a third of the members of the Council of University College resigned. The petition asked for

the formation of a new institution, to be known as the Albert University. King's and University Colleges were to be constituted as colleges of the university, and power was to be given to admit other colleges. The Royal College of Physicians and the Royal College of Surgeons were to be affiliated to the university. The Senate of the University of London raised strong objections to the scheme. In particular, they disliked the idea of the power to confer degrees being in the hands of the teachers of the university. The dispute reached such dimensions that the Government found it necessary to intervene and to appoint a royal commission under the chairmanship of Lord Selborne. The Selborne Commission met in May 1888 and published its report in the following April.

The report suggested that the University of London should be reconstituted as a teaching university. The external examining system should be retained, but should be subordinated to the internal work of the university. The constituent colleges of the university should be institutions within the County of London, and neither the colleges nor the medical organisations ought to have the power of conferring degrees. This was the right of the university alone. A scheme for adequate representation of the constituent members of the university on the Senate was devised, and it was suggested that the university should appoint professors and lecturers of its own and receive endowments for this purpose. The Senate and Convocation were to be allowed a reasonable time in which to implement this policy and to apply for a new charter.

The Selborne Commission, however, did not bring about the agreement of the conflicting points of view. As Professor Archer wrote: "The problem of producing order out of chaos in London was, from the point of view of sheer organisation, the most complex that has ever presented itself in academic history. There were more students in London than in any city in the Empire, yet they were scattered amongst a host of utterly dissimilar institutions. . . . All these existed without any organic connection, with totally different histories, and many of them almost unconscious of each other's existence. We are not altogether surprised that the university entirely failed to devise a scheme of union. Public opinion came to look on London University as a steam-roller that had broken down and stuck in the mud, if we take a metaphor suited to its unwieldy bulk, or as Humpty-Dumpty after his fall, if we think rather of its fragmentary condition."¹

¹ *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 266-7, C.U.P., 1932.

The scheme evolved by the university was not acceptable to University and King's-Colleges. They objected to the size of the Senate (sixty-nine members, eventually reduced to fifty-two) and to what they considered the inadequate representation of the constituent colleges. The medical faculty criticised the scheme severely, but the final blow was dealt when Convocation rejected it in 1891. Convocation resolutely opposed a clause in the scheme which admitted provincial colleges on the same terms as London colleges. This clause was contrary to the views of the Selborne Commission. Meanwhile the Privy Council was busy drafting a charter for the university. The Committee of the Privy Council announced that it was favourable to the petition of University and King's Colleges to found a new University of London. All manner of objections were urged by other institutions which considered that the two colleges were being given a predominant position in the university. Public meetings were called; petitions against the charter were presented to Parliament; and the Victoria University and the provincial medical schools joined in the opposition. Bedford College for Women claimed the right of admission as an original constituent college. A powerful press campaign was organised by the opponents of the charter.

In face of this, University and King's Colleges decided to leave the existing university and to found a new teaching university which should be named the Gresham University. Their decision received the support of the authorities of the City of London and the professors of the Gresham College. The House of Commons asked the Queen to delay her consent to the charter until a new royal commission had investigated the situation and reported. The Gresham Commission, with Earl Cowper as chairman, was appointed in 1892. The Commissioners were in favour of a single university for London, and generally supported the conclusions of the Selborne Commission. They considered that legislation would be necessary to authorise the changes that had been recommended. After two abortive attempts, the Government passed the London University Commission Act in 1898, and the new statutes of the university were sealed in February 1900.

The next problem was that of finding administrative headquarters for the reconstituted university. The solution of this problem was provided by the Imperial Institute, the foundation-stone of which had been laid by the Queen in 1887 and which had since encountered serious financial difficulties. The greater part of the

building was assigned to the University of London, whilst the Imperial Institute continued its work of research and propaganda in the remaining portion. The headquarters of the University of London in the Imperial Institute at South Kensington were set in the midst of a large collection of institutions for higher education which had been administered by the Science and Art Department. When the latter came to an end under the Board of Education Act of 1899, its work was merged into that of the Board of Education. On the same estate as the Imperial Institute were the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Science Museum and Library, the Royal College of Science, the Royal College of Mines, and the Royal College of Art. In addition, as near neighbours were the Royal College of Music, the Royal School of Art Needlework, the Natural History Museum, and the City and Guilds of London Institute for the Advancement of Technical Education. When, in 1907, a royal charter established the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the Board of Education transferred to the governing body of the Imperial College the administration of the Royal College of Science, the Royal School of Mines, and the Central Technical College of the City and Guilds of London Institute, renamed the City and Guilds (Engineering) College.

The reader may well wonder how the University of London came into this complicated organisation. It seems that in 1903 Lord Rosebery announced a scheme for establishing a College of Applied Science at South Kensington to work in close co-operation with the colleges already established there. In 1904 a Departmental Committee of the Board of Education, of which Lord Haldane was chairman, proposed that the new college should be a member of a federation of the colleges mentioned above, under a common scheme of government and administration. The details of the negotiations which followed are too lengthy and complicated to be dealt with in a work of this type. It is sufficient to say that proposals were made to incorporate the Imperial College in the University of London. Mr. McKenna, the then president of the Board of Education, decided in 1907 to advise the grant of a royal charter to the Imperial College as an independent institution, but he also suggested the appointment of a royal commission "to consider whether the amalgamation of the new institution with the University is desirable and feasible, and, if so, on what lines it can best be carried out."

The Haldane Commission was appointed in 1909 and its final report was issued in 1913. The Commission recommended a faculty organisation of the university, and the University of London Act (1926) created a new constitution for the University of London. University and King's Colleges had already been incorporated into the university in 1907 and 1910 respectively. Other institutions were now recognised as "schools of the university" in one or more faculties. Thus the medical schools of the hospitals are included in the faculty of medicine. The women's colleges, such as Bedford College, the Royal Holloway College, and Westfield College, are schools in the faculties of arts and science. The Imperial College of Technology, the London School of Economics, Queen Mary College, the Birkbeck College, and other institutions are also schools of different faculties. This organisation was rendered possible because of the specialist teaching given in the different institutions.

The problems of the University of London are by no means completely solved. The Haldane Commission drew attention to the need of providing a permanent building for the university. The Imperial Institute was no longer adequate for the purpose. In particular, a great hall, accommodation to promote the social interests of members of the university, lecture rooms, and a central library, were urgently needed. Violent controversy broke out on the question of a suitable site, but in 1920 the Government offered a site of about eleven and a half acres behind the British Museum in Bloomsbury. The refusal of King's College to remove from the Strand threatened to wreck the whole scheme, but it is to be hoped that the new university building next to the British Museum in Bloomsbury will succeed in drawing together the varied institutions that comprise the University of London.

The University of London is the only British university which is organised to grant degrees to candidates who are not resident students of the university. Candidates may be classified into three categories: students from university colleges which have not the power to grant degrees, students following day or evening courses at technical colleges and other institutes for higher and technical education, and private students who prepare for the degree examinations by their individual study, with or without assistance obtained from classes, private tuition, or correspondence courses.

The practice of granting external degrees has frequently been criticised. It was urged that institutions preparing candidates for the external examinations of the university had little control over

the examination syllabus. Moreover, a large proportion of the candidates were private students who, because they were not members of any recognised educational institution, missed two of the most important influences of a university training, namely the daily contact with other students from different faculties and the close association with eminent teachers who possessed a rich and valuable experience. Against these objections the reply was made that, although the external system had its defects, it also possessed two advantages that outweighed them. The development of the university colleges would have been much more difficult if they had not been able to enter their students for degree examinations at London, and the external system made it possible for thousands of individuals to obtain a university qualification which otherwise would have been for ever beyond their reach. A further criticism was that many external students were ill-prepared for the examination test, so that the percentage of failures was unduly large. In recent years the university has introduced certain modifications so as to meet as far as possible these objections. Attention is paid to representations made by external teaching institutions in regard to the syllabuses, and an advisory organisation has been created to guide the reading of candidates and to attempt some supervision of their studies.

Following the establishment of University and King's Colleges, a movement began to provide university education for the north of England. The idea was no new one and dates back at least as far as the reign of Elizabeth. The people of the north did not take kindly to the religious changes of the 16th century, and the Rising of the North in 1569 convinced the Government that something ought to be done to bring the parishioners of Yorkshire to regard the Prayer Book and the reformed services more favourably. It was thought that this object might be attained through education. After several representations had been made to the Queen that the endowments of the collegiate church at Ripon might be applied to an educational foundation, a scheme was prepared in 1596 for the establishment of a university in that town. The prospectus, or broadsheet, giving details of the proposed university can be inspected in the library of Ripon Cathedral.

The Queen promised an annual subscription of £100, and several prominent members of the clergy and the nobility agreed to contribute. It was suggested that lecturers might be appointed to lecture to the populace on market days and that students should

visit the villages in the dales to instruct the country folk in religion. The broadsheet gives details about the professors and lecturers, their duties, and their salaries. One surprising suggestion, in view of the monopoly enjoyed by the classics in the older universities and grammar-schools of the period, was the appointment of "Six Associates Professors of the vulgar tongues" (Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch and Flemish, Polish, and Hungarian). Each was to receive a yearly stipend of thirty marks, rising eventually to forty marks. In spite of the powerful support it received, the scheme came to nothing. It was revived in 1604 when a petition to James I was presented. The King decided not to grant it, and the result was the issue of letters patent reconstituting the church at Ripon as a collegiate foundation.

In 1641 Lord Fairfax asked his brother Ferdinando, the second Lord Fairfax, to petition the Long Parliament on behalf of a university at Manchester. The petition opened with the following preamble: "That whereas the want of an university in the northern parts of this kingdom, both in this and former ages, hath been apprehended a great prejudice to the kingdom in general, but a greater misery and unhappiness to these countries in particular, many ripe and hopeful wits being utterly lost for want of education, some being unable, others unwilling, to commit their children of tender and unsettled age so far from their own eyes, to the sole care and tuition of strangers; We therefore humbly crave leave to offer unto your pious care and wise consideration the necessity of a third university, and the convenience of such a foundation in the town of Manchester, for the future advancement of piety and good learning amongst us." In support of the petition, the long distance of the north from Oxford and Cambridge, the expense of life at the older universities, the necessity of confuting papists, the existence of a number of potential benefactors, and the "honour that might hence arise to these parts of the kingdom," were urged. In particular, a case was made out for Manchester as the most favourable town in which to establish a university.

The petition arrived at an unfortunate time, when both King and Parliament were about to enter on a trial of military strength. Moreover, news of the intention had spread across the Pennines, and Yorkshire was not content to allow a rival county to gain an advantage. The City of York sent two petitions to Parliament, couched in somewhat the same terms as Lancashire's, and added as a further reason for a northern university that Scotland "had long

gloried in the happiness of enjoying the literature of four universities." The result of the rivalry was that neither petition was granted, for Cromwell was more inclined to favour Durham as a seat for a university. Conditions at Durham were also more favourable. An Act of 1649 had dissolved all cathedral and collegiate chapters, and Durham cathedral and the houses of the chapter stood empty. All that was needed was to obtain a grant of the endowments. Accordingly, when Cromwell was at Edinburgh in 1651, a deputation went over from Durham to meet him. Nothing came of the interview, for Cromwell was far too busy with other matters, and it was not until 1656 that the Privy Council issued an order founding a college at Durham. In May 1657 letters patent set forth its constitution. It was to be in charge of a master or Provost. The corporate body was to consist of two senior Fellows, twelve other Fellows (four professors, four tutors, four schoolmasters), twenty-four scholars, and twelve exhibitioners. It was to be known as the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the College of Durham, and its revenue was to be drawn from the cathedral chapter-lands. Permission to establish a printing-press was also given. At the end of 1658 the college authorities petitioned Richard Cromwell for a charter to turn the college into a university. This was opposed by Oxford and Cambridge, but before anything could be settled the Restoration occurred and the dean and chapter returned to the cathedral.

The idea of a University of Durham was raised at the beginning the 19th century. The University of Durham began as an ecclesiastical foundation and was endowed from the revenues of the see and cathedral chapter. It was established by an Act of Parliament in 1832 which enabled "the Dean and Chapter of Durham to appropriate part of their church to the establishment of a university in connection therewith." The charter was granted in 1836. The university was of the residential type and its curriculum was modelled on that of the ancient universities. Its students resided in residential colleges within the bishop's palace.

In 1832 also, a College of Medicine was founded at Newcastle-on-Tyne and it became associated with the university in 1852. The highly industrial Tyneside felt the need for advanced scientific and technical training, and this was met by the institution of a College of Physical Science in Newcastle in 1871. The college was affiliated to the university in 1874. The College of Science received increased endowments in 1904 and began to develop an arts faculty. From

this date it became known as Armstrong College. Thus, at the beginning of the present century, the University of Durham was a federal university consisting of three practically autonomous institutions, each of which had full control of its own finances, of the appointment of its staff, and of its own teaching and discipline. With its strong clerical and arts element the older section of the university, situated in Durham itself, was reminiscent of Oxford and Cambridge. The inclusion of Armstrong College and the Medical College brought the university into close touch with modern life and industry.

In 1908 the University of Durham Act reconstituted the university into the Durham division containing University College, Hatfield, St. Chad's, and St. John's, and the Newcastle division containing Armstrong and the Medical College. A new Senate was created and the powers of the dean and chapter were modified. The Bishop of Durham was still retained as the Visitor. The new set-up was not altogether satisfactory, and certain controversies in the Newcastle division produced a good deal of resentment. As a result, a royal commission was appointed which reported in 1935. It found a number of defects in the constitution of the university. The university had insufficient control over its constituent members. For example, the colleges appointed their own professors, and the university had only a limited power in formulating the conditions for matriculation and the granting of degrees. Under the federal scheme the Durham division could not take full advantage of its opportunities, and in the Newcastle division the instruments of government were not satisfactory. Thus Armstrong College was constituted as a limited-liability company and this was not suited to university administration. As a result of the recommendations of the commission, the constitution of the University of Durham was remodelled. In 1937 Armstrong College was renamed King's College. Another result was the end of the federal constitution of the university by grouping its constituent members under a single control for administration and finance.

In the latter half of the 19th century, as a consequence of the increasing demand for scientific and technical education, university colleges developed in some of the larger towns in England and Wales. Another influence was at work, and in Chapter xiii the growth of universities and university colleges from the University Extension movement will be described. Other institutions owed their origin to the generosity of local benefactors. The earliest of

the new provincial colleges was Owens College at Manchester. It originated from the benefaction of the merchant John Owens, who left the sum of £97,000 for its foundation. The college was opened in 1851 and accepted students who wished to read for external degrees of the University of London. In its earliest days the college had a hard struggle to maintain itself. During the session 1857-8 its numbers fell to ninety-three, including evening students, and in a leading article the *Manchester Guardian* referred to it as "a mortifying failure." An attempt to associate the schools of medicine, which already existed in Manchester, with the college, came to nothing. The main reason for the paucity of numbers was the unsatisfactory state of secondary education in Manchester at that period. Hence the students who came to the college were inadequately prepared to receive the benefits of higher education. As the number of entrants declined, there was a great temptation to lower the standards of the college, but fortunately the governing body decided against this course. The result was that though for some years numbers continued to grow less, the policy of maintaining a high standard was successful in the end and Owens College did much to raise the quality of the secondary schools in the district.

The tide turned in 1861 when the Working Men's College was absorbed, and by 1864 it had 127 day and 312 evening students. When the Taunton Commission visited the college, they found an institution "organised somewhat after the fashion of the Scotch universities, having a principal and nine professors teaching classics, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, history and English literature, mental philosophy and political economy, jurisprudence, oriental and modern languages. As day and evening classes are held in these subjects, and periodical examinations conducted both by the professors themselves and by the University of London degree examiners, it may be easily seen that Manchester people enjoy opportunities of obtaining the higher education for their sons, and of thus filling up what may have been lacking to a short school training such as are scarcely to be found elsewhere in England, at any rate out of the metropolis."¹ The Commissioners thought that the college was not sufficiently well supported by Manchester people and should have at least four hundred to five hundred day students. "The buildings of the college are in every way unsuited to its need; they stand in one of the most obscure

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 719, H.M.S.O., 1868.

parts of the city, and consist of small rooms in a private house, roughly adapted to their present purpose. Lying thus out of sight, the college has in a manner been out of mind also. I found people in Manchester who did not so much know of its existence, while in some quarters its very newness and unsectarian character seem to have created against it an unworthy and groundless prejudice.”¹ Mr. Bryce, who wrote this report, recommended the reorganisation and extension of the college.

This had already been in the minds of the college authorities, and a campaign was launched to raise funds for rebuilding. The appeal met with a generous response, and by 1870 a Bill was presented to Parliament to obtain authorisation for extension and the grant of a new constitution. After considerable opposition, the Bill became law and the new constitution was in force from 1871. One of the objections had been to the admission of women students. They were accepted from 1874, but in the meantime another important development had occurred. Negotiations had been opened once more with a view to amalgamating the School of Medicine with Owens College. This time the discussions came to a successful conclusion and the two institutions were amalgamated in 1873. The new buildings for the college were opened in the following year. By this time the number of students had increased to 1,004, made up of 337 day, 533 evening, and 134 medical students. The growth of the college suggested a further development. For some time the Senate of Owens College had been dissatisfied with the external examinations of the University of London, and thought it was now time to transform the college into a local university with the power of conferring its own degrees. Accordingly, a memorial was sent to the Privy Council for the grant of a charter to Owens College, giving it the status of a university, to be called the University of Manchester.

This, however, was not to be granted for many years, since events were happening on the other side of the Pennines which were to have repercussions on the fortunes of Owens College. As early as 1826, proposals had been made for the establishment of a university in Leeds, but the funds were not forthcoming to give them practical effect. There were, however, in Leeds, three sources from which the present University of Leeds sprang. The oldest of these was the School of Medicine. Its beginnings were in the Old Infirmary, where medical instruction was being given as early

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 720, H.M.S.O., 1868.

as the year 1800. Shortly after this a private school of anatomy was opened which was superseded in 1831 by the Leeds School of Medicine. The school had grown to a considerable size and importance by the middle of the century through the work of the prominent medical men associated with it.

The second institution was the Yorkshire College of Science, which began its life in rented buildings in 1874. There were many causes to account for the establishment of the college: the growing appreciation of the value of a scientific and technical education which had been stimulated by the Great Exhibition of 1851; the influences of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute and the Philosophical and Literary Society; and the revival of secondary education in the endowed grammar-schools, all of which contributed towards creating a suitable atmosphere. A Yorkshire Board of Education had been formed with the objects of fostering the teaching of science in day-schools, establishing evening classes in science, and bringing into existence a central science college. By 1869 the Board considered the time was ripe for launching the third project, but they immediately came up against the difficulty of lack of money. At one time the Board, in despair of gaining the necessary funds, almost decided to give up the idea, but the more adventurous spirits gained the day, and, with the hope of ultimately owning their own premises, the college was started under the circumstances related above.

The original purpose of the college was "to supply instruction in those sciences which are applicable to the Manufactures, Engineering, Mining and Agriculture of the County of York; also in such Arts and Languages as are cognate to the foregoing purpose." When the inauguration ceremony took place in 1875, there were several prominent speakers who saw much further than the utilitarian aims of the founders. Amongst these was Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., who prophesied that the college would be the beginning of a provincial university. The *Bradford Observer*, in a leading article, urged that Yorkshire should not be content with an institution which aimed at imparting some branch of technical or professional knowledge. "We hope that no one will be finally content until literary is added to scientific culture, until the College of Science has grown into a great Yorkshire university." The opportunity for further development was soon to come. A University Extension Committee in connection with Cambridge University had been set up in Leeds, and it decided that the best way of putting

its work on a firm basis was to hand over its functions to the College of Science.

Meanwhile, the three professors of the college, although appointed to teach science, soon discovered that it would be advantageous to include arts studies in the curriculum. The students were also asking for this kind of teaching, but the authorities were so hampered by lack of funds that they were unable to grant the request. When, however, in 1877 the Extension Committee proposed to hand over its work to the college and to guarantee sufficient funds to carry it on, the offer was gladly accepted. In consequence, the college changed its name and was known from 1878 as the Yorkshire College. A working arrangement was also made with the medical school to allow its students to attend classes in scientific subjects at the college.

Such was the situation on the eastern side of the Pennines when Owens College presented its memorial for the grant of a charter. The request met with formidable opposition from Yorkshire. The authorities of the Yorkshire College also presented a memorial to the Lord President of the Council, asking that the Queen should be advised not to grant a charter to Owens College, Manchester, but to create a new foundation in which Owens College and other institutions might be incorporated, and that such a university should not bear the name of any town or person which would localise it. Negotiations between the two colleges began, and it was agreed that, if Manchester abandoned the idea of a local name for the new university, Owens College should be named as the first college constituting the university and the president and principal of that college should be its first chancellor and vice-chancellor respectively. The Government favoured this proposal, but the Yorkshire College raised a further point. It protested against the power of the university to grant degrees in the faculty of medicine. The Government agreed, much to the disappointment of Manchester, which possessed a strong medical school, and the Victoria University received its charter in 1880 and Owens College was immediately incorporated in it.

University College, Liverpool, was founded in 1881 with the intention of its becoming a college of the Victoria University. In 1884 it was amalgamated with the Liverpool School of Medicine, and its inclusion in the Victoria University took place in the same year. In the meantime, the Leeds School of Medicine realised that unless it received university status it would compare unfavourably

with other schools of medicine. The Yorkshire College likewise realised that as a separate institution it would not possess a strong claim to be included in the Victoria University. As both institutions agreed on this point, amalgamation took place in 1884, and the Yorkshire College became a member of the confederation in 1887.

The University of Birmingham sprang from two separate colleges. The first was Queen's College, which at the start was a theological and medical school. The latter prospered but the theological side disappeared. The second, Mason College, was opened in 1880 by Josiah Mason, who had been a pen manufacturer. Mason intended his college to offer a purely scientific and utilitarian education. Its title was the Mason Science College, and it was designed to give instruction "adapted to the practical, mechanical, and artistic requirements of the manufactures and industrial pursuits of the Midland district." It was to have nothing to do with literary education, and theology was to be rigidly excluded. As the students were reading for London degrees which demanded literary subjects, Mason was obliged to modify his position. In 1881 he admitted courses of study which would qualify students for degrees at London and in the Victoria University. Hence the word "Science" disappeared from the title of the college. The civic pride of Birmingham prevented the college from entering the Victoria University as a junior partner; and, through the efforts of Joseph Chamberlain, Birmingham received in 1900 its charter as an independent university and was the first provincial university to bear the title of a particular city.

Meanwhile, events were taking place which ultimately led to the dismemberment of Victoria University. The first rift appeared in connection with a proposal to institute a faculty of theology. When Owens College was founded, the controversy about the abolition of religious tests at the older universities and at Durham was at its height. Owens College not only shared with University College, London, a decided antagonism towards dogmatic theological teaching, but even viewed with suspicion any attempt to give undenominational religious instruction. The abolition of religious tests in 1870 had completely changed the atmosphere, and within a few years many considered that there were fair prospects of establishing a faculty of theology in the Victoria University. The first proposal came before the Court in 1890 and excited violent opposition. The constitution of University College, Liverpool, expressly prohibited

theological teaching; the Yorkshire College was definitely hostile to the proposal; and even at Manchester opinion was divided. Dr. Bodington, the principal of the Yorkshire College, led the opposition, and the proposal was defeated. Subsequent attempts to provide theological teaching were made, and eventually in 1900 a resolution to establish a faculty of theology was accepted. The Yorkshire College refused to take any steps in the matter, and the controversy showed that the constituent members of the Victoria University were hopelessly divided. Another grievance was that meetings of the Court and of examiners took place at Manchester and this involved considerable travelling for members from the other colleges.

The foundation of the University of Birmingham brought matters to a head. It was immediately asked that if Birmingham had its own university, why should there not be separate universities for Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds. Liverpool was the first to move. For some years it had been accumulating a sufficient endowment, and by 1901 it made its claim to the status of an independent university. The Yorkshire College was strongly opposed to the impending dissolution, but the course of events depended upon the attitude adopted by Owens College. After some time the Court decided that the establishment of a separate university for Manchester was desirable. The Yorkshire College was convinced of the merits of a federal university, and at a meeting in 1902 its governors passed a resolution to the effect that they "came with reluctance to the decision that the establishment of a University for Yorkshire appeared to have become a necessity." Liverpool and Manchester received their charters in October 1903, and the Yorkshire College was left as the sole constituent member of the Victoria University. The Privy Council was not favourable to the idea of a Yorkshire university and preferred the title of University of Leeds. On 25th April 1904, the University of Leeds came into existence by royal charter. The successors of the colleges which originally constituted the Victoria University with the Universities of Sheffield and Birmingham still co-operate through the Northern Joint Matriculation Board.

Sheffield had possessed a People's College founded in 1842 by the Rev. R. S. Bailey. This formed the nucleus of what was afterwards the arts side of Sheffield University. There was also a Mechanics' Institute and a Medical School that had been opened in 1828. The Firth College at Sheffield was founded by a wealthy

ironmaster, Mr. Mark Firth, in 1879, who gave a site, a building of the value of £29,000, and a further endowment of £10,000. An additional £12,000 was raised by donations. In 1880 the Sheffield School Board built the Central Higher School, which provided evening classes in engineering and applied science. The school was opened on a piece of ground adjoining the Firth College. The Royal Commission on Applied Science and Technical Instruction, 1881, suggested that a fund should be raised to found a technical college. The latter was opened in 1886 and was attached to the Firth College, but, when the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 was passed, the municipal authorities separated the technical school from the college and raised a rate to support it. This was a great blow to Firth College, but because of its medical school and its University Extension work it managed to carry on. It derived much-needed assistance from the Government grant to university colleges and from the municipal authorities. The medical school became a definite part of the institution in 1897, and in the same year Firth College became University College, Sheffield. The endowments were increased, and its governing body thought of applying for admission to the Victoria University. The latter at this time was in a state of disruption. Sheffield had raised money by subscription to provide new buildings, and in 1905 the college received its charter. University College, Bristol, was founded in 1876 and became an independent university in 1909. The latest English provincial universities to be constituted were Reading, in 1926, and Nottingham, in July 1948. Both Reading and Nottingham were in certain ways unique in their development.

Reading is a fair-sized town situated in the midst of an agricultural district. This geographical factor exercised a twofold influence on the growth of the university. In the first place, since Reading, unlike the larger cities of the north, had no densely peopled district surrounding it from which it could draw its students, it has always been less provincial in character than the other modern universities. With the exception of students living in Reading and the immediate neighbourhood, the college recruited its undergraduates from all parts of the country. In consequence, Reading developed its system of halls of residence from the very beginning and is now the most completely residential of the modern universities. Even the "town students" are members of St. David's Hall. As a further consequence of its position, Reading has always paid attention to agricultural studies and research.

University College, Reading, was opened in 1892. It originated from the University Extension work which was being organised in the town by the University of Oxford. For some years it was known as Christchurch Extension College. As a university college the institution made steady progress. Its finances were assisted by local benefactors, and it had high hopes of obtaining its charter as an independent university. Unfortunately, the First World War intervened and the grant of a charter did not materialise until 1926.

Nottingham, like Reading, owed its origin to the extension classes carried out in that city by Cambridge University. The lecture courses began in 1873, but the leaders of the movement in Nottingham quickly saw that a permanent centre was needed for the work. An anonymous benefactor offered the sum of £10,000 for the erection of a building in which lectures could be given. The corporation were at this time considering the building of a free library, and it was suggested that the two projects might be combined. The endowment was offered to the corporation on condition that they would provide the necessary accommodation within a reasonable space of time. In 1877 the foundation-stone of a building which comprised the free library, the museum, and the lecture rooms for University Extension and science classes. The building was opened in 1881, and hence Nottingham is an example of an English university which started life under municipal control. In this respect it may be compared with Edinburgh. University College, Nottingham, developed rapidly as a college of applied science, but progress in pure science and the arts was much slower. By the outbreak of war in 1914 it seemed as though the college had reached the limit of its development, and the ambition of attaining university status would have to be shelved indefinitely. The brake on its progress was its association with the town council, which was limited in its outlook. It is only fair to say that without the aid of the council there would have been no college at all, but if the institution was to develop further it would need a greater measure of independence.

The college struggled valiantly to obtain a wider basis for its government, but until it had sufficient endowments it was bound to the municipal authorities. It was the generous benefaction of Sir Jesse Boot (afterwards Lord Trent) which enabled the college to move to a new block of buildings in 1928. In 1938 a supplemental charter was granted by which the constitution of the college was

changed and it was given greater freedom in the management of its own affairs. Numbers had grown considerably, and the attempts of the college to obtain university status succeeded in 1948. As Nottingham had always been a prime mover in adult education, it is not surprising to find that it possesses the oldest university department in adult education. This was created in 1920, soon after the publication of the Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. A Chair of adult education was created in 1923, and later a residential college for adults was acquired.

The remainder of the English institutions of university rank are the university colleges of Exeter (1901), Leicester (1918), and Hull (1928). The latest to receive university status are Stoke-on-Trent (1950) and Southampton (1952). Other applicants may appear in the near future ; for instance, there is at present a movement to establish a college at York to specialise in the study of history and the arts. The late Lord Lindsay was appointed principal of Stoke-on-Trent. The college was authorised to grant its own degrees instead of preparing its students for the external degrees of the University of London. The University of Leeds has abolished the traditional distinction between the ordinary and honours degree. Undergraduates read for a special or a general degree and can obtain honours in either.

Wales is the only country of the British Isles which possesses no ancient university ; Trinity College, Dublin, was established in 1592. In spite of their Welsh descent, the Tudor sovereigns never entertained the idea of founding a university in the Principality. Welshmen studied at Oxford where, in Elizabeth's reign, Dr. Hugh Price of Brecon founded Jesus College. For years Jesus was regarded almost as a Welsh college, and many grammar-schools were connected to it by means of exhibitions. The University of Wales came into being as a result of a national movement led by those men who had accomplished so much for Welsh elementary and secondary education.

When we considered in an earlier chapter the development of elementary education in Wales, attention was drawn to the prominent part played by the Welsh Nonconformists. As the 19th century wore on, the Established Church was rapidly losing ground and the situation grew so serious for Church people that leading members of the Anglican communion decided that something would have to be done to enable it to hold its own. Dr. Burgess, who

became Bishop of St. David's in 1803, was convinced that the solution lay in providing a Welsh college at which candidates for holy orders could obtain a liberal education at a moderate cost. As a result of his efforts, St. David's College, Lampeter, was chartered in 1828. Sir Thomas Phillips, who had been so bitterly incensed by the Commissioners' Report of 1846, was a staunch supporter of Lampeter. He saw in it the foundation on which a national university for Wales might be built, and he urged the necessity of giving the college the authority to confer degrees.

In 1852 the college obtained a charter enabling it to grant the degree of B.D., and in 1865 it was empowered to confer the degree of B.A. But Lampeter was not destined to become the University of Wales. It was too closely associated with the Established Church to commend itself to Welsh Nonconformity, and, if anything, it proved an obstacle to the establishment of a national university. Strange to say, the idea of a Welsh university originated in the West Riding of Yorkshire where, in 1821, a society called "The Association of Welsh Clergy in the West Riding" was formed. The society sent a petition to Parliament in 1852, which, while it approved the granting to Lampeter of the power to confer degrees, thought that the real solution was a national, free university which would include amongst its members both Churchmen and Dissenters.

The following year a pamphlet was published by B. T. Williams, afterwards M.P. for Carmarthen Boroughs, in which he pleaded for a Welsh university modelled on the University of Glasgow. This pamphlet was described by Lord Aberdare as striking "the first note" in the university movement. Sir Hugh Owen, who also supported the movement, suggested the establishment in Wales of a number of colleges similar to the Queen's Colleges which had just been founded in Ireland. He pointed out that these institutions, like the colleges in England and Scotland, received Government grants, but Wales got nothing. The result of all this ferment of idea was the series of meetings in 1863 in Mitre Court and in the Freemasons' Tavern, near Fleet Street in London, at which the campaign for a national University of Wales was started.

A provisional committee was formed to further the scheme, but it came into practical politics when a lucky accident provided a means for its accomplishment. In 1867 a huge hotel was being built at Aberystwyth. After £80,000 had been spent on it, the promoter of the scheme became a bankrupt. The provisional committee

seized the opportunity, bought the hotel for £10,000, and opened it in 1872 as University College, Aberystwyth. From the start, residential accommodation was provided, with the result that Aberystwyth is still more fully residential than any other Welsh college. The students of the college read for external degrees of the University of London. Negotiations to work in association with Lampeter came to nothing, and St. David's is still outside the federation of colleges which constitutes the University of Wales.

The new college had a hard struggle to make ends meet and the Welsh members of Parliament pressed for Government aid. The result was the Commission of 1880 under the chairmanship of Lord Aberdare, which recommended the foundation of two colleges, both of which should receive Government grants. The problem was to decide the position of these two colleges. Whilst matters were under consideration, a separate grant was given to Aberystwyth in 1884 which served as a precedent for the grants subsequently made to the English university colleges. An interesting situation developed. Both Cardiff and Swansea claimed the right of having a university college for South Wales. Cardiff was successful and its college was opened in 1883. North Wales was not satisfied with Aberystwyth and claimed a college of its own which was opened at Bangor in 1884. This, however, resulted in the Government grant being taken away from Aberystwyth and being given to the two new colleges, an action which roused Aberystwyth to fight for its existence. A compromise was effected by which the Government agreed to give a grant to all three colleges.

So far, Wales had obtained three isolated university colleges and the Anglican foundation at Lampeter. The creation of a University of Wales still seemed a long way off. The effect of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 was to produce a large number of pupils who were fitted to enter upon a university course. Once more the agitation for the establishment of a Welsh university began. In 1888 a conference of the three colleges had already suggested the creation of a federal university on the lines of the Victoria University. Eventually, owing to the support of Lord Aberdare and Viriamu Jones, the Welsh gained what they wanted, and in 1893 the University of Wales came into existence. It consisted of the three constituent colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff, to which later were added the Technical College at Swansea and the National School of Medicine at Cardiff.

Whilst London University and the provincial universities were developing, great changes were taking place in the ancient universities which fitted them to take a leading place in the modern world. In Chapter iv it was pointed out that no great changes could be expected in the older universities until their constitution and government had been reformed. The Public Examinations Statute of 1800 added a written examination at Oxford to the oral and introduced the distinction between pass and honours. The separation of the classical and mathematical honour schools making it possible for a candidate to gain a "double first" took place in 1807 at Oxford, whilst at Cambridge, in 1824, a second Tripos was established in classics. The original had been in mathematics. Reform of the examination system, however, moved very slowly on account of the resistance of the heads of colleges who were opposed to change. By 1851 Cambridge had instituted the Triposes in moral science and natural science, and by 1850 the Oxford honour schools included mathematics, natural science, law, modern history, and theology.

The men who were mostly responsible for the Public Examination Statute at Oxford were Cyril Jackson, Dean of Christ Church, John Everleigh, Provost of Oriel, and John Parsons, Master of Balliol. Jackson enjoyed a tremendous reputation. In his time Christ Church was packed with undergraduates, and, according to De Quincey, there was not a dog-kennel left untenanted. Several future statesmen, notably Canning and Peel, were amongst Jackson's pupils. When the classical and mathematical honour schools were divided, Peel was the first graduate with a "double first." Later both Keble and Gladstone achieved the same distinction. Many of Jackson's undergraduates were young noblemen, and he became famous for the tact and ability he showed in handling such a difficult class of pupil. His authority was unquestioned, and, although some considered that he was cold and aloof, in reality he was most kind and sympathetic towards those whom he had in charge. His dignified behaviour and even his mannerisms lived on for a generation. C. H. Hall, who was Jackson's successor in the Deanery, copied his mannerisms even to the extent of wearing his cap perched upon the bridge of his nose.

Everleigh, although he did not possess such a striking personality as Jackson, nevertheless had unbounded influence both in the university and in his college. Keble once remarked that he was "a man to bring down a blessing on any society of which he was a

member." Parsons raised the intellectual standards of Balliol to such a degree that he was frequently referred to as the second founder of the college. Amongst his pupils were Southey, Coleridge, and William Hamilton who later became one of the severest critics of the university.

Reform was in the air, but it did not stop at the improvements effected in the public examination, and every aspect of university life was subjected to severe criticism. In addition to the reforming party within the university, pressure was being exerted from outside. The *Edinburgh Review*, which had been attacking the public schools, also turned its attention to the older universities, especially Oxford. Its criticisms were at first directed against the curriculum of the university. It was asserted, that Oxford professed an excessive veneration for Aristotle and treated his doctrines as though they were infallible decrees, that the infancy of science was mistaken for its maturity, that the mathematical sciences had never flourished, and that the scholar had no means of advancing beyond the mere elements of geometry.

Oxford was not lacking in defenders. In 1810 there appeared *A Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford, containing an Account of Studies pursued in that University*. The work was produced anonymously, but Newman had no doubts in claiming Edward Copleston as the author. At this time Copleston was a Fellow of Oriel, and he succeeded Everleigh as provost in 1814. The original *Reply* was followed by a second and a third, and Copleston, by his moderate tone and by the understanding of Oxford which he displayed, won general approbation. The first charge made by the *Edinburgh Review* was easily refuted. Copleston was able to state with assurance that "for more than a century, the Physics of Aristotle have been set aside, and, except for the sake of satisfying liberal curiosity, and of tracing the progress of science, they are never even consulted." (*Op. cit.*, p. 17.)

The criticism that only the mere elements of geometry were taught at Oxford was likewise denied. Copleston was able to state that the mathematics course included plane and spherical trigonometry, the properties of conic sections, of conchoids, cycloids, the quadratrix, spirals, fluxions, and all branches of natural philosophy and astronomy.

In an article on Edgeworth's *Professional Education*, the *Edinburgh Review* attacked the classical studies of the universities and asked how they could be defended on the ground of utility.

It asserted that the ascendancy of classical learning in English education "is preposterous, and the mode of teaching it in English Schools and Universities, utterly absurd. . . . A young Englishman goes to school at six or seven years old: and he remains in a course of education till twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. In all that time, his sole and exclusive occupation is learning Latin and Greek." Copleston's reply constitutes one of the noblest vindications of literary studies, and of classical literature in particular, that has ever been penned. "In the cultivation of literature is found that common link, which, among the higher and middle departments of life, unites the jarring sects and subdivisions in one interest, which supplies common topics, and kindles common feelings, unmixed with those narrow prejudices with which all professions are more or less infected. The knowledge too, which is thus acquired, expands and enlarges the mind, excites its faculties, and calls those limbs and muscles into freer exercise, which, by too constant use in one direction, not only acquire an illiberal air, but are apt also to lose somewhat of their native play and energy. And thus, without directly qualifying a man for any of the employments of life, it enriches and enobles all." (*Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.)

Speaking of classical literature, he wrote: "The relics of Grecian and Roman literature contain some of the choicest fruits of human genius; that the poets, the historians, the orators, and the philosophers of Greece especially, have each in their several lines brought home and laid at our feet the richest treasures of invention; that the history of those early times presents us with a view of things 'nobly done and worthily spoken'; that the mind and spirit which breathed then, lives still, and will ever live in the writings which remain to us." (*Ibid.*, p. 113.)

Copleston was not so effective in his answer to the criticism of the undergraduate's course at Oxford. He discussed at great length the details of the subjects studied in the honour schools of the university, but this was largely beside the point. The criticisms of the *Edinburgh Review* were mainly directed at the studies of the pass man, and it is common knowledge that at this period the attainments demanded of him were distinctly modest.

The next line of attack was upon the exclusive position held in the universities by the Established Church. Several attempts had been made in the latter half of the 18th century to open the universities to those who were not members of the Church of England, but the events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars

turned men's minds in other directions. The most unflinching opponent of religious tests was Sir William Hamilton, and his views seem to have been widely supported, judging from the petitions sent to Parliament from all parts of the country. A petition from Skipton added the name of Durham to those of the ancient universities.

One petition, signed by some eminent members of Cambridge, earnestly pleaded for the abolition of religious tests. Connop Thirlwall, Fellow of Trinity College (later Bishop of St. David's), suggested that the rule of compulsory attendance in college chapels might be discontinued. Christopher Wordsworth, master of Trinity from 1820 to 1841, violently opposed this plea. He demanded that Thirlwall should resign his fellowship. Whewell, who was also a Fellow of Trinity, successfully intervened, but the affair rendered Wordsworth unpopular with his fellows. This was no doubt one of the reasons why he resigned and was succeeded by Whewell as master of Trinity.

A Bill to remove the disabilities of Dissenters who wished to proceed to degrees was presented to Parliament in 1834. It passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. The *Oxford University Magazine* rejoiced to see the fall of the first reformed House of Commons, "which carried by a large majority, in the midst of disgraceful uproar raised to drown remonstrance and surpass arguments which could not be answered, a bill to force upon the Universities persons of all, any, or no religious communion—a measure of Church and State, and which involved a violation of private rights and a tyrannical interference with private conscience, to a degree unequalled except in the ultimate stages of revolution."¹

Although defeated in the first round, the fight for the admission of Dissenters was reopened by Hamilton in the *Edinburgh Review*. The question was once more raised in Parliament and a motion was moved in both Houses to institute a commission of inquiry. These motions were withdrawn on the understanding that the Government would consider the matter further and that the universities themselves intimated they were ready to introduce reforms. Nothing, however, was done by either party. In addition to his advocacy of the rights of Dissenters, Hamilton attacked the statutes of the universities and the collegiate system, and Professor Archer remarks that the language used in the controversy "frequently went

¹ *Oxford University Magazine*, No. IV, March 1835, pp. 116-17.

beyond what would now be considered seemly in academic discussion."¹

Hamilton's accusations were answered by Dr. William Whewell, who was then tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Whewell was the son of a carpenter, and by his intellect and personality he eventually rose to be head of a college. He is chiefly remembered at the present day as a noteworthy logician and expounder of the inductive sciences. In spite of his humble origin, Whewell was a firm defender of the dignity of his position. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1843 and again in 1855. At this later period of his career he was not altogether popular amongst his colleagues. "Whewell's foible of omniscience might have been more easily forgiven by his colleagues if it had not been combined with an overbearing temper and an impatience of opposition which sometimes made him almost intolerable. He possibly might have been very successful as the leader of a totalitarian state, but the defects in his character prevented him from acquiring that influence in the University which was really his due."² There is a story to the effect that when he was caught in a sudden shower, he sought refuge under the umbrella of an undergraduate and quenched in advance any attempt at conversation by remarking that all communications to him must come through a tutor.

In his younger days Whewell represented the reformers within the university. In 1835 he published *Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics as a part of a Liberal Education*, in which he declared that the teaching at Cambridge was solely concerned with pure mathematics and neglected the applications of the subject in

¹ The tone of the attacks on the universities may be judged from the following extracts from Sir William Hamilton's article in the *Edinburgh Review*, "On the Right of Dissenters to Admission into the English Universities," January 1835: "Oxford is now a national school of perjury. The Intransigent is made to swear that he will do, what he subsequently finds he is not allowed to perform. The Candidate for a degree swears that he has done, what he has been unable to attempt; and perjures himself, by accepting, from a perjured Congregation, an illegal dispensation of performances indispensable by law. The Professor swears to lecture as the statutes prescribe, and he does not. The reverend Heads of Houses, the academical executive, swear to see that the laws remain inviolate, and the laws are violated under their sanction; they swear to be vigilant for the improvement of the University, and in their hands the University is extinguished; they swear to prevent all false oaths, and for their own ends, they deliberately incur the guilt of perjury themselves, and anxiously perpetuate the universal perjury of all under their control. The academic youth have thus the benefit of early practice and high example. . . . Is it marvellous that England is a by-word among the nations, when the fountains of English morality and religion are thus poisoned at their source? How long is this to be endured?"

² D. A. Winstanley. *Early Victorian Cambridge*, p. 139, C.U.P., 1940.

mechanics and hydrostatics. This work was followed in 1837 by the *Principles of English University Education*. Whewell distinguished between two forms of teaching which he termed the "practical" and the "speculative," respectively. Practical teaching was what we should now call the "lesson" in distinction from the "lecture," and since it involved the constant interplay between the minds of the teacher and the taught, it was only possible in small classes and was best adapted to such studies as mathematics and classics. The lecture, delivered to a large audience and which does not demand as an essential that the student be called upon to do something which depends upon the knowledge he has acquired, is ill suited to these studies.

Whewell wrote: "He may follow with the clearest apprehension, and it may be, with full and well-founded conviction, the views which are presented to him by the teacher; but still he is passive only; he is a spectator, not an actor, in the intellectual scene. He does not interpret and employ a peculiar acquired language, as he does in his classical reading, or his algebraical calculations."¹ Whewell's dissatisfaction with the lecture method is being re-echoed at the present day in the modern universities in which reliance upon the efficacy of multitudinous lectures is waning, and demands come from tutors and undergraduates alike for fewer lectures and more tutorial classes. Whewell thought that the older universities struck the happy medium by providing both kinds of teaching, practical teaching in the colleges, and speculative lectures delivered by the professors in the university.

His views on examinations are interesting. He regarded them not only as tests, but also as a means of instruction. The latter was true of the college examinations which introduced the study of subjects into the college course which had no reference to the public examinations of the university. He was, however, well aware of the dangers of the examination system. He wrote: "The University must, in the discharge of its proper functions, have tests of proficiency to be applied before her degrees and honours are granted. There must, therefore, be University examinations. On the other hand, it must always be recollected that examinations are a means, not an end;—that a good education, a sound and liberal cultivation of the faculties, is the object at which we ought to aim; and that examinations cease to be a benefit, where they interfere with this object" (p. 56). Whewell had in mind "the strong disposition . . .

¹ *On cit.* p. 7. John W. Parker. 1837.

in the University of Cambridge at least, to give a complete preponderance to the indirect system:—to conduct our education almost entirely by means of examinations, and to consider the lectures given in the Colleges as useful only in proportion as they prepare the student for success in the examinations” (p. 55).

Although Whewell did not mention the University of London by name, there is no doubt about his reference to the external examination system. “The establishment of a board of examiners independent of the teachers, converts the system from one of direct to one of indirect teaching; and must be avoided or modified, except we are prepared to give up direct instruction altogether. If, we do this, and trust entirely to the force of examinations, using only the honour and disgrace which they bring, as the means of stimulating indolence and calling forth exertion, we come to an intelligible system, but one very different from any which has ever prevailed in the English Universities. We need then make no demand for attendance at lectures, nor even for residence. One final examination, or several examinations at certain intervals, must be all the evidence we require of the student’s proficiency, and of his fitness to receive the stamp of University approbation. In this system, all the influences of our direct College teaching . . . are entirely abandoned. There may be persons who would think this an advantage;—who would prefer the uncollegiate system of foreign universities to ours; or who would think that we might sufficiently supply any deficiencies which may exist in them, by university examinations properly devised. Such a system is quite intelligible; but it behoves us to understand what it is, before we decide in its favour. It is right that we should see clearly that it never has been our system; and that when we talk of its establishment among us, we propose, not the improvement, but the destruction of our College practices;—not a modification, but a revolution in our English University education” (pp. 66-7).

The most important influence at Oxford in the second quarter of the 19th century was the Tractarian or Oxford movement. Its early leaders were Keble, Pusey, and Newman. In spite of the controversies it caused in the university, which reached a climax in Newman’s secession to Rome in 1845, the Oxford Movement was responsible for giving a new direction to the English Church and for transforming it from the deadness into which it had fallen to become a great living spiritual force. The effect of the Oxford Movement upon the supporters of the national schools has already

been discussed, but it also had considerable influence in the university itself in developing ideals of life and conduct. When Newman published, in 1852, his lectures to the "Catholic University of Ireland" under the title of *The Idea of a University*, he included in them the ideals which were potent at Oxford in his day and skilfully blended them with Catholicism.

Although in 1835 the Duke of Wellington had announced that the universities were reforming themselves, progress was very slow and met with constant opposition. At Cambridge, the movement was less hampered than at Oxford. At the beginning of the century, Cambridge was given an opportunity of seeing what would be the result of a college with statutes that were fitted to the age. Downing College owed its foundation to the will of Sir George Downing in 1717. He directed that if his issue failed, the trustees of his estate should establish a college at Cambridge, named after him. When his heir died in 1764 without issue, the university put forward its claim. A lawsuit followed which dragged on for years until at length, in 1800, the Lord Chancellor pronounced in favour of founding a college. Now was the opportunity to draw up college statutes which should be free from the defects belonging to those of the more ancient colleges. Downing College was incorporated and received its statutes in 1805. They provided for a master, two professors, one of law and the other of medicine, and sixteen Fellows. Only two of the fellowships were for life; the remainder were tenable for twelve years and were to be held by laymen who intended to enter the legal or medical professions. There was a definite lack of serious legal and medical studies at the university. The arrangements for the award of scholarships were a marked improvement on the practices of other colleges. Since statutes eventually became out-of-date, provision was made for amending the statutes of Downing, when and if required. Winstanley describes "the constitution of Downing . . . as an experiment in college reform."

The opportunity of demonstrating the advantages of possessing a modern set of statutes was lost because of a neglect of duty on the part of the Court of Chancery. It approved a very ambitious building-scheme which could not be completed for lack of funds. The Crown refused to appoint more than three Fellows, and the statutes did not allow any scholarships to be awarded until the buildings were finished. Thus Downing stood alone in the university as a college with no scholarships, prizes, or exhibitions, to

award, and only three fellowships. The result was that it failed to attract undergraduates in any number.¹ "Thus what was intended to become an encouragement of reform became a warning against it; and the other colleges were strengthened in the belief that the old ways were best or, at least, less dangerous. When urged to put their houses in order, they could point to Downing as an object lesson on what might happen if they drastically revised their statutes; and they seldom failed to draw such a convenient moral. This was by no means the only argument used against college reform, but the others might possibly have been less effective if it had not been available."

Nevertheless, Trinity (largely due to the efforts of Whewell) in 1848, and St. John's in 1849, obtained new statutes. Also, in 1850 a committee was appointed to revise the university statutes. At Oxford, the Examination Statute of the same year remodelled the public examinations. The pace was far too slow to please the more ardent reformers, and in 1849 a memorial was presented to the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, urging him to ask the Queen to appoint a royal commission to inquire into the state of affairs at the older universities. The memorial was signed by a number of Oxford and Cambridge men and by Fellows of the Royal Society. The Commission was issued in August of the following year and reported in 1852.²

Both universities protested against interference with what they considered were their internal affairs, but, when the Commissioners visited Cambridge, they were received, if not with warmth, at least with some show of cordiality. Those who visited Oxford encountered organised opposition, and every possible obstacle was placed in their way. The Vice-Chancellor announced that he would contest the legality of the Commission. Four well-known advocates declared it illegal, but the Government's law advisors pronounced the exact opposite, so that the question of the Commission's legality was dropped. Heads of colleges and university officials gave as little help as possible, though some, as at Corpus Christi, All Souls',

¹ D. A. Winstanley. *Early Victorian Cambridge*, p. 7, C.U.P., 1940.

² The Oxford Commissioners were Dr. Hinds, Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Tait, at that time Dean of Carlisle, Dr. Jeune, Master of Pembroke College, Dr. Liddell, Headmaster of Westminster, Baden Powell, the Savilian Professor of Geometry, the Rev. G. H. S. Johnson, a former Savilian Professor, John Dampier; and A. P. Stanley and Goldwin Smith as secretary and assistant-secretary respectively.

The Cambridge Commissioners were Dr. J. Graham, Bishop of Chester, Dr. Peacock, Dean of Ely, Sir John Herschell, Sir John Romilly, and Professor Adam Sedgwick, the geologist. The Rev. W. H. Bateson acted as secretary.

St. John's, Merton, and Lincoln, were more co-operative. Jeune, the Master of Pembroke and a member of the Commission, was enthusiastic for reform. Many members of the university feared that they were going to be brought under Government control, and even thought that Kay-Shuttleworth would rule the universities as he ruled the elementary schools.

The Commissioners were greatly concerned with the question of the expense of a course at the older universities. Just as the Newcastle and Taunton Commissions considered that elementary and secondary education, respectively, were not available for all those who needed them, so the University Commission feared that many members of the upper middle classes could not take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the older universities because of the expensive character of the courses, the restrictions of out-of-date statutes, and the religious tests. The Commissioners were instructed not to force the latter issue.

The report on Oxford, although written in a much superior English style by Stanley, was more drastic than that on Cambridge. The recommendations made were the basis of the Oxford University Act of 1854 and the Cambridge University Act of 1856. The Hebdomadal Board at Oxford, which the Commissioners discovered was extremely unpopular, was replaced by the Hebdomadal Council which contained a large number of elected members. The Laudian Statutes were repealed, and a new Congregation composed of resident members of the Convocation was created. Private halls or hostels were once more permitted and the university was given power to make statutes and regulations for them. The colleges were given new constitutions which freed them from the ties which had previously bound them to particular families, places, or schools. College revenues were reapportioned and the professorial system was reorganised and strengthened. Fellowships were to be awarded on merit and scholarships thrown open to free competition. Non-conformists were to be allowed to enter without a religious test and to take the degree of B.A., but the M.A. was still withheld. The Cambridge University Act followed similar lines. The *Caput* or Council of the Senate became to a great extent an elected body. In both universities, ordinances were to be discussed by Congregation or Convocation in English instead of Latin. The obligation for Fellows to take holy orders was removed.

One interesting point referred to the Cambridge Commission was the long-standing controversy between the university and the

municipal authorities. The Cambridge Borough Council petitioned the Commissioners to have their grievances removed. The town authorities complained that the university exercised certain antiquated privileges and did not take its proper share in the burdens which fell upon the citizens. A compromise agreement might have been effected long before this, except for the fact that both parties were not inclined to yield any ground. The university tried to annoy the town and the latter always sought a chance to humiliate the university.

Since the days of Edward II, the mayors and bailiffs of Cambridge had been required to take certain oaths which suggested that the town was inferior to the university. The university claimed the right to license ale-houses in Cambridge and Chesterton and to grant licences for the sale of wine. As a result of an Act of 1836, the town claimed similar rights, but the university insisted that it possessed an exclusive right in these matters. Both parties continued to issue licences and complained that the other was doing so illegally. In order to prevent undergraduates piling up debts, the Heads of Houses ordered that any tradesman who instituted legal proceedings against an undergraduate without having previously informed his tutor, should be discommuned, *i.e.* students were forbidden to deal with him. In addition, every tradesman to whom an undergraduate owed more than £5 was to inform the tutor.

An Act of 1843 had forbidden any theatre to be licensed in Cambridge or within fourteen miles of the town without the Vice-Chancellor's permission. The latter also had the power to forbid other kinds of entertainment. The town thought this was unreasonable, since it would have been a simple matter for the university to put such entertainments out of bounds for undergraduates. The university had also the right to supervise weights and measures, and appointed Taxors to examine and seal them. A person who used weights and measures which had not been sealed was liable to a fine. The Vice-Chancellor was authorised to be present when the university proclaimed the Cambridge markets and fairs at Barnwell and Stourbridge. The mayor and corporation also proclaimed the fairs.

Perhaps the most important grievance suffered by the town was that connected with the Chancellor's court. The latter was empowered by the Elizabethan statutes with jurisdiction within a mile of the town over most civil and all criminal proceedings. It was also felt that the distribution of financial burdens between the university and the town was unequal. The university only paid £100

per annum land-tax, and the town £2,700. Most university buildings were not assessed for rates. On the other hand, the university paid two-fifths of the expenses of paving, cleaning, and lighting the town.

Similar powers had been granted to the University of Oxford by a royal charter of 1525. They had been resisted by the townsfolk and a compromise agreement had been arrived at by arbitration in 1542. As a result of the great riot on St. Scholastica's Day in 1354, the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford had each year to perform a humiliating penance. They were not finally released from this until 1825. By a decree of Henry III, 1248, the municipal authorities had to swear an oath "to keep the liberties and customs of the university," and this was discontinued only in 1859. Many of the outstanding differences between the town and university had already been settled by compromise.

At Cambridge the town authorities made the most of their grievances to the Commissioners, as was quite natural. The result was a temporary truce brought about by the curtailing of some of the privileges of the university. Others, however, were still maintained, *e.g.* licence for theatrical entertainments; issue of wine-licences by the Vice-Chancellor, but no charge was to be made for them; the jurisdiction of the Chancellor's court to extend to those cases where one party was a member of the university; the university to be assessed for local rates; the land-tax arrangements were not altered, but the university was now only responsible for a quarter of the expenses involved in paving, cleaning, and lighting the town.¹

¹ The dispute between the town and the university flared up again in the later 19th century. The controversy centred round the powers wielded by the Vice-Chancellor's court. The latter was deemed necessary in order to protect the morals of the undergraduates. The court not only had the power to inflict fines but the university had its own prison, the Spinning-House. The town authorities regarded the existence of the court as a slur on their own ability to maintain order. The dispute came to a head as a consequence of a number of cases which had been decided in the Spinning-House Court. The press made much of what was styled "academic tyranny." Discussions on this matter, and also on the Vice-Chancellor's right of issuing wine-licences and his power of veto on entertainments, took place between the university and town authorities. The latter insisted upon the abolition of the university's authority over townsmen. A deadlock ensued and the town authorities appealed to the member of Parliament for the borough. A Bill was promoted by the town authorities of Cambridge in 1892, but through pressure of business it failed to obtain a second reading. Further negotiations took place, and finally both parties agreed to a Bill which would bring about a satisfactory arrangement. The Bill became law in 1894 under the title of the Cambridge University and Corporation Act. The grievances of the town were removed (the Vice-Chancellor retained the right of issuing wine-licences) and amicable relations were restored between the university and the borough authorities.

The campaign for the complete removal of religious tests continued. Perhaps the events which did most to secure the abolition of the tests were the resignation of Sedgwick from the Fellowship of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1869, and the accusation of heresy brought against Benjamin Jowett at Oxford. Sedgwick resigned because he felt he could no longer be a faithful member of the Church of England. Jowett, as Regius Professor of Greek, received a statutory salary of £40 per annum, and this was not augmented for years because of his views on the Atonement and his contribution, in company with Temple and Pattison, to *Essays and Reviews* in 1860. Jowett was actually brought before the Vice-Chancellor's court on a charge of heresy, but the proceedings were eventually dropped. In 1863 Dr. Pusey, to the dismay of his more extreme followers, proposed that Jowett's salary should be raised to £400 a year. This proposal was rejected by Convocation, and their action met with intense disapproval amongst undergraduates and in the public press. Eventually, in 1865, Dean Liddell persuaded the chapter of Christ Church to fix the salary at £500 per annum.

Such incidents as these convinced the Government that the time had come to abolish religious tests. Mr. Gladstone, who had previously thought such action dangerous, now changed his mind. The disabilities suffered by Dissenters were illustrated at Cambridge when the Senior Wranglers of 1860 and of 1861 were refused fellowships because they would not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Liberals and Nonconformists had long been waging war on privilege and, when the Liberal Government came to power in 1868, Mr. Gladstone announced his intention of abolishing the tests at Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham. The Bill became law in 1871, and all degrees with the exception of those in divinity were thrown open to Dissenters. Compulsory attendance at college chapel was also abolished. In 1915 Cambridge took the further step of removing all religious restrictions on degrees and fellowships, and Oxford followed suit in 1920.

The reforms brought about by the Acts of 1854 and 1856 bore fruit in the new life and vigour that appeared in university life and studies. The number of undergraduates grew rapidly and the distinctions between noblemen, gentlemen commoners, and commoners disappeared. The servitors at Oxford and the sizars at Cambridge, poor men whose presence at the university was only tolerated because of the menial duties they performed, likewise disappeared

and their emoluments became exhibitions.¹ New studies were introduced and new Chairs established, especially in scientific subjects. New honour schools arose in natural science, law, history, oriental languages, English language and literature, and mediaeval and modern languages. It was felt, however, that in spite of these advances, certain important problems had not been solved. Although the requirements of residence in a college had been withdrawn, many of the ablest scholars were still unable to afford a university education. The solution advocated was the provision of halls in which the living expenses would be cheaper than the cost of residence in any of the colleges.

The system of private tutors, which had been roundly condemned by Whewell, was left untouched, and Mark Pattison urged that too little attention was being given to research. He believed that Fellows should be allowed to marry and that appropriate quarters might be provided for them. College revenues should be used more freely for university purposes, such as the creation of a common university fund, the foundation of new Chairs, the erection of new buildings, and the establishment of additional scholarships and prizes. The abuse of prize fellowships² still continued, and funds which might have been used for college teaching were absorbed in this way. It was important, too, that the lay Fellow should have an opportunity of making university teaching his profession for life.

These ideas and criticisms resulted in another Commission, with the Duke of Cleveland as chairman, and it was charged to conduct a most searching inquiry into the finances of both the colleges and the universities. It was appointed in 1872 and reported in 1874. As a consequence, the Oxford and Cambridge Act of 1877 appointed commissioners for both universities, with considerable executive powers. The commissioners soon got down to work. They were empowered to frame statutes for the colleges (the Acts of 1854 and 1856 had been concerned with university statutes), and to compel

¹ Many of these poor scholars rose to positions of eminence. Samuel Wesley entered Exeter College in 1683 as a servitor, and George Whitefield, who graduated in 1736, became a servitor at Pembroke. Isaac Newton was sub-sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Richard Bentley and Richard Watson began their careers in the same way. The position of servitor at Oxford was more menial than that of sizar at Cambridge. The latter owed his name to the fact that he was granted a free "size" or portion of bread and ale.

² The prize fellowship was a non-resident fellowship awarded for exceptional merit in the examinations. It involved a life income of from £200 to £250 a year, and at Oxford between twenty and thirty such fellowships were given each year.

the colleges to contribute to university purposes from their revenues. Life fellowships were abolished and prize fellowships for research were established. At Oxford a common university fund was created, to which all colleges were expected to contribute. Fellows were allowed to marry; teaching duties were given them; their stipends were standardised, and a pension fund was set up. All these changes freed considerable funds which could be applied to the establishment of new Chairs, readerships, and lectureships, and for the maintenance of buildings. At Cambridge, the colleges contributed a fixed percentage of their incomes to the common fund. The obligation to deliver lectures was laid upon the professors, but attendance at lectures was not compulsory for students.

One interesting result of the abolition of religious tests was the establishment of new colleges and halls on a denominational basis. In association with the Church of England, Keble College was founded at Oxford in 1870 and Selwyn College at Cambridge in 1882. The Free Churches and the Roman Catholics established halls, although they were not part of the university constitutionally, the residents of which were able to benefit from university teaching.

To this period, also, belongs the founding of colleges and halls for women, a topic which was considered in Chapter v. The general effect of this legislation was to transform the older universities into institutions well organised and equipped to take a prominent place in the life and culture of the modern world. Although the following was written about Oxford, it applies equally to Cambridge: "Old defects had been largely remedied. New standards of work and order had been introduced. The 18th-century Don, with his easy conscience and unexacting duties, had been replaced by a generation of high-minded Tutors whose chief danger lay in the risk of over-work. An important movement had begun for the better organisation of studies. The whole field of instruction had been usefully enlarged. Science had asserted her right to a place beside Philosophy, Modern History, Modern Literature, even Modern Languages were putting forward claims which could not be ignored. The classical tradition could no longer maintain its monopoly, even by the stubborn retention of compulsory Greek. It is true that the throwing open of Scholarships had to some extent diminished the chances of boys brought up at humble schools. The abolition of the old servitorships had closed another avenue to the poor student. And the Non-Collegiate system had failed as yet to solve the difficult problem how to secure in an atmosphere

so charged with comfort and enjoyment a fair and equal opportunity for men of narrow means.”¹

In the later Victorian period, Oxford was dominated by Benjamin Jowett of Balliol, and Dean Liddell of Christ Church. Balliol became a centre of intellectual and moral influence, and served as a training-ground for many famous men. Amongst Jowett's pupils were such well-known statesmen as Asquith, Milner, Curzon, and Grey. This was also a period of expansion and building reconstruction. Liddell set the example at Christ Church, and this was followed by many other colleges, such as Balliol and Exeter. New examination-schools were built in the High Street, and the Bodleian Library, which had outgrown its original quarters, overflowed into the old Jacobean schools. The core of the Bodleian was the 15th-century library of Duke Humphrey. This had suffered during the religious quarrels of the following century and was practically denuded of books. Sir Thomas Bodley (1545-1613) restored and endowed it and presented it with a collection of books. He drew up statutes for its government, and, by his agreement with the Stationers' Company, the Bodleian acquired the right to a copy of every new book that is published in the kingdom. Other libraries which are entitled to a similar privilege are the British Museum, Cambridge University, the National Library of Wales, the Scottish National Library, and Trinity College, Dublin; but the Bodleian was the first to be granted this right. If the Bodleian is one of the glories of Oxford, Cambridge is no less proud of the Cavendish Laboratory, named after Henry Cavendish, the famous chemist and physicist. It is one of the greatest research laboratories of the world and is associated with the names of such eminent scientists as Clerk Maxwell, Lord Rayleigh, Sir J. J. Thomson, Sir Ernest Rutherford, and Sir William Bragg.

The beginning of the present century saw new problems confronting the ancient universities. The Education Act of 1902 resulted in the growth of municipal and county secondary schools, whose pupils came into competition with those from the public schools and older grammar-schools. Education authorities offered scholarships tenable at the older universities, at London, and at the provincial universities. For the first time it became possible for the children of working-class people to obtain university training.

¹ Sir Charles Mallett. *A History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. III, p. 352, Methuen, 1927.

In spite of scholarships, the expense of a course at Oxford or Cambridge often proved an insuperable obstacle to them. Another barrier was that caused by the insistence upon Greek as a condition for matriculation. Cambridge was the first to abolish compulsory Greek in 1919 and Oxford followed a year later.

In 1907 Bishop Gore of Birmingham moved in the House of Lords the appointment of a royal commission "to inquire into the endowment, government, administration, and teaching of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in order to secure their best use for all classes of the community." In the same year Lord Curzon became Chancellor of Oxford and quickly identified himself with the movement for reform. He was foremost in suggesting the abolition of compulsory Greek and the granting of degrees to women. He also succeeded in reducing the number of members of Congregation, thus making it a less unwieldy body, and in 1912 he established a Board of Finance. At Cambridge the reform movement was mainly supported by the younger members of the university.

Before further changes could be effected, the First World War broke out and the idea of a royal commission was dropped for the time being. Immediately after the armistice, the universities became crowded by undergraduates returning from national service. The modern universities found themselves becoming overwhelmed by financial difficulties since the increase in expenses, coupled with the fall in value of money in the post-war world, was making it impossible for them to maintain their establishments at all adequately. The president of the Board of Education considered that their needs could only be met in relation to circumstances at Oxford and Cambridge, and he agreed to receive a deputation if the older universities, and also those of Scotland and Ireland, were represented on it. Oxford and Cambridge asked for financial aid, and their governing bodies agreed that the granting of it should be preceded by a royal commission.

The Commissioners were received quite differently from those of 1850. They were cordially welcomed and every effort was made to supply them with the information they required. The report was made in 1922, and its recommendations were embodied in new statutes which came into force in 1926. No drastic changes were suggested. Its chief concern was with the financial aspect. More staff was required; lecturers needed improvements in their salary position and more adequate pension schemes; additional funds

were necessary for libraries, museums, new buildings, and the development of women's colleges and extra-mural activities.

The powers of Convocation were reduced at Oxford, and membership of Congregation was limited to those engaged in teaching or administrative work in the university. Cambridge had no body corresponding to Congregation and it was recommended that a similar house should be established. The administrative work of the universities was overhauled and placed on a modern footing. Professors were attached to colleges as Fellows and became members of their governing bodies. The question of salaries and pensions was adequately met and retiring-ages were introduced for all members of the universities. Many of the remaining restrictions on the marriage of Fellows were removed. The number of women students was not to exceed a fourth of the men, and women could be admitted as full members of the University of Oxford. This did not take place at Cambridge until 1948. Certain developments as regards the teaching staff and buildings were recommended, and for the first time each of the older universities received a large annual subsidy from the State. At the same time a guarantee was given that the acceptance of this grant would not in any way prejudice the independence of the universities.

Before leaving this sketch of events in the older universities, something should be said of an interesting development which had taken place at Oxford. This was the institution of the Rhodes scholarships for students from the British Empire, the United States, and Germany. Rhodes made altogether seven different wills. In the final will, twenty annual scholarships, tenable for three years, *i.e.* sixty in all for the British Empire, were established. These were to be divided in the proportion of eight for South Africa, six for Australia, two for Canada, and one each for New Zealand, Newfoundland, Jamaica, and Bermuda. In addition, each State or Territory of the United States was given two scholarships, making the total for that country one hundred. This will was dated 1899, but two years later he added a codicil which established fifteen scholarships for Germans. Rhodes believed that friendly relations between the three countries would be a potent factor in securing the peace of the world. The German awards were suspended in 1914, but in 1929 two German scholars were admitted each year. The original allocation of scholarships has been modified. Since 1939 the German scholars have again been suspended, and in 1947 two awards were granted to India. Other scholarships have been

given to colonies and dominions not provided for in Rhodes's will, so that the numbers allocated to the British Commonwealth and the United States are now roughly equal.

The financial problems of the older universities, which resulted in the giving of a government subsidy, had their counterpart in the modern universities. All the modern universities in their early stages were severely handicapped by lack of funds. In many cases local donors made them large gifts which enabled them to extend their buildings and their work, but it was not until 1889 that the Treasury contributed to their upkeep. In that year the House of Commons voted the sum of £15,000 per annum to be distributed among the university colleges. The condition for participation in this grant was that colleges performed "an appreciable amount of advanced University work." This has generally been interpreted to mean the provision for post-graduate research as well as of courses for undergraduates. The annual grant continued to rise until, in 1919, a body known as the University Grants Committee was constituted. Thus the universities, except in the case of their teacher-training departments, do not receive funds direct from the Ministry of Education. The members of the University Grants Commission are people with wide experience of the work and needs of the universities.¹ The grant for the year 1948-9 reached an amount over £17,500,000. This arrangement has worked very well, since it has preserved the autonomy of the universities. Every university is free to decide what it will teach, draw up its own syllabuses, and organise its own examinations for degrees and diplomas. Thus the disasters which have overtaken some of the State-controlled universities of the Continent are avoided. Most local education authorities also make grants to institutions of university status in their areas.

The British universities of the post-war era are faced with a number of serious problems. Perhaps one of the most urgent is a consequence of the phenomenal increase in the number of full-time students, from 50,246 in 1938-9 to 76,674 in 1947-8. It is true that the return of ex-service students is to a great extent responsible

¹ The present terms of reference of the University Grants Committee are: "To inquire into the financial needs of university education in Great Britain; to advise the Government as to the application of any grants made by Parliament towards meeting them; to collect, examine, and make available information on matters relating to university education at home and abroad; to assist, in consultation with the universities and other bodies concerned, the preparation and execution of such plans for the development of the universities as may from time to time be required in order to ensure that they are fully adequate to national needs."

for these numbers, but even when the flow of such entrants has been exhausted it can be assumed that the numbers of students will be permanently at least half as large again as the total of pre-war days. The universities are faced by an ever growing demand from a variety of sources, and it must be expected that further claims on their services will be made in the future. There are many reasons to account for the increasing demand for university education. On the one hand, the professions (medicine, dentistry, science and technology, agriculture, commerce, education, architecture, and law), the Civil Service, and local government are all appealing for an increased number of graduates. Thus the Barlow Report suggested that the present output of qualified scientists should be doubled at the earliest possible moment, and the Percy Report considered that the annual number of graduates in engineering should be half as large again. On the other hand, the grammar-school population from which the universities draw the larger number of their entrants has grown from 342,000 in 1925-6 to 574,000 in 1945-6. It is significant that the number of passes in the Higher School Certificate examination rose from 5,100 in 1926 to 20,600 in 1948, and the award of State scholarships increased from two hundred in 1925 to eight hundred in 1948.

This numerical increase in the total of university entrants, however, only gives part of the picture. When the intake of the different faculties is examined, the important fact comes to light that some faculties and departments are expanding more rapidly than others, and that this ratio is not the same for every university. This is due to the demands of sectional interests. One vital factor, however, emerges. Thus, supposing the number of students reading for a degree in engineering suddenly increases: unless there is a proportionate growth in other departments there is a danger that the balance of university studies may be permanently altered. All universities anticipated a period of expansion after the war and, at the request of the University Grants Commission, had produced post-war development schemes to meet the situation. It has also to be realised that expansion involves a large increase in the teaching and administrative staffs of the universities and a much greater income to meet such necessary items as salaries, new classrooms and laboratories, libraries, halls of residence, common-rooms, and sports facilities.

The need for a larger income has been met by increased Government grants. Thus the annual grant, which was less than £800,000

in 1920-1, was approximately £17,500,000 in 1948-9, and shows indications of exceeding this figure in the future. Parallel with this, the amount contributed by the local authorities has increased. These facts raise a number of problems. In the first place, money is not everything. "Money is necessary, and more money will accelerate the expansion, but by itself it will not produce the teachers and research workers on whom everything depends."¹

Secondly, the above figures may be regarded from another quite different point of view. In 1920-1 the universities received twenty-nine per cent of their income from the State. The participation of Oxford and Cambridge in the State grant raised this percentage to thirty-two in 1925-6. Since that time the State grant has increased to forty-four per cent in 1945-6, sixty per cent in 1947-8, and the percentage for 1951-2 is estimated at sixty-five. The rest of the university income is derived from fees, endowments, gifts, grants from local authorities, and other sources. From this it can be seen that the major part of university incomes is contributed by the State. At present, the University Grants Committee makes a block grant to each university for a five-year period, and so far the arrangement has worked quite smoothly. How far the autonomy of the universities can be balanced with their growing dependence on State aid is a problem that may occur in the future. Obviously, tradition is opposed to Government control and hence it is important that the delicate adjustment which has worked so well for the last quarter of a century should be maintained. A recently created body, the standing Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, performs the essential function of close liaison between the different universities and Government departments. Although at present it is not a fully authoritative body, its work can be regarded as supplementing that of the University Grants Committee.

The third problem is that of the financial position of the students as individuals. The proportion of would-be undergraduates who themselves are able to pay for a three or four year course is rapidly diminishing. The heavy incidence of taxation and the rising cost of essential commodities has considerably reduced the number of parents who are able to bear unaided the expenses of a university education for their sons and daughters. Hence there is an ever increasing body of students who are dependent on financial assistance either from the State or from local authorities. At present

¹ *The Problem Facing British Universities*, a Nuffield College Survey, p. 88, O.U.P., 1948.

about sixty-eight per cent of university students receive grants of one kind or another, and at Oxford and Cambridge this proportion is about eighty-two per cent. The majority of the grants are those made to ex-service men and women under the scheme for further education and training. These have now come to an end and the Ministry of Education working party (April 1948) considered what other grants should take their place. It has recommended a large increase in the number of State scholarships and in the aid given towards university scholarships and exhibitions.¹ In addition, the number of students in receipt of teacher-training grants has grown considerably.

The result is that both the universities and the students are becoming more and more dependent on assistance given by public authorities. In the last century the universities and university colleges often owed their very existence to the munificence of local benefactors. Although it is to be hoped that similar public-spirited individuals will appear in the future, yet it must be acknowledged that, because of the changing economic and financial conditions, they will become fewer and fewer.²

The increasing number of students has raised the problem of accommodation. Not only are more rooms required for teaching and administrative purposes, but the question of hostel accommodation has become an urgent one. A large proportion of students in the modern universities have been obliged to live in lodgings because of lack of halls of residence. The advantages of a corporate life are becoming increasingly recognised. In the early days of the University Grants Commission, little attention was given to the provision of hostels. By 1936 the Committee was actively interested in the problem, but still thought it might be solved by the gifts of private benefactors or by the universities themselves. Since the war the housing shortage has made matters acute and the Committee has earmarked considerable sums of money for building halls of residence. In spite of priorities and shortages, the universities are going ahead with their plans for providing adequate hostel accommodation.

¹ It was considered that State and local scholarships should be increased to a point where two-thirds of the entrants to universities and university colleges could expect aid from public funds.

² One of the more recent benefactors has been Lord Nuffield, who not only endowed the medical school at Oxford with £2,000,000 as a research centre, but also gave £900,000 in 1937 for the foundation of Nuffield College for the development of social studies. The outbreak of war held up the building of the college. It was forced to carry on its work in temporary premises. The foundation-stone of the new college was laid in April 1949.

CHAPTER XIII

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Adult education, in the modern meaning of the term, did not exist before the closing years of the 18th century, and it was not until the industrial changes had made considerable progress that serious attempts were made to grapple with the problems of adult education.

The history of adult education falls into two well-marked periods, with the year 1850 as a convenient dividing point between them. Before that date, adult education was promoted solely by voluntary agencies. Three main factors influenced the line of development of adult education during this period. It began with what may be called a religious-philanthropic inspiration; it was greatly influenced in the early years of the 19th century by the growth of interest in physical science; and, finally, its course was shaped by the social and political agitation which later found expression in Chartism. After 1850, changing social and economic conditions altered the whole outlook. Revolutionary agitation had ceased by 1848 and the country entered upon a period of rising wages and falling prices. Moreover, by this time two new agencies had entered the field of adult education. The universities were showing an interest in the movement, and the State was concerning itself with the provision of primary education and was later to take into account the sphere of further education. In the earlier period, the majority of adults had been untouched by primary education and the adult agencies had to make good that deficiency. As more schools were opened for the children, the education of adults tended to become an extension of primary education.

The religious-philanthropic movement was responsible for the first attempts to teach adults. Before the adult-schools were established there were three interesting but isolated experiments. The earliest is that mentioned in the Minutes of the S.P.C.K. for 8th March 1700, and concerns two individuals, John Pierson and John Reynolds. The former, as well as teaching children to read, "twice in the week meets another Company of adult persons (about

8 in number) in the town, and hears them read, and trains them up in Bp Williams' Exposition of the Church Catechism. The latter Instructs Gratis another Company every night at his House, in the Catechism, in Reading and Serious Principles, and endeavours to bring them to an awful sense of God and man."¹

The second experiment was more than three-quarters of a century later and was connected with the Sunday Schools of Birmingham. It was an attempt to retain young men who had previously attended the Sunday School and had now become too old for that type of teaching. To achieve this end, the teachers of Sunday Schools in that city formed, in 1789, the Birmingham Sunday Society. It aimed at teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic; and later geography, bookkeeping, drawing, natural science, and moral instruction were added. The instruction was not confined to Sundays, but was also extended to certain evenings of the week. Eventually the Sunday School Society was renamed the Brotherly Society and a new constitution was drawn up. One member of the society, Thomas Clarke, frequently assembled these young men at his own house. They were known as the "Cast-Iron Philosophers," and it was quickly discovered that they included some of the best artisans of the town. Hudson describes the objects of the society as "Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Drawing, Geography, Natural and Civil History, and Morals, or in short, whatever may be useful to a manufacturer, or as furnishing principles for active benevolence and integrity."² It will be noted that in these early experiments there was no distinction drawn between adult and technical education. Hudson also adds that every member was expected to attend a place of public worship, and the rules contained a provision for excluding those who did not do so. One result of the classes was the formation of the Birmingham Artisans' Library to disseminate knowledge among the working classes by the aid of books.

The third example is that of the first adult-school which was opened in Nottingham in 1798 by William Singleton, a Methodist, and Samuel Fox, a member of the Society of Friends. The object of the school was to teach adults to read the Bible and to give them instruction in writing and arithmetic. This experiment is worthy of note because the school continued throughout the century, and

¹ Quoted by Helen Wodehouse. *A Survey of the History of Education*, p. 142, Edward Arnold, 1929.

² J. W. Hudson. *History of Adult Education*, pp. 29-30, Longmans, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1851.

although it did not immediately have imitators, yet nearly fifty years later it served as a stimulus to the school which had been founded in Birmingham.

The work of Hannah More and her sister has already been mentioned in connection with the philanthropic agencies of the 18th century. The early adult-school movement really began at Bristol in 1812 when William Smith, a door-keeper of a Methodist chapel, assisted by a merchant of the name of Stephen Prust, established in that town an *Institution for Instructing Adult Persons to read the Holy Scriptures*. Dr. Pole, who became a member of the Bristol committee, was the historian of the early adult-school movement. He was born in the United States and came to England when quite a young man. He was a member of the Society of Friends and became a promoter of the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Bristol. Pole had qualified as a physician and was also an able lecturer. When he settled in Bristol in 1802 his philanthropic nature urged him to deliver a series of lectures on chemistry, the economy of nature, and mineralogy. Pole's lectures were well attended and he enlivened them by his own pencil-sketches and models. When a local meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society was held in Bristol, William Smith was amongst the audience. He was struck by the statement that in many instances the Bible was useless to poor people because they were unable to read it. He spoke to Stephen Prust about this and the result was that he undertook to carry out an experiment. Accompanied by two friends, Smith set out to sell Bibles in a poor district of the town. When he was told that the Bibles were useless because people could not read them, he arranged to give instruction in reading to those who were willing to attend. He secured two rooms for his evening school, and his first two pupils were "William Wood, aged sixty-three, and Jane Burrace, aged forty. Thus the first school foreshadowed the present-day development in that women were granted equal privileges with men. The sexes were taught separately, under the guidance of two teachers, who had previous experience in charity schools for children. . . . Within three weeks the schools were opened, eleven men and ten women being enrolled on the first day."¹

As the work developed, it became necessary to organise it on definite lines, and the Institution for Instructing Adult Persons to

¹ G. Currie Martin. *The Adult School Movement*, pp. 26-7, National Adult School Union, 1924.

Read the Holy Scriptures was formed. Dr. Pole, as previously mentioned, was a member of the committee, and it is through him that we possess the details about the spread of the movement. By 1816 there were in Bristol twenty-four schools for men and thirty-one for women, with a total membership of 1,581. Adult-school societies were formed at Plymouth, in Wales, at Salisbury, and at Bath. Evidently William Smith met with misfortune, for we read that in 1822, "This year Wm. Smith of Bristol, connected with the Adult Schools, being indisposed, and in want of assistance, we raised £5 15s. for him by subscription, which was given at various times for his support."¹

Dr. Pole's History played an important part in the growth of the schools. It was circulated in all parts of the kingdom and was excellent propaganda for the movement. By 1820 schools had been opened in London, the Midlands, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, Yarmouth, and Ipswich, and in the rural districts of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire. The adult-school movement was entirely due to the efforts of the religious denominations—in particular the Society of Friends. It met with opposition from many people who believed that education would make the working man discontented with his lot and lead him to accept the doctrines of the French Revolution. Mr. Giddy, the president of the Royal Society, echoed the fears of the upper classes when in 1807 he said, in reference to Whitbread's Bill, "However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would in effect be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture, and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing Counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and in a few years the result would be that the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them, and to furnish the executive magistrate with much more vigorous laws than were now in force."²

¹ G. Currie Martin. *The Adult School Movement*, p. 39, National Adult School Union, 1924.

² *Hansard*, 1807, IX, p. 798.

One of the most interesting adult-schools was that of Severn Street in Birmingham, founded in 1845 by Joseph Sturge, one of Birmingham's most prominent citizens. At first the school was not a success and the number of scholars dwindled until there were more teachers than pupils. Sturge remembered having visited the school of Singleton and Fox many years earlier, and he resolved to send a deputation to Nottingham to interview Fox and discover the secret of his success. The result was that Sturge made a number of important modifications in the Severn Street school, and thus it was that the isolated experiment at Nottingham entered many years later into the main stream of the adult-school movement.

Hudson tells us that by 1850 many adult-schools had been discontinued and the numbers of scholars had everywhere declined. The three reasons he gives for the decline were the lack of good teachers, the effect of introducing children into adult-schools, and the objection raised by many of the well-to-do classes against teaching the poor to write. More potent causes, however, were the increasing number of primary schools, so that the need for teaching the three R's to adults was diminishing, and the influence of political views during the period succeeding the Reform Act, which tended to divert the working population in other directions. The rise of Mechanics' Institutes and other forms of adult education also accounted for the decline. The worker wanted more than the three R's and these other institutions could supply his need. The adult-schools, however, were to experience an astonishing revival later in the century.

When the use of steam-power and machinery became more widespread, factory owners who had previously been opposed to popular education began to encourage their workmen to take an interest in the machines they operated and the industrial processes in which they were engaged. They argued that this kind of learning would not encourage workmen to be dissatisfied with the station of life into which they had been called by a wise Providence. This explains the rapid progress of the Mechanics' Institutes in the first half of the 19th century.

The idea of the Mechanics' Institutes originated in Scotland. In 1760 Professor John Anderson, who taught natural philosophy in the University of Glasgow, gave some lectures in practical physics which were attended by a number of workmen. In 1799 Dr. George Birkbeck was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy

and Chemistry in the "Andersonian Institution" at Glasgow. In the course of visiting the workshops where apparatus for his classes was being constructed, he was astonished to find that the workmen showed great interest in what they were making. This experience suggested to him the happy idea of inviting the men to a special mechanics' class. The university authorities were sceptical about its success and told him that the men would not come; if they came they would not listen; and if they listened they would not understand. The first meeting proved a great success. Those who came told others and, by the fourth meeting, the attendance had risen to 500. Birkbeck was astonished at the orderly behaviour and the keen interest shown by the students. In 1804 he left Glasgow for London, but his successor, Dr. Ure, continued the classes. Although Birkbeck practised in London as a physician, he still retained his interest in adult education, and he was the moving spirit behind the foundation of the London Mechanics' Institute which was opened in 1823. The same year, the workmen who attended the lectures in the "Andersonian University" at Glasgow seceded and founded a separate Mechanics' Institute. The Manchester Mechanics' Institute started in 1824, and this was followed by the rise of similar institutions at Leeds, Huddersfield, and other large industrial towns. Unions of Mechanics' Institutes followed, the first association being that of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The Leeds Mechanics' Institute, at one time the largest in the country, is typical of the movement. The object of its foundation was "to supply at a cheap rate, to the different classes of the community, the advantages of instruction in the various branches of science which are of practical application to the various trades or occupations." Although the industries of Leeds involved many processes requiring a knowledge of chemistry, for a long time the response was poor. This was mainly due to the lack of elementary knowledge which prevented the students from getting full advantage from the scientific instruction. This was common to most Mechanics' Institutes and largely accounted for their decline after the middle of the century. In 1842 the number of students at Leeds had risen to 143, but by 1850 it had dwindled to seventy-three. Another cause of the slow growth of the science class was the fact that it was housed "in a dark, damp, dingy cellar." The institute had other activities, and included a reading-room and library, but all works of fiction and general literature were excluded from the latter. To supply this "pleasurable mental relaxation," the Leeds

Literary Society was founded in 1834, and in 1842 the two institutions were amalgamated.¹

Hudson, the historian of the early adult movement, estimated that in 1850 there were 610 Literary and Mechanics' Institutes in England having a membership of 102,050 and possessing 691,500 books in their libraries.² The movement was supported by the weekly issue of the *Mechanics' Magazine*, and such well-known advocates of popular education as Lord Brougham, Cobbett, and Place, did much to encourage it. The decline of the Leeds Institute was typical of what happened throughout the country after 1850.

The Mechanics' Institutes were, however, an important step in the development of scientific and technical instruction. Some of them, as in London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, developed into important technical institutes and colleges. The London Mechanics' Institute eventually became the Birkbeck College; and at Leeds, Huddersfield, Bradford, and other large centres, they developed into important technical colleges. Although in many districts working men were replaced by middle-class members, this was not true of the Yorkshire Union. The annual report of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, 1859, stated: "It is a prevalent opinion that Mechanics' Institutes are only so in name, their original purpose having been superseded by the rejection of them by the class for whom they were intended, and their adoption by the middle classes. But this is not true of the majority of those in Yorkshire, however it may apply elsewhere. Some of the most flourishing Institutes are composed almost wholly of the labouring class, and in most of them they form a considerable majority." In 1861 the Union asked for returns from the Institutes giving the number of working-class members. It was discovered that 70·7 per cent were working men. Others were clerks and shop-assistants.

¹ The Leeds Institute founded two schools for the sons and daughters of members, in 1845 and 1853 respectively. Fitch visited the schools as an assistant commissioner of the Taunton Commission and spoke very highly of their work. Nevertheless, he reported, "The name 'Mechanics' does not fairly represent the social position of the persons who avail themselves of such institutions. It is not men of the labouring class, but the more intelligent shopmen, clerks, warehousemen, and travellers of a great town like Leeds, who compose the Mechanics' Institute. And it is for children of this class that the committee have made ample provision in their day schools." (*Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 245, H.M.S.O., 1868.) These schools are now controlled by the Leeds Education Authority under the names of the Leeds Boys' Modern School and the Lawnswood High School. They represent, with their modern buildings and spacious playing-fields, two of the most up-to-date grammar-schools in the city.

² J. W. Hudson. *History of Adult Education*, Longmans, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1851.

At Huddersfield in 1876, out of 1,000 members all but 105 belonged to the working class and these were bookkeepers and clerks.

By 1862 the popularity of lectures was waning, largely because funds were not available to pay the fees of really able lecturers. Where a sufficient number of lecturers who would give voluntary service could not be obtained, the lecture was replaced by the Penny Reading. The latter seems to have originated at Ipswich in 1859 and was often given by members of the elocution class connected with the Institute. There was evidently no lack of fluent and expressive readers, since the readings became very popular and continued to attract audiences until the growing numbers of literates produced by the elementary schools rendered such readings superfluous.

The Mechanics' Institutes had been intended for artisans and skilled workers, but many supporters of the movement wished to attract unskilled workmen. It was obvious that if this scheme was to be successful the form of instruction given to the latter would have to be of a more popular character. This desire led to the establishment of the Lyceums. In these institutions there were reading and news rooms and libraries, whilst the lecture programme was of a type that had a wider appeal than the work of the Mechanics' Institutes. Discussions, concerts, and recreations, were added as additional attractions. The charges for admission were low and both men and women were welcomed. It was hoped that the social attractions would draw many people from the beer-houses and gin-palaces. The effort was not very successful. Many of those in charge of the Lyceums were too impatient with the programme offered and tried to make it more intellectual and an approximation to that of the Mechanics' Institute. The class of people it was hoped might be induced to attend preferred the public houses and the singing-rooms, and the Lyceums never attained the influence of the Mechanics' Institutes.

The upper and middle classes were not to be left out of the scheme of adult education. It was hoped to cater for them by the establishment of Athenaeums. The attractions of these institutions were on a more lavish scale. The main feature was the library and the courses of public lectures which were often delivered by eminent men of the literary and scientific worlds. On the social side the *soirée* was the great attraction. It was often organised on a grand scale and gave opportunities for listening to music and for social intercourse. According to the drawings in *Punch* of that period, it was the latter which proved the greater attraction. For a

brief period the soirées were popular with the well-to-do. A more successful institution amongst the middle classes was the Literary and Philosophical Society, and many of these are vigorous institutions at the present time. In many towns, as at Leeds, the Mechanics' Institute and the Literary and Philosophical Society were closely connected.¹

Birkbeck College was one of the most interesting and important of the institutions which sprang from the Mechanics' Institutes. It owed its foundation to a meeting held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand in 1823, at which it was decided to establish a London Mechanics' Institute. The leading supporters in addition to Dr. Birkbeck were Thomas Hodgskin, who had been a naval officer, and J. C. Robertson, a journalist and patent-agent. The latter two were advocates of reform who were bitterly opposed to the industrial policy of the age. Dr. Birkbeck, as a scientist and educationist, shrank from anything that might engender revolutionary tendencies, and he acted as a sobering influence upon the more radical aspirations of his colleagues. They would have liked the constitution to have been on more democratic lines than it actually was, though from the start the members of the Institute were given a large share in its management.

¹ Great pains were taken to ensure that the soirées should have as wide an appeal as possible. In 1852 the Directors of the Skipton Mechanics' Institute decided to incorporate their soirée with the meeting of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes which on that occasion was being held in the town. Two of the committee were asked to find out if the Skipton Brass Band would play at the soirée in return for a free tea. The band demanded a fee of £3 15s., a free tea, and free conveyance on the trip to Bolton Abbey that was to follow the meeting of the Union. The directors suggested a fee of £1 10s., but the band refused to lower its fee and the idea was abandoned.

The soirée was held in the Great Hall of Skipton Castle. Arrangements were made for vocalists and the Skipton Quadrille Band was engaged. The prices of admission indicated that the soirée was designed to attract the middle classes—reserved seats 3s., front seats 2s., and back seats 1s. The combined soirée and meeting was widely advertised and arrangements were made with the L.N.W.R. to run a special stopping train from Settle to Skipton. The railway company offered to run the train for a guaranteed cost of £5 or to allow the Institute to run the train for £6. The latter offer was accepted.

Tea was provided for the soirée and wives of members undertook to bake the following:—

1½ stones of Bath buns.	1½ stones of cracknels.
1 stone of brown bread.	1½ stones of tea-cakes.
1 stone of currant loaf.	1 stone of seed loaf.
2½ stones of plain loaf.	

The shopkeepers agreed to close their shops at 2 p.m. on the day of the meeting and soirée. The author is indebted to Mr. J. Macgregor for the above information. Mr. Macgregor undertook a post-graduate research under my supervision into the History of Adult and Technical Education in Skipton-in-Craven during the 19th century.

The original object of the Institute was to provide instruction in the physical sciences and in economics. The curriculum was to be practical in the sense that it would have a direct bearing upon the daily work of the members. The inclusion of economics excited the suspicion of the Tories, who were afraid that it would prove to be a school for agitators. The new foundation was enthusiastically supported by Francis Place, Henry Brougham, T. C. Hansard, and the editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, on whose staff was Thomas Hodgskin, but it was severely criticised by a section of the press which thought it was a means of fomenting revolution.

The institution soon encountered dissension within, which was an anticipation of the differences in outlook which existed between the National Labour Colleges and the more orthodox adult-education movements in recent times. The Institute could not pay its way by relying on the subscriptions of the mechanics. Was it to avail itself of the aid freely offered by philanthropic members of the more wealthy sections of the community? Hodgskin and Robertson thought not, and they withdrew from the committee. When Robertson, who had been secretary, resigned, it was thought necessary to appoint a paid official to do the work. The latter over-spent his income and bolted to avoid arrest. The Institute, however, survived its early difficulties, and it moved into permanent quarters in Southampton Buildings in 1825.

The scope of the instruction given in the London Mechanics' Institute gradually widened and literary studies were added to the scientific. A class in landscape-painting was started. This was taught by B. R. Haydon, whose chief propensity seemed to be that of borrowing cash from his friends and forgetting to pay it back. On one occasion he implored the loan of £5 to take his dress-coat out of pawn to enable him to wear it at the classes of the Institute. Haydon was a much-liked teacher and an artist of ability. When he left the Institute in 1836 he presented his palette to remain in the Committee-room. "The palette, which is still preserved at Birkbeck College, bears the following inscription: 'Presented to the London Mechanics' Institute, May 16, 1836, by B. R. Haydon as a memento of respect for the conduct of its honourable President, Dr. Birkbeck, and its Members in opening their doors to him when every other institution had the moral cowardice to close them.'"¹

¹ C. Delisle Burns. *A Short History of Birkbeck College*, p. 53, University of London Press, 1924.

After Dr. Birkbeck's death in 1841, the Mechanics' Institute was affected by the general decline. It had its own financial difficulties which eventually grew so great that it had to appeal to the Government for assistance. This resulted in a complete overhaul of the institution and its teaching, and in 1866 it became the Birkbeck Literary and Scientific Institution. An important part of its work became the preparation of its pupils for the external examinations of the University of London. The successful reorganisation of the institution was due to the secretary, G. M. Norris (later the first principal), F. Ravenscroft, a member of the well-known firm of robe-makers and founder of the Birkbeck Bank and Building Society, and J. C. N. White. In 1907 the institution became the Birkbeck College and, as a result of the Haldane Commission, it became recognised in 1920 as a school of the University of London for evening and part-time students.

The period from the end of the Napoleonic wars to 1848 is remarkable for the intense interest displayed by the masses of the people in social, economic, and political problems. The works of the radical reformers, such as Tom Paine and Cobbett, were being widely read and discussed by groups of working men. The repeal of Pitt's repressive legislation had made the growth of the trade unions possible, but, when they seemed to offer little hope of improvement in their conditions, working men pinned their faith to the prospect offered by parliamentary reform. When they found that the Reform Act of 1832 had merely transferred political power to the middle classes, the workers sought guidance from other sources. Robert Owen attracted much attention, and, on account of the emphasis he placed on education as a means of social regeneration, the large number of Owenite Societies of the 1830's made adult education one of their chief aims. The principal motive force, however, was not that of the co-operative societies, which had sprung up as the result of Owen's teaching, but the political agitation which was associated with Chartism. The ablest of the Chartist leaders was William Lovett. "Like his friends, Francis Place and Thomas Cooper, he was one of the workmen of whom it may be said that amid heart-breaking discouragements, poverty, and failing health and political persecution, the hunger for knowledge 'haunted them like a passion.'"¹ Lovett's views on education were expressed in his *Address on National Education*, 1837, in which he outlined an educational programme more than two

¹*Final Report of the Adult Education Committee, Ministry of Reconstruction*, p. 18.

generations in advance of his time. His proposals, with one exception, came to nothing in his lifetime, but they were carried out by others at a later stage.

In 1842 the first People's College was opened in Sheffield through the initiative of an Independent minister, the Rev. R. S. Bayley. Before he came to Sheffield, Mr. Bayley had been instrumental in founding the Louth Mechanics' Institute in 1835. On his appointment to Sheffield he began to lecture to the Mechanics' Institute in that city, and when he proposed his scheme for a People's College he suggested eleven classes which would meet daily for one hour before the men started work and for two hours in the evening. One class was to be concerned with the three R's, but the others would study geography, moral knowledge, English and general history, English composition, science, logic and algebra, philosophy and natural history, English literature, Latin, and Greek, respectively. A public lecture on a topic of general interest would be delivered Tuesday evenings at a fee of 3d. a lecture. The fee of 4s. entitled a student to his class ticket, and he paid 6d. a week for the classes and an extra 2d. for borrowing books from the college library.

Bayley decided to enrol both men and women, and so great was the response that in a short time he had to increase the number of classes to fifty a week. The college received no aid from the Government and depended entirely on its own resources. A good deal of its success was due to the personality and high standard of scholarship of the founder. Mr. Bayley not only ran regular courses of study, but he tested the progress of the students by means of periodic examinations. For some years the college prospered and it was able to move from temporary to permanent premises. Then came the usual financial difficulties, which were aggravated by internal disputes. The college nearly came to an end, but when Mr. Bayley was appointed to a London chapel he urged his friends to maintain the institution whatever difficulties they had to face. During the time he was at Sheffield, Mr. Bayley had, amongst his pupils, Samuel Plimsoll who became member of Parliament for Derby, 1868-80, and became famous for the adoption of the Plimsoll line on the ships of the Merchant Navy.

Bayley's friends took his exhortation to heart and resolved that they would keep the college alive. In order to place it on a firm basis, they reorganised it under a committee and drew up a new set of regulations which put the government of the college into the hands of the students. The faith of the sixteen who carried out

Bayley's wish was amply justified and the college received a new lease of life. By 1850 the number of students had risen to 630, but after 1860 a decline set in once more. The college still continued its work until 1879, when the corporation demanded its premises for street improvements, and when it finally closed it finished solvent with a balance of £28 19s. 1d. The end of the college coincided with the opening of Firth College, which was destined to become the University of Sheffield.

The importance of the Sheffield college, apart from the work it carried out in that city, lies in the influence it had upon F. D. Maurice and his friends. Some years previously they had experimented with the co-operative movement, which they regarded as an application of Christian Socialism. The example of the Sheffield People's College inspired them to open in 1854 the London Working Men's College in Red Lion Square. Although Maurice believed that the college ought to be governed to a large extent by the students themselves, he was not prepared to allow them, as at Sheffield, to determine the methods and curriculum. He wrote in the *Working Men's College Magazine*, 1860: "I would not let the pupils have the least voice in determining what we shall teach or not teach, or how we shall teach. We may have social meetings with them individually; but no education will go on if we have general tumultuous assemblies to discuss what has been done or what is to be done. We who begin the instruction must claim authority over it, and not hastily resign our authority, however we may admit others by degrees to share it, and however willing we may be to creep out of it when the institution can stand without us."¹

Maurice owed a good deal to the principles of the Chartist movement. The general belief in the first half of the nineteenth century was that education was a gift or benefit which the well-to-do conferred upon the less happy sections of the community.² Lovett and

¹ Quoted by M. E. Sadler. *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, p. 42, Manchester University Press, 1907.

² Hudson reflected the spirit of the age when he wrote: "The unexampled efforts now making in every part of the kingdom for the intellectual and physical improvement of the lower classes of the community distinguish the present, as an age of philanthropy and good will to all men. The middle classes vie with the rich in promoting the great and good work of education. The brightest minds in literature and science direct their talents to its development; preparing the ignorant by addresses, by lectures, and by their writings, to receive and understand the great and interesting truths which the Creator unfolds before them. The beloved Sovereign of these realms lends her fair and royal name in behalf of Bazaars to increase the stores of Institution Libraries. The lawned Divine and the ermined Duke feel a pleasure in presiding over the festivals of the artisan and the day labourer." (*Op. cit.*, Preface, page v.)

Place insisted that adult education would make little headway until the spirit of patronising philanthropy was stamped out. Maurice believed, as Dr. Yeaxlee points out, in beginning at both ends Work must be raised so that it can become fit for association with learning, and the latter must be brought to bear upon work.¹

The London Working Men's College was intended for manual workers. Any working man over sixteen who could read and write and who understood the first four rules of arithmetic was eligible for membership. The first class to be opened was a Bible class and it continued to be one of the best-attended. Maurice had been forced to resign his chair at King's College, London, because his religious views were thought unorthodox, and this left him free to throw himself heart and soul into the movement. He gathered round him a band of men with ideals like his own, and the London College became famous for its association with such outstanding personalities as Charles Kingsley, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Lowes Dickenson, Tom Hughes, and John Ruskin. The secular side of the instruction was characterised by its liberality and, although after Maurice's death the religious aspect became less emphasised, the tradition of liberal education was maintained.

The example of the London Working Men's College was followed in other parts of the country, but only one other college has survived to the present day and retained its original name and purpose—the Vaughan College at Leicester, which was founded by Canon Vaughan in 1862.² The contribution of Maurice and such men is not to be measured by the number of institutions which they founded, but rather by the intellectual and spiritual stimulus that they transmitted to later generations. Sir Michael Sadler admirably summed it up when he wrote, "The great work which Maurice and his friends accomplished was the setting up of a new and more liberal ideal of adult education for men and women engaged during the day-time in the duties of the workshop, the office, or the home. This new ideal has had a far-reaching influence both on University opinion and on educational effort in its different forms throughout the country. The thoughts to which the founders of the Working Men's Colleges in London gave expression both in their writings and in their practical work as teachers were the outcome of a new social movement. . . . The same current of thought and feeling

¹ Basil A. Yeaxlee. *Spiritual Values in Adult Education*, Vol. I, p. 190, O.U.P., 1925.

² The Vaughan Memorial College is now associated with University College, Leicester.

affected the work of the Young Men's Christian Associations and many of the Mechanics' Institutes. It appeared later in the University extension movement."¹

The modern period in adult education opens with the development of University Extension, due to the inspiration of a young Scotsman, James Stuart, who had been lecturing in the north of England at the invitation of the North of England Council for Promoting the Higher Education of Women. These lectures were followed by an invitation from the Rochdale Co-operative Society to lecture to the members, and it was here that an incident occurred which suggested to Stuart the idea of University Extension work. "One day I was in a hurry to get away as soon as the lecture was over, and I asked the hall-keeper to allow my diagrams to remain hanging until my return next week. When I came back he said to me, 'It was one of the best things you ever did leaving up these diagrams. We had a meeting of our members last week, and a number of them who were attending your lectures were discussing these diagrams, and they have a number of questions they want to ask you, and they are coming to-night a little before the lecture begins.' About twenty or thirty intelligent artisans met me about half an hour before the lecture began, and I found it so useful a half-hour that during the remainder of the course I always had such a meeting."² In 1871 Stuart persuaded several bodies for whom he had lectured to appeal to the authorities of Cambridge University, asking them to organise lecture-centres. The idea was approved, and the first University Extension lecture-courses were provided at Derby, Leicester, and Nottingham, in 1873. In 1876 the University of London formed its University Extension Society, and Oxford made similar arrangements in 1878.

The University Extension movement was a curious combination of failure and success. From the point of view of working-class education, it was not an unqualified success. The cost of providing the lectures was heavy, and the fees, though often reduced for them, were more than most working men could afford. This could not be remedied so long as the universities were left to bear the whole burden of the finance themselves. As the cost of the lectures had to be met by fees and local subscriptions, large audiences had to be attracted to make the courses self-supporting. In order to

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

² Quoted by A. Mansbridge, *An Adventure in Working-Class Education*, p. 6, Longmans, Green, 1920.

achieve this, the lectures had to have the widest possible appeal, and this often led to superficiality. Moreover, the lectures tended to be discontinuous and unsystematic. It was not until University Extension courses became eligible for grants under the Adult Education Regulations of the Board of Education that this handicap was removed. Like the Mechanics' Institutes, the lectures began to appeal more and more to the middle classes and to provide them with the higher education which for many had hitherto been impossible.

University Extension had a most important influence in another direction. It was the origin of many of our modern universities and university colleges. Thus Firth College at Sheffield, 1879, and University College, Nottingham, were directly due to the extension work carried on in those cities. In the previous chapter the effect of University Extension upon the development of the Yorkshire College was mentioned. University College, Reading, was founded in 1892 as a University Extension college, and University College, Exeter, originated in the extension work carried on in that city by Cambridge University.

As University Extension developed, other forms of adult education appeared or were revived. The work of Sturge at the Severn Street School in Birmingham has already been mentioned. It was very ably seconded by William White, a Reading man who settled in Birmingham in 1848 as a bookseller and printer. With Sturge, he urged upon the Society of Friends the necessity of educational work amongst adults. The Friends' First-Day School Association, founded by Sturge in 1847, had chiefly been concerned with children in Sunday Schools, but it was White who turned the attention of the association to adult-schools. Side by side with the development of the Friends' adult-schools a large number of non-Quaker schools sprang up. At first these schools were isolated units, but eventually the value of association became recognised. The rapid increase in their numbers after 1874 led to the formation of local adult-unions (Midland, Leicestershire, Somerset, London, and Norfolk). A further development was the idea of a National Council of Adult School Associations which took shape in 1899 with White as its first president. The Council became the National Adult School Union in 1914.

The revival of adult-schools was followed by the establishment of residential colleges—such as Woodbrooke, 1903; Fircroft, 1909; the Co-operative College, Manchester, 1919; Hillcroft College for

Women at Surbiton, 1920; the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford, 1921; the Avoncroft College for Agricultural Workers at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, 1925; and by educational settlements such as Swarthmore at Leeds, 1909; St. Mary's at York, 1909; and the Homestead at Wakefield, 1913. Some of the educational settlements are closely linked with the universities. The pioneer settlement of this type is Toynbee Hall, opened in 1884 to commemorate the work done by Arnold Toynbee in the East End of London. Toynbee had been a friend and frequent visitor at Canon Barnett's vicarage in Whitechapel, where he had given up his vacations to deliver extension lectures to audiences of working men. Canon Barnett formed the settlement after Toynbee's death. University men and women came to spend part of their time living in working-class districts with the idea of understanding at first hand the conditions of life amongst the workers and sharing their knowledge and experience with them. The Society of Friends played a prominent part in settlement work, and T. E. Harvey, member of Parliament for the Northern Universities, was for a time Warden of Toynbee Hall. The settlements at Leeds and York were non-residential. Local education authorities are also taking an increasing part in the provision of residential colleges for adults. Thus the West Riding L.E.A. has recently acquired Grantley Hall, near Ripon, and has opened it as a residential adult-school providing shorter and longer courses in a variety of subjects.

In 1899 three Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Vrooman and Professor Beard, founded Ruskin College, Oxford, to give working-class students "a training in subjects which are essential for working-class leadership, and which are not a direct avenue to anything beyond." The idea of the founders was "to take men who have been merely condemning our institutions and teach them, instead, to transform these institutions, so that in place of talking against the world they will begin methodically and scientifically to possess the world."

The initial confusion of aims led to dissatisfaction amongst the students and in 1909 those who had Marxist sympathies seceded to form the Labour College. The latter has now been closed, but the work is being carried on by the National Council of Labour Colleges. Because the Adult Education Regulations demand an unsectarian and non-political approach to studies, the Labour Colleges do not receive grants from the Ministry of Education. Ruskin College was reorganised in 1910 and its management is entirely in the hands of the trade unions and the working-class

societies which support it. Wales had no adult residential college until the establishment of Coleg Harlech in 1927.

As University Extension was growing, the Co-operative movement developed its educational policy, but unfortunately it suffered at first from the lack of clear ideas about the function of adult education. It is important, however, because, with University Extension and the trade unions, it was one of the factors which brought into being the Workers' Educational Association. The founder of the W.E.A. was Albert Mansbridge, whose idea was to bring together the Co-operative Societies, the trade unions, and University Extension. In 1897 Mansbridge was a clerk employed by the Co-operative Wholesale Society, and in a number of articles to the *Co-operative News* he ventilated his scheme for bringing about an active working partnership between the universities and the people. His fellow co-operators did not at first see eye to eye with him, but he persevered, and, in an article contributed to the *University Extension Journal* in January 1903, he developed his plan. It received support from a number of working men, and later in the same year the Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men came into existence with Mansbridge as honorary secretary. This was the first national movement for adult education which worked in partnership with the universities and the national system of education.

In October 1904 the first branch was formed at Reading, followed a few months later by the establishment of another at Rochdale. In 1905 the association changed its name to the Workers' Educational Association. The movement spread rapidly. In 1906 there were thirteen branches; in 1907 forty-seven; and this number increased to fifty in 1908. The first W.E.A. district was Manchester. At the first national conference, held in 1905, the W.E.A. resolved to ask the Board of Education "how far and under what conditions employer and employed in their respective areas, would welcome legislation having for its ultimate object compulsory attendance at Evening Schools."¹ A deputation from the W.E.A. was received by Sir Robert Morant and resulted in the publication of a report by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in 1909. This was one of the factors which led to the day continuation schools of the Fisher Act.

William Temple (later Bishop of Manchester and Archbishop of Canterbury) attended this conference and became a whole-hearted

¹ A. Mansbridge. *An Adventure in Working-Class Education*, p. 17, Longmans, Green, 1920.

supporter of the W.E.A. Later, he was elected as the first president of the association. At first, the W.E.A. adopted every kind of educational method until it found that which best suited the kind of work it was attempting. The idea of tutorial classes had been suggested by Canon Barnett as early as 1900, but the first was not formed until 1906, at Rochdale. The University Extension Committee at this town found themselves in difficulties and consulted Mansbridge, who asked Rochdale to obtain thirty students to attend for two years and write regular essays. In return he promised the services of one of the foremost scholars in England. As a consequence, Mr. R. H. Tawney was appointed tutor. A similar experiment was tried at Longton in Staffordshire, where Mr. Tawney also acted as tutor. These were the first tutorial classes to be held in England, and the experiment was made possible by means of a grant from New College, Oxford.¹ This action had the strong support of Bishop Gore of Oxford and of Sir Robert Morant. The example of New College was followed by other Oxford colleges, and within a short space of time every university college in England and Wales was supporting tutorial classes. A permanent joint committee of the W.E.A. and the university was set up in each university and university college, and a central committee, known as the Central Joint Advisory Committee for Tutorial Classes, was established.

The next step involved the co-operation of the Board of Education, which for some time had been keenly interested in the movement. The Final Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction on Adult Education, published in 1919, recommended the granting of Government aid. This was followed in 1924 by the issue by the Board of Education of the Regulations for Adult Education. These regulations have been amended and expanded several times since that date.²

L.E.A.s make contributions to the work of the W.E.A., and in some cases take full financial responsibility for the classes, e.g. the West Riding of Yorkshire and in Kent.³

¹ The Rochdale class was the first to be organised, but the Longton class was the first actually to meet.

² Some aid had previously been given by the Board of Education under the *Regulations for Technical Schools, Schools of Art, and other Forms of Provision for Further Education in England and Wales*, 1918. Assistance had also been received under the provisions of the Act of 1902.

³ The relations between the W.E.A., other agencies supplying adult education, and the L.E.A.s was the subject of a special report: *Adult Education and the Local Education Authority*, H.M.S.O., 1933.

In 1947 there were nearly nine hundred W.E.A. branches in the country, federated into twenty-one districts. The total number of branch members was approximately 39,000, and about 100,000 men and women were attending classes. The latter represented a fair cross-section of the population. The statistics for 1946-7 show that twenty-one per cent of students were manual workers, sixteen per cent clerks, draughtsmen, travellers, foremen, teachers, civil servants, and postal workers, five per cent professional and social workers, and twenty-six per cent engaged in home duties and nursing. The remainder consisted of students drawn from miscellaneous occupations and those whose occupation was not declared.¹

The classes range from university tutorial classes of three years duration, to short courses of six months to a year, and provide for a wide range of subjects. Economics, history, and literature are the most popular, though in recent years psychology has been much in demand. The tutorial class has twenty-four meetings each year, the usual duration of which is two hours. The first hour is usually a lecture-period which is followed by a class discussion or, in classes studying science subjects, practical work. Subjects such as foreign languages, mathematics, etc., which are provided by L.E.A.s in their evening institutes, are not encouraged in W.E.A. classes. Book boxes are supplied to classes, and students are encouraged to read and are required to do some written work.

During the late war many W.E.A. classes were run under difficulties. The writer will never forget the experience of holding a class discussion in a cellar, while overhead, bombs were dropping and the barrage maintained by our anti-aircraft guns was deafening. The black-out created further difficulties for tutors and students who came from a distance, but the astonishing thing was the way in which most classes maintained their attendance. After the war, attendance was affected by the introduction of "staggered hours of work," but the Ministry of Education took account of this in its conditions for the award of grant.

Most of the universities have now reorganised their machinery for dealing with adult education in their areas. Extra-mural departments have been set up with a Director of Extra-Mural Studies as the academic head, and the work is usually organised by means of a Tutorial Class and an Extension Committee. Arrangements vary in different universities, but usually the two committees work

¹ *The Future in Adult Education*, pp. 11-12, W.E.A., 1947.

under the general direction of an Extra-Mural Board on which the university, the W.E.A., the L.E.A.s, and other agencies supplying adult education are represented. The tutors, who are employed in a full-time capacity, have formed an Association of Tutors in Adult Education, and in many cases are represented on the Extra-Mural Boards and Committees.

There have been two interesting developments in adult education in the period between the two wars. The first was the formation of the Cambridgeshire village colleges, which constitute at one and the same time schools for children, and educational, social, and cultural centres, for adults in the rural areas. The earliest of the centres was at Sawston, 1928, and owing to the active encouragement of Mr. H. Morris, County Education Secretary, and the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, they were extended to other districts in the county.

The other was in connection with the new housing estates built after the First World War, and was initiated by a conference, held in 1929, at which the National Council of Social Service and other bodies were represented. The New Estates Community Committee (later the Community Centres and Associations Committee) was created with the object of providing community centres to promote a healthy social life on the new housing estates. In 1944 the Ministry of Education issued a pamphlet entitled *Community Centres*, in which it was stated that the general responsibility for the development of community centres now rested with the Ministry of Education and the L.E.A.s. The centres themselves may be provided in a number of different ways, e.g. by an L.E.A. exercising its powers under Sections 41 and 53 of the Education Act, 1944; by a local authority acting as a housing authority under section 80 of the Housing Act, 1936; by a local authority exercising its powers under the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, or by voluntary effort aided by the L.E.A., the National Council of Social Services, or the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education, in the pamphlet referred to above, expressed its opinion that it was desirable that all villages, especially those with a population over four hundred, should be provided with a village hall.

The Women's Institutes, which have been organised in a large number of villages, are an important educational influence in rural districts. During the last war they made a noteworthy contribution to the national effort. Each county has its own local federation of Women's Institutes, and these are united in the National

Federation of Women's Institutes. In addition to social activities, they engage in various types of educational work, mostly of a practical character. They have also developed an interest among their members in music and drama. Each month the National Federation issues its magazine *Home and Country*, which includes a supplement dealing with the special activities of each county federation.

In urban districts the Townswomen's Guilds perform functions similar to those of the Women's Institutes in rural areas. The individual gilds are federated in the National Union of Townswomen's Guilds. Members of the gilds are keenly interested in civics and social studies and in choral and dramatic activities. Classes providing instruction in handicrafts and homecrafts have a wide appeal.

The agencies for the promotion of adult education are at the present day so numerous that space only allows a brief mention of some of the more prominent associations which place education more or less among their principal aims. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have always taken an important part in adult education and their activities in forces education will be mentioned in the last chapter of this book. The Y.M.C.A. started from a meeting of a few young men for prayer and the reading of the Bible in 1844 in a bedroom on the premises of Hitchcock and Rogers, retail silk mercers of Ludgate Hill. The leader of the group was George Williams (later Sir George Williams) who was the son of a Somerset farmer. He realised the value of these devotional gatherings in the case of his own small group, and this suggested to him the idea of extending the Young Men's Society to every drapery business in London. He estimated that there were about 150,000 shop-assistants who were living in houses of retail trade. In those days hours of business were much longer than at present, and it was not unusual to start work at seven in the morning and continue until late at night, especially at the week-end. These young people were, to a large extent, outside the sphere of influence of the churches and there was no organisation to look after their spiritual and intellectual interests.

The new association was given the name of the Young Men's Christian Association, and it put as its chief aims comradeship, united prayer, and the study of the Bible. Williams received enthusiastic support from Lord Shaftesbury. The scope of the Y.M.C.A. was extended to men engaged in other trades than the drapery,

and the Great Exhibition of 1851 provided an opportunity for it to interest visitors from all parts of the world. The movement grew rapidly and the American Y.M.C.A. was founded in the same year. At the jubilee of the association in 1894, delegates attended from all countries of the world. The Y.W.C.A. was founded for similar work amongst women. The Y.M.C.A. is not only active in the large towns, but its influence extends to remote rural districts. Red Triangle Clubs have been formed in many small villages and have co-operated with L.E.A.s, University Extension, and other organisations for providing adult education.

Albert Mansbridge was a keen Churchman and he was instrumental in establishing the Church of England tutorial classes. These were started in 1917 and were organised on a pattern similar to those of the W.E.A. There are numerous associations connected with the religious denominations, such as the Church of England Men's Society, the Mothers' Union, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Catholic Social Guild, the Brotherhood Movement, and the Men's Fellowships connected with the Free Churches. One of the most influential of these bodies is the Mothers' Union, founded by Mary Sumner in 1876. Like the Y.W.C.A., it arose from small beginnings—a group of mothers meeting at her husband's rectory at Old Alresford in Hampshire. From being a parochial organisation, it first grew to a diocesan union, then a national, and finally a world-wide association. At the present time the main association has over 4,000 branches with more than 570,000 members. The three objects of the Mothers' Union are (1) to uphold the sanctity of marriage, (2) to awaken mothers to a sense of their responsibility in the training of their children, and (3) to organise a band of women who are pledged to develop a Christian atmosphere in their homes. The association started with a hired room in Church House, Westminster. As it grew, another room was taken; then, in 1917, a house known as Mary Sumner House; and, after the founder's death in 1921, the present Mary Sumner House was opened by the Princess Royal in 1925. The Mothers' Union is interested in all matters which concern marriage and the home, the upbringing of children, training for motherhood, and sex education on Christian principles, and has frequently been consulted by Government departments on these subjects.

Other voluntary bodies connected with adult education include the British Drama League, the Co-operative Guilds, the Welsh Eisteddfod, and the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

A later comer in the field of adult education is the British Broadcasting Corporation. For some years, the B.B.C. had organised school broadcasts designed to meet the needs of both primary and secondary schools. Apart from entertainment, the B.B.C. has paid special attention to the interests of adult listeners, and the symphony concerts, recitals, and courses on musical appreciation have done much to raise the standards of musical taste. The latest feature, the introduction of the Third Programme, should be a very potent educational stimulus to the more serious-minded among adults. The programme was designed "for the alert and receptive listener, who is willing first of all to make an effort in selection and then to meet the performer half-way by giving his whole attention to what is being broadcast." Broadcast lectures and discussions are able to penetrate to lonely parts of the country and to people living under conditions where the formation of ordinary classes would be impracticable.

The Arts Council of Great Britain developed from the war-time organisation known as C.E.M.A. (Council for the Encouragement of Music and Arts), and it received a royal charter on 9th August 1946. It aims at providing the public with increasing opportunities of enjoying, and the artist of practising, achievements of the highest standard in music, drama, and the plastic and graphic arts. It has eleven regional offices and separate committees for Scotland and Wales. One of its achievements has been the establishment of arts clubs in different parts of the country. The council has also helped symphony orchestras to give concerts in industrial areas, arranged exhibitions in the visual arts, and sponsored a large number of dramatic ventures. Its work is carried out through its Advisory Panels for Music, Art, and Drama.

Although the adult-education movement may be said to have been born in Scotland through the work of Anderson and Birkbeck, yet the W.E.A. and University Extension in that country are of comparatively recent growth. Tutorial classes were not started in Edinburgh until 1913, and it was not until after the First World War that the universities gave serious attention to extra-mural activities. One reason for this late development is that until recently no grants were made for extra-mural education in Scotland by the Education Department, and classes could not receive aid from the local authorities unless they were organised by the School Boards (after 1918, by the Local Education Authorities). Another reason is that the democratic tradition in Scotland had rendered

the ordinary university courses more accessible to the population than in England and the benefaction of Andrew Carnegie materially assisted poor students in the payment of their fees. Newbattle Abbey, at Dalkeith, was opened as an adult residential college in 1937, and is recognised by the Scottish Education Department.

Sir Richard Livingstone, in his book *The Future of Education*, makes an eloquent appeal for the establishment of a system of residential colleges for adults, run on the lines of the Scandinavian countries, which have provided about 200 such colleges for their 16,000,000 inhabitants. Speaking of our pre-1944 system of education, he says: "I am not criticising our elementary schools or their teachers, or denying the necessity of elementary education for all. But unless it leads on to something else, it is as useless as a ladder which has no rungs beyond one or two at the bottom or as a railway from Oxford to London which ends at Didcot. To cease education at 14 is as unnatural as to die at 14. The one is a physical death, the other intellectual death. In fact, we have left the vast majority of the population without any kind of liberal education. We have provided for the minority who attend secondary school and university. We have shown the rest a glimpse of the promised land, and left them outside it."¹

He does not believe that the problem can be solved by raising the school-leaving age to sixteen or even eighteen; education must be lifelong. Moreover, many of the studies which are essential to the making of an educated nation—literature, history, philosophy, economics, and politics—cannot be fully appreciated by schoolboys because of their inadequate experience of life. He speaks highly of the accomplishment of the W.E.A. and kindred agencies, but he reminds us: "In 1938-39 there were 66,966 students in W.E.A. classes. The figure is remarkable, till we remember that there are forty-three millions in this island, and that the crowd at a cup-tie final is twice as large."² The only solution, in his view, lies in creating a system of residential colleges for adults analogous to the Danish People's High Schools. Alongside these colleges, a system of non-residential educational settlements is necessary. He writes: "Opportunities for systematic adult study . . . must not be limited to lectures or classes given in any hall or schoolroom that happens to be available. They must have a 'local habitation,' a focus in the Latin sense of the word, a hearth where the fire remains continually

¹ R. Livingstone. *The Future in Education*, pp. 3-4, C.U.P., 1942.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

lit, and where education can be more than isolated individual study and becomes a life shared with others. The Educational Settlements which have grown up during the century show how such a hearth can be provided.”¹ The Education Act of 1944 envisages a national system of adult education when it places upon L.E.A.s the duty of providing adequate facilities for full-time and part-time education and leisure-time occupation for persons in their areas who are able and willing to profit by the opportunities provided for that purpose. In preparing their schemes for further education the L.E.A.s have the further duty of consulting other agencies, such as the universities, the University of Wales Council of Music, and the W.E.A.

Technical education has made such strides during the past hundred years and has now so many ramifications that it is an impossible task to do it justice in a few pages. Space limits our selection to some of its most important aspects. References have already been made in other chapters to certain features of technical instruction, chiefly in connection with the higher-grade schools, the junior technical schools, and the Spens Report. This section is largely concerned with the provision of technical instruction for students above compulsory school age.

During the Napoleonic wars, Britain had established an industrial and commercial supremacy over all other countries, since her island position gave her the opportunity of developing her mines and manufactures undisturbed. Thus she had a definite lead as a manufacturing nation, but in the years of peace which followed, other countries began to develop their industrial resources. Even before Britain's industrial supremacy was challenged, the value of technical and scientific instruction was beginning to be officially recognised. In 1836 a Select Committee of the House of Commons recommended the establishment of a Normal School of Design for which the sum of £1,500 was voted. From 1841 onwards, annual grants were made for promoting provincial schools of design. The supervision of these schools was given to a public office which later became the Board of Trade. By 1852 there were seventeen provincial schools of design, situated in the more important industrial centres, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Leeds, and Paisley.

The Great Exhibition of 1851, which was in many ways a triumph for British industry and craftsmanship, gave indications

¹R. Livingstone, in foreword to *Citizen Centres for Adult Education*, Educational Settlements Association, 1943.

that in certain aspects we were falling behind our Continental competitors. This led to a demand for the provision of scientific and technical instruction for workpeople. In 1852 the Normal School of Design became the Department of Practical Art in the Board of Trade, and the following year a Science Division was added. Its name was then changed to that of the Science and Art Department of the Board of Trade, and it was housed at South Kensington. When, in 1856, the Select Committee of the Privy Council became the Education Department of the Committee of Council, the Science and Art Department was put under its wing. The Royal College of Chemistry had been opened in 1845 and the Government School of Mines and Science applied to the Arts was established in 1851. These two were amalgamated for some years, but were again separated in 1890 under the titles of the Royal College of Science and the Royal School of Mines, South Kensington. The Normal School of Design eventually became the Royal College of Art which was established in 1896.

In order to encourage the teaching of science and art, the Science and Art Department instituted examinations and made grants to schools which presented successful pupils. In 1851 the number of science classes in the country was thirty-eight, with 1,300 pupils. It had risen to seventy schools with 2,543 pupils in 1861. The main problem was that of obtaining an adequate supply of suitably qualified teachers. Common sense would have suggested the foundation of a School of Science at which teachers of science could be trained. The official mind, however, did not work in this way; and the Department fell back upon the traditional method of encouraging a subject, and in 1859 instituted a special examination for teachers of science. The remuneration of the teachers who qualified depended upon the number of their pupils who passed the special examinations held by the Department. No arrangements, however, were made for ensuring that the teachers were properly prepared for the examinations. The influence of this policy was thoroughly bad. Teachers, in order to qualify, got up information from textbooks and afterwards crammed their pupils so as to obtain the maximum amount of grant from the Department. It was possible to pass the examinations without doing any practical work and many candidates obtained certificates who had never seen or handled any scientific apparatus. "Many self-taught students collected South Kensington certificates by the dozen. There is a

legend that the highest number of certificates in Agriculture were gained by earnest young men who had never stirred beyond the precincts of Whitechapel”¹ When the Revised Code came into operation in 1862, many teachers augmented their salaries by obtaining a South Kensington certificate and then giving science instruction in evening classes. In Chapter v it was mentioned that after 1872 higher-grade schools presented pupils for the examinations of the Science and Art Department and were recognised as organised schools of science receiving grants for their successful candidates. Also, endowed secondary schools and private schools followed this example, so that science began to take a more prominent place in the school curriculum.

Another factor which encouraged the teaching of science was the report of the Duke of Devonshire's Commission which recommended that in all public and endowed secondary schools, not less than six hours a week should be given to instruction in science and the requirements of the different examining bodies should insist on candidates offering mathematics and at least one science in order to pass. Unfortunately, much of the preparation of boys for examinations in science consisted of lectures and the reading of textbooks. Professor Armstrong, by his advocacy of the Heuristic method, did much to encourage more practical methods in science teaching.

The claim for the inclusion of science in schools was strengthened by the popular interest shown in such works as Darwin's *Origin of Species* and the articles written by Herbert Spencer, and afterwards, in 1861, collected into book form, entitled *Education—Intellectual, Moral and Physical*. Spencer's advocacy of science was readily accepted not so much because of the cogency of the arguments in his book—for indeed it is a work riddled with inconsistencies and fallacies—as because of the prestige of his name. A more reasonable plea was put by T. H. Huxley who, in his *Essays*, emphasised the widening of outlook which resulted from the study of science. Unlike Spencer, Huxley realised the value of humanities in education, if they were properly taught. Although his *Essays* were not as widely read as Spencer's book, his personality as a teacher and lecturer, and the administrative work which fell to him as a member of the first London School Board, probably gave him the greater influence.

¹ D. M. Turner. *History of Science Teaching in England*, p. 76, Chapman and Hall, 1927.

At the Paris Exhibition of 1867, British products were in many cases classed below those of the craftsmen of other countries and this caused considerable uneasiness in Britain.¹ The usual remedy was attempted. In 1871 a royal commission under the chairmanship of the seventh Duke of Devonshire was appointed to inquire into the conditions under which scientific instruction was being given in all types of English educational establishment. The Devonshire Commission reported in 1875 and included in its report a survey of the technological advances made in foreign countries.

The latter stimulated the London City Livery Companies to appoint, in 1877, a committee to draw up a national scheme of technical instruction. The result was the foundation of the City and Guilds Institute in 1880. The Institute encouraged the teaching of applied science in schools and evening classes and organised a system of examinations in technical subjects. It was responsible for the establishment of the Finsbury Technical College in 1883. This was intended to be "a model trade school for the instruction of artisans and other persons preparing for intermediate posts in industrial works." The college held both day and evening classes, the latter specialising in cabinet-making, which was one of the leading industries of the district. Instruction was given in practical mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, physics, electrical technology, machine drawing, and workshop practice. In the evening classes, besides cabinet-making and joinery, bricklaying, drawing, modelling, and design, were taught. This college was an important influence in the development of similar institutions in different parts of the country. As we have already seen, many of the new technical colleges developed from the existing Mechanics' Institutes. In 1884 the City and Guilds Central Technical College was opened at South Kensington with the aim of training technical teachers, works managers, engineers, and industrial chemists.

One of the most interesting developments was due to Quintin Hogg. His interest in education began with a reading-lesson given to a couple of crossing-sweepers in a street near the Strand. In 1864 he was teaching a ragged school; in 1868 he was in charge of a boys' home in Drury Lane; and in 1878 he opened an evening institute. His Working Lads' Institute outgrew its premises and he acquired in 1880 the building known as the Polytechnic in Regent

¹ At the Great Exhibition of 1851 there were one hundred different departments, in nearly all of which British manufactures were superior. In 1867 there were ninety departments, and Britain was only able to excel her competitors in ten of them.

Street. The latter had been a place of popular and semi-popular entertainment, but after some years it was unable to pay its way. Hogg retained the name for his new institution. The Polytechnic movement owed its rapid progress to the City Parochial Charities Act of 1883. The movement of population away from the City of London had made a redistribution of the charitable endowments of the city parishes highly desirable. A royal commission reported that the property, yielding about £80,000 per annum, was being wasted, and it recommended that the income should be used for purposes which would benefit the whole metropolis. When the necessary authority had been obtained by the above Act, a scheme was drawn up for establishing throughout London a number of institutions, similar in character to the Regent Street Polytechnic. The Drapers', Goldsmiths', and Clothworkers' Companies made generous contributions to the scheme. When the London County Council was established by the Local Government Act of 1888, it took over the supervision of the polytechnics. The polytechnics have a wide range of activities and, whilst retaining their original functions of promoting social intercourse and healthy recreation, they have developed into educational centres of prime importance. In addition to running secondary and technical schools and day technical classes for more advanced students, they provide evening classes for apprentices and workmen which give instruction of a practical character in connection with the building, engineering, furniture, bookbinding and printing, clothing, and other trades. There are also commercial and foreign-language classes, and some of the students are prepared for degrees of the University of London.

The alarm caused by the industrial progress of the German Empire and the competition of the United States led to the appointment of yet another Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, in 1884.

The report of the Commission reviewed the facilities for technical education in this country and contrasted them with those available on the Continent and in the United States. The Commission not only investigated the training given in technical institutions, but science teaching from the elementary school upwards. The provision of an adequate number of secondary schools of a "modern type," probably similar to the third-grade schools of the Taunton Commission, was urged. The report stimulated the authorities to realise the need not only of first-class technical institutions, but also

of an adequate supply of secondary schools in which the instruction given would lay the foundation for later technical training. The result of the inquiry was the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. The Act was permissive and gave power to local authorities (the new county and county borough councils) to levy a penny rate in order to supply technical instruction by founding schools and appointing teachers, to aid the supply of technical education by making grants to institutes supplying such education, and to promote technical education by the establishment of exhibitions and scholarships. A fortunate accident encouraged the local authorities to make use of these powers. In 1890 the Government passed legislation reducing the number of public houses. To compensate the dispossessed publicans, an additional duty was placed on wines and spirits, but many members of Parliament were opposed to any scheme for compensating the publicans. The Act imposing the tax had been passed and the Government found itself in the unique position of having a considerable surplus and not knowing what to do with it. Arthur Acland suggested that the money should be given to the county councils either for assisting technical education or for reducing the rates. The majority used it for the former purpose and were able to finance technical instruction without the necessity of levying the rate authorised by the Act. The experience thus acquired by the councils stood them in good stead when in 1902 they were required to take over the administration of education in their areas in place of the School Boards. This annual sum was known as "Whiskey Money." "So curious a source of revenue, however, entailed one unfortunate result; the funds available for technical education increased whenever drinking increased and diminished with a spread of temperance, so that, if the total abstainers could have persuaded the whole country 'to go dry,' there would have been no funds left."¹ Much of the money was spent on the education of pupils in secondary schools, and aided the teaching of science rather than technical instruction.

At this point it is perhaps well to give a short account of three bodies which exercised an important influence upon the teaching of science and technical subjects. The earliest in order of formation was the Society of Arts of London, which was founded in 1754 "for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce in Great Britain." The society offered medals and prizes for useful

¹ R. L. Archer. *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 308, C.U.P., 1921.

inventions and arranged for exhibitions of scientific curiosities. The great Exhibition of 1851 was largely due to the efforts of the society, whose president at that time was the Prince Consort. In 1854 the Society of Arts introduced its system of examinations, and the emphasis it gave to the importance of drawing in connection with trades and industries anticipated the recommendations of the Cross Commission. The examinations included such subjects as chemistry, physiology, botany, mathematics, and mechanics. In 1872 the society extended its examination system to technological subjects. The examinations were afterwards confined to commercial subjects. In 1908 the society received the title of the Royal Society of Arts.

The Royal Institution was founded by Count Rumford in 1800. Its object was stated to be that of diffusing knowledge and facilitating the general introduction of useful mechanical inventions and improvements, and, through teaching by means of lectures, the application of science to the purposes of daily life. Count Rumford was interested in domestic economy, and he lectured and wrote on ventilation, cooking apparatus, and fire-places. It was due to Rumford that in 1801 Humphry Davy was appointed lecturer in chemistry and head of the laboratory of the Royal Institution. When, in the following year, Rumford left for Munich, the policy of the Royal Institution was completely changed. His cooking apparatus was put on one side and his plans for the training of young mechanics were dropped. In future, the Royal Institution concentrated on the teaching of science. Davy secured an international reputation for the work accomplished in the laboratory of the Institution. After Davy's death in 1828 the fortunes of the Institution declined, but they rose to an even greater height when Michael Faraday became director of the Laboratory. His Friday evening lectures became famous and his Christmas talks were known and appreciated throughout the country. His researches laid the foundation of modern electrical science. In more recent years the Royal Institution has been associated with the names of Lord Rayleigh, J. J. Thomson, Rutherford, and Bragg.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1831. It had always shown an interest in schools, especially as regards the teaching of science, and in its report of 1889 it advocated the Heuristic method of Professor Armstrong. In 1901 educational science became a recognised part of its activities.

The reorganisation of the central institutions for advanced scientific and technical education at South Kensington has been described in Chapter xii. The Cross Commission had noticed the decline in the number of students attending evening schools and had suggested that the remedy was to regard these institutions as continuation rather than elementary schools. This recommendation was carried out in the Code of 1890, and as a result the evening schools began to give instruction in languages, science, art, handicrafts, and domestic work. A further advance was the issue in 1898 of a separate Code for evening continuation schools. The upper age-limit for students was abolished and grants were given for attendance instead of being based on examination results. The subjects of instruction were extended by the addition of technical instruction, physical training, and commercial subjects such as shorthand, bookkeeping, and typing. The object of the new Code was to provide opportunities to students to study subjects not included in the elementary-school curriculum and which did not receive grants from the Science and Art Department, and also to give a preparatory course for those wishing to proceed to more advanced studies in technical schools.

Although there was a marked increase in the number of evening students—from 298,724 in 1896 to 474,563 in 1899—much of the instruction still remained at an elementary-school level. Students were able to select the subjects they wished to study, and this led to a difficulty. A young man might elect to study mechanical engineering, but he soon found that he could not make satisfactory progress unless at the same time he advanced in his knowledge of such subjects as mathematics, physics, and machine drawing. The solution of this problem was the introduction of the group system, first adopted by the Halifax evening continuation schools in 1902. The Board of Education supported this policy and, in 1907, students were required to select a group of related subjects for study.

The students of the evening continuation schools fell into two main classes—those who intended to enter a technical school and those who would not carry their studies beyond the range of the evening school. As the former of these classes was considered the more important, the grouped courses were organised according to the occupations of the pupils or the industries they hoped to enter. There were usually five main groups: industrial, commercial, rural, domestic, and general. The first two attracted the largest number of students, but the general courses made a greater appeal

as time went on, while the domestic courses naturally interested girls and women. In all the courses instruction was given in English in addition to the subjects peculiar to the course.¹

The evening technical schools developed side by side with the evening continuation schools. When the Regulations of the Board of Education in 1904 made it possible for a class in almost any subject to receive a grant, the range of instruction extended as more highly trained teachers in different subjects became available. The courses provided by the evening technical schools were classified into junior, senior, and advanced, according to the age and experience of the pupils. The junior course was intended for pupils from fourteen to sixteen years of age and was taken in the evening continuation school. The senior course, taken in a technical school, was planned to extend over three years from the age of sixteen. Before they entered, students were expected to have received suitable education either in a secondary or an evening continuation school. The course was more specialised and was framed according to the different branches of industry or commerce. The advanced course, usually planned for two years, was held in the larger technical schools and gave the student greater freedom in the choice of subjects.

At the beginning of the century the traditional English view that the school should concentrate on the theoretical aspects and the workshop on practice was universally accepted. Thus the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 defined technical instruction as that given "in the principles of science and art applicable to industries and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries and employments." It was expressly stated that the instruction should not include the practice of any trade or industry. This attitude was in contrast to the work done in similar schools on the Continent where the importance of workshop apprenticeship was emphasised.

The traditional view is still generally accepted, but after the First World War it began to break down with regard to certain industries. The first to be affected was the building industry. "... it was in connexion with the teaching of plumbing that instruction in the actual practice of a craft first started on any considerable scale. When once the principle of giving workshop instruction to a particular type of workers had been admitted, there was no valid

¹ In some towns, *e.g.* Reading, the L.E.A. and the university college organised between them a complete scheme of education for evening students.

reason for refusing to permit the practical training of other craftsmen, and accordingly classes in carpentry and joinery, plastering, pattern making, acetylene welding, and other crafts exist in a number of technical schools.”¹ This has given rise to the distinction between a Minor and Major course. The former denotes a training in craftsmanship or in workshop operations, whilst the latter is concerned with the principles which underlie those operations. Obviously there can be no hard and fast distinction between the two. It was found necessary to include certain theoretical subjects, such as mathematics and science, in the Minor course and in many cases the latter was planned in view of a subsequent Major course.

In the 19th century, technical and scientific instruction was largely moulded by the examinations of the Science and Art Department and the City and Guilds of London Institute. The Board of Education discontinued the science examinations of the lower grade in 1911 and followed within a few years by abolishing all these examinations except those used for awarding certain scholarships. The City and Guilds Institute followed suit and abandoned their lower examinations in 1918. There was, however, a widespread demand for tests which should be applied to students at different stages of their work, and it was felt that such examinations should have a national standing. The demand was at first met by examinations conducted by unions of L.E.A.s and schools, such as the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, the Union of Educational Institutions, the East Midland Educational Union, and the Northern Counties Technical Examinations Council.

This practice was not completely satisfactory since the unions did not cover the whole of the country and their certificates were those of regional bodies and not of a national one. This has led to the development of national certificates given as the reward of three to five years systematic study. The first move came in 1921 when the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, in conjunction with the Board of Education, developed a scheme to issue national certificates and diplomas in mechanical engineering. The certificates were issued to students who passed with success through approved grouped courses of instruction at certain technical colleges and schools and satisfied the examiners in the final examination. The latter was held by the school or college authorities and assessed

¹ A. Abbott. *Education for Industry and Commerce in England*, p. 62, O.U.P., 1933.

by assessors appointed by the Institution. The certificates were on two levels: the Ordinary National Certificate awarded on the results of a senior part-time course of three years, and the Higher National Certificate awarded on the results of an advanced part-time course to those who had already gained the first certificate and had covered another two years work. For full-time students in technical colleges, the Ordinary and Higher National Diplomas were available. Within the next few years, national certificates and diplomas were available in electrical engineering, chemistry, building, naval architecture, textiles, and commerce. The certificate in the last-named subject is sponsored by the Royal Society of Arts, the London Chamber of Commerce, and other bodies.

The introduction of the national certificates and diplomas has entirely revolutionised the work done in senior technical institutes. The student can gain a qualification approximating to a university degree in his subject, and the standards of teaching in technical institutions have advanced considerably.

During the last war the importance of a high standard of technical education, beginning with the evening institutes (the name by which the evening continuation schools have been known since 1926) and extending to the senior technical colleges and the universities, was brought home to everybody. That importance has not diminished in time of peace, and in the present production-drive it is everywhere realised that the recovery of our pre-war economic status is dependent, amongst other factors, upon the efficiency of our technical training and research. A distinction is usually made between "technical training," which applies to the work of the evening institutes and technical schools, and "technological training," which denotes the higher study and research appropriate to the universities and central technical institutions.

So far we have been considering the work accomplished by the evening institutes and evening technical schools. During the same period full-time courses of technical education were developed. Reference has already been made in an earlier chapter to the emergence of junior technical schools. As a result of the operation of the Education Act of 1902 the majority of the organised science schools became secondary schools. This left a gap of two or three years between the leaving-age of the elementary school (thirteen to fourteen) and the lowest age at which young people could be received as apprentices (sixteen). Pupils who intended to become apprentices did not usually enter the secondary schools, but as their earnings

were often essential to their parents, they tended to drift into blind-alley occupations, finally ending up as unskilled labourers. To prevent this wastage the Board of Education announced in 1905 that grants could be given to day technical classes provided for pupils who had left elementary schools.

The new junior technical schools fell into two groups: those which prepared pupils for particular trades and occupations (trade schools), and those which gave an education to pupils wishing to enter a particular industry but not a specific occupation within that industry (pre-apprenticeship schools). The latter represented the normal junior technical school. The trade school was closely allied to the French "*écoles d'apprentissage*" and the German "*Fachschullen*." The junior technical school was essentially an English development. It was a fee-paying school, the usual fee being £3 per annum. Under the provision of the Act of 1902, these schools formed part of the system of higher education and were aided by the county and county borough education authorities. Most of them were part of the larger technical colleges, shared their premises, and utilised the staff of the institutions which carried on technological work in the evenings. Thus the school at Halifax was housed in the premises of the Halifax Technical College. At Leeds the junior technical schools were carried on in buildings which had originally belonged to the Mechanics' Institute.

In 1913 the Board of Education issued Regulations for Junior Technical Schools. The grant payable for pupils who entered at thirteen or fourteen was £5 per head (£7 per pupil in exceptional cases). Permission was given for the schools to accept some pupils at the age of twelve, but in such cases the grant was only £3 per head. No pupil could be admitted unless the parent gave an undertaking that the boy would enter an occupation for which the school gave a preparation. Where possible, practical work would be given in all suitable subjects, and the teaching staff had to include a reasonable number of people with trade experience. All schools were to "provide for the continuance of the moral, intellectual and physical education given in Public Elementary Schools." It is important to note that these schools were not recognised as secondary schools until 1938.

These regulations remained in force until 1926, during which time a number of junior commercial schools appeared. Other schools not recognised under the regulations were opened, *e.g.* schools of nautical training and junior housewifery schools. By

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The alarm caused by the industrial progress of the German Empire and the competition of the United States led to the appointment of yet another Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, in 1884.

The report of the Commission reviewed the facilities for technical education in this country and contrasted them with those available on the Continent and in the United States. The Commission not only investigated the training given in technical institutions, but science teaching from the elementary school upwards. The provision of an adequate number of secondary schools of a "modern type," probably similar to the third-grade schools of the Taunton Commission, was urged. The report stimulated the authorities to realise the need not only of first-class technical institutions, but also

of an adequate supply of secondary schools in which the instruction given would lay the foundation for later technical training. The result of the inquiry was the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. The Act was permissive and gave power to local authorities (the new county and county borough councils) to levy a penny rate in order to supply technical instruction by founding schools and appointing teachers, to aid the supply of technical education by making grants to institutes supplying such education, and to promote technical education by the establishment of exhibitions and scholarships. A fortunate accident encouraged the local authorities to make use of these powers. In 1890 the Government passed legislation reducing the number of public houses. To compensate the dispossessed publicans, an additional duty was placed on wines and spirits, but many members of Parliament were opposed to any scheme for compensating the publicans. The Act imposing the tax had been passed and the Government found itself in the unique position of having a considerable surplus and not knowing what to do with it. Arthur Acland suggested that the money should be given to the county councils either for assisting technical education or for reducing the rates. The majority used it for the former purpose and were able to finance technical instruction without the necessity of levying the rate authorised by the Act. The experience thus acquired by the councils stood them in good stead when in 1902 they were required to take over the administration of education in their areas in place of the School Boards. This annual sum was known as "Whiskey Money." "So curious a source of revenue, however, entailed one unfortunate result; the funds available for technical education increased whenever drinking increased and diminished with a spread of temperance, so that, if the total abstainers could have persuaded the whole country 'to go dry,' there would have been no funds left."¹ Much of the money was spent on the education of pupils in secondary schools, and aided the teaching of science rather than technical instruction.

At this point it is perhaps well to give a short account of three bodies which exercised an important influence upon the teaching of science and technical subjects. The earliest in order of formation was the Society of Arts of London, which was founded in 1754 "for the encouragement of arts, manufactures and commerce in Great Britain." The society offered medals and prizes for useful

¹ R. L. Archer. *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 308, C.U.P., 1921.

inventions and arranged for exhibitions of scientific curiosities. The great Exhibition of 1851 was largely due to the efforts of the society, whose president at that time was the Prince Consort. In 1854 the Society of Arts introduced its system of examinations, and the emphasis it gave to the importance of drawing in connection with trades and industries anticipated the recommendations of the Cross Commission. The examinations included such subjects as chemistry, physiology, botany, mathematics, and mechanics. In 1872 the society extended its examination system to technological subjects. The examinations were afterwards confined to commercial subjects. In 1908 the society received the title of the Royal Society of Arts.

The Royal Institution was founded by Count Rumford in 1800. Its object was stated to be that of diffusing knowledge and facilitating the general introduction of useful mechanical inventions and improvements, and, through teaching by means of lectures, the application of science to the purposes of daily life. Count Rumford was interested in domestic economy, and he lectured and wrote on ventilation, cooking apparatus, and fire-places. It was due to Rumford that in 1801 Humphry Davy was appointed lecturer in chemistry and head of the laboratory of the Royal Institution. When, in the following year, Rumford left for Munich, the policy of the Royal Institution was completely changed. His cooking apparatus was put on one side and his plans for the training of young mechanics were dropped. In future, the Royal Institution concentrated on the teaching of science. Davy secured an international reputation for the work accomplished in the laboratory of the Institution. After Davy's death in 1828 the fortunes of the Institution declined, but they rose to an even greater height when Michael Faraday became director of the Laboratory. His Friday evening lectures became famous and his Christmas talks were known and appreciated throughout the country. His researches laid the foundation of modern electrical science. In more recent years the Royal Institution has been associated with the names of Lord Rayleigh, J. J. Thomson, Rutherford, and Bragg.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1831. It had always shown an interest in schools, especially as regards the teaching of science, and in its report of 1889 it advocated the Heuristic method of Professor Armstrong. In 1901 educational science became a recognised part of its activities.

The reorganisation of the central institutions for advanced scientific and technical education at South Kensington has been described in Chapter xii. The Cross Commission had noticed the decline in the number of students attending evening schools and had suggested that the remedy was to regard these institutions as continuation rather than elementary schools. This recommendation was carried out in the Code of 1890, and as a result the evening schools began to give instruction in languages, science, art, handicrafts, and domestic work. A further advance was the issue in 1898 of a separate Code for evening continuation schools. The upper age-limit for students was abolished and grants were given for attendance instead of being based on examination results. The subjects of instruction were extended by the addition of technical instruction, physical training, and commercial subjects such as shorthand, bookkeeping, and typing. The object of the new Code was to provide opportunities to students to study subjects not included in the elementary-school curriculum and which did not receive grants from the Science and Art Department, and also to give a preparatory course for those wishing to proceed to more advanced studies in technical schools.

Although there was a marked increase in the number of evening students—from 298,724 in 1896 to 474,563 in 1899—much of the instruction still remained at an elementary-school level. Students were able to select the subjects they wished to study, and this led to a difficulty. A young man might elect to study mechanical engineering, but he soon found that he could not make satisfactory progress unless at the same time he advanced in his knowledge of such subjects as mathematics, physics, and machine drawing. The solution of this problem was the introduction of the group system, first adopted by the Halifax evening continuation schools in 1902. The Board of Education supported this policy and, in 1907, students were required to select a group of related subjects for study.

The students of the evening continuation schools fell into two main classes—those who intended to enter a technical school and those who would not carry their studies beyond the range of the evening school. As the former of these classes was considered the more important, the grouped courses were organised according to the occupations of the pupils or the industries they hoped to enter. There were usually five main groups: industrial, commercial, rural, domestic, and general. The first two attracted the largest number of students, but the general courses made a greater appeal

as time went on, while the domestic courses naturally interested girls and women. In all the courses instruction was given in English in addition to the subjects peculiar to the course.¹

The evening technical schools developed side by side with the evening continuation schools. When the Regulations of the Board of Education in 1904 made it possible for a class in almost any subject to receive a grant, the range of instruction extended as more highly trained teachers in different subjects became available. The courses provided by the evening technical schools were classified into junior, senior, and advanced, according to the age and experience of the pupils. The junior course was intended for pupils from fourteen to sixteen years of age and was taken in the evening continuation school. The senior course, taken in a technical school, was planned to extend over three years from the age of sixteen. Before they entered, students were expected to have received suitable education either in a secondary or an evening continuation school. The course was more specialised and was framed according to the different branches of industry or commerce. The advanced course, usually planned for two years, was held in the larger technical schools and gave the student greater freedom in the choice of subjects.

At the beginning of the century the traditional English view that the school should concentrate on the theoretical aspects and the workshop on practice was universally accepted. Thus the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 defined technical instruction as that given "in the principles of science and art applicable to industries and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries and employments." It was expressly stated that the instruction should not include the practice of any trade or industry. This attitude was in contrast to the work done in similar schools on the Continent where the importance of workshop apprenticeship was emphasised.

The traditional view is still generally accepted, but after the First World War it began to break down with regard to certain industries. The first to be affected was the building industry. "... it was in connexion with the teaching of plumbing that instruction in the actual practice of a craft first started on any considerable scale. When once the principle of giving workshop instruction to a particular type of workers had been admitted, there was no valid

¹ In some towns, *e.g.* Reading, the L.E.A. and the university college organised between them a complete scheme of education for evening students.

reason for refusing to permit the practical training of other craftsmen, and accordingly classes in carpentry and joinery, plastering, pattern making, acetylene welding, and other crafts exist in a number of technical schools.”¹ This has given rise to the distinction between a Minor and Major course. The former denotes a training in craftsmanship or in workshop operations, whilst the latter is concerned with the principles which underlie those operations. Obviously there can be no hard and fast distinction between the two. It was found necessary to include certain theoretical subjects, such as mathematics and science, in the Minor course and in many cases the latter was planned in view of a subsequent Major course.

In the 19th century, technical and scientific instruction was largely moulded by the examinations of the Science and Art Department and the City and Guilds of London Institute. The Board of Education discontinued the science examinations of the lower grade in 1911 and followed within a few years by abolishing all these examinations except those used for awarding certain scholarships. The City and Guilds Institute followed suit and abandoned their lower examinations in 1918. There was, however, a widespread demand for tests which should be applied to students at different stages of their work, and it was felt that such examinations should have a national standing. The demand was at first met by examinations conducted by unions of L.E.A.s and schools, such as the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, the Union of Educational Institutions, the East Midland Educational Union, and the Northern Counties Technical Examinations Council.

This practice was not completely satisfactory since the unions did not cover the whole of the country and their certificates were those of regional bodies and not of a national one. This has led to the development of national certificates given as the reward of three to five years systematic study. The first move came in 1921 when the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, in conjunction with the Board of Education, developed a scheme to issue national certificates and diplomas in mechanical engineering. The certificates were issued to students who passed with success through approved grouped courses of instruction at certain technical colleges and schools and satisfied the examiners in the final examination. The latter was held by the school or college authorities and assessed

¹ A. Abbott. *Education for Industry and Commerce in England*, p. 62, O.U.P., 1933.

by assessors appointed by the Institution. The certificates were on two levels: the Ordinary National Certificate awarded on the results of a senior part-time course of three years, and the Higher National Certificate awarded on the results of an advanced part-time course to those who had already gained the first certificate and had covered another two years work. For full-time students in technical colleges, the Ordinary and Higher National Diplomas were available. Within the next few years, national certificates and diplomas were available in electrical engineering, chemistry, building, naval architecture, textiles, and commerce. The certificate in the last-named subject is sponsored by the Royal Society of Arts, the London Chamber of Commerce, and other bodies.

The introduction of the national certificates and diplomas has entirely revolutionised the work done in senior technical institutes. The student can gain a qualification approximating to a university degree in his subject, and the standards of teaching in technical institutions have advanced considerably.

During the last war the importance of a high standard of technical education, beginning with the evening institutes (the name by which the evening continuation schools have been known since 1926) and extending to the senior technical colleges and the universities, was brought home to everybody. That importance has not diminished in time of peace, and in the present production-drive it is everywhere realised that the recovery of our pre-war economic status is dependent, amongst other factors, upon the efficiency of our technical training and research. A distinction is usually made between "technical training," which applies to the work of the evening institutes and technical schools, and "technological training," which denotes the higher study and research appropriate to the universities and central technical institutions.

So far we have been considering the work accomplished by the evening institutes and evening technical schools. During the same period full-time courses of technical education were developed. Reference has already been made in an earlier chapter to the emergence of junior technical schools. As a result of the operation of the Education Act of 1902 the majority of the organised science schools became secondary schools. This left a gap of two or three years between the leaving-age of the elementary school (thirteen to fourteen) and the lowest age at which young people could be received as apprentices (sixteen). Pupils who intended to become apprentices did not usually enter the secondary schools, but as their earnings

were often essential to their parents, they tended to drift into blind-alley occupations, finally ending up as unskilled labourers. To prevent this wastage the Board of Education announced in 1905 that grants could be given to day technical classes provided for pupils who had left elementary schools.

The new junior technical schools fell into two groups: those which prepared pupils for particular trades and occupations (trade schools), and those which gave an education to pupils wishing to enter a particular industry but not a specific occupation within that industry (pre-apprenticeship schools). The latter represented the normal junior technical school. The trade school was closely allied to the French "*écoles d'apprentissage*" and the German "*Fachschullen*." The junior technical school was essentially an English development. It was a fee-paying school, the usual fee being £3 per annum. Under the provision of the Act of 1902, these schools formed part of the system of higher education and were aided by the county and county borough education authorities. Most of them were part of the larger technical colleges, shared their premises, and utilised the staff of the institutions which carried on technological work in the evenings. Thus the school at Halifax was housed in the premises of the Halifax Technical College. At Leeds the junior technical schools were carried on in buildings which had originally belonged to the Mechanics' Institute.

In 1913 the Board of Education issued Regulations for Junior Technical Schools. The grant payable for pupils who entered at thirteen or fourteen was £5 per head (£7 per pupil in exceptional cases). Permission was given for the schools to accept some pupils at the age of twelve, but in such cases the grant was only £3 per head. No pupil could be admitted unless the parent gave an undertaking that the boy would enter an occupation for which the school gave a preparation. Where possible, practical work would be given in all suitable subjects, and the teaching staff had to include a reasonable number of people with trade experience. All schools were to "provide for the continuance of the moral, intellectual and physical education given in Public Elementary Schools." It is important to note that these schools were not recognised as secondary schools until 1938.

These regulations remained in force until 1926, during which time a number of junior commercial schools appeared. Other schools not recognised under the regulations were opened, *e.g.* schools of nautical training and junior housewifery schools. By

1929 the number of recognised schools was 108 and they contained 18,000 pupils (including 4,600 girls). A report of the Board of Education issued in 1930 surveyed the progress made by junior technical schools. It described their growth as steady but not spectacular, and pointed out that in most cases each school had less than two hundred pupils; some less than one hundred. Such schools were expensive to staff, and their equipment was costly. On the other hand, the schools were popular and there was no difficulty in filling the places by fee-paying pupils. Moreover, they were successful in placing their pupils in suitable occupations, and the curriculum was less restricted by academic considerations than in the ordinary secondary school. This was because they did not prepare pupils for the School Certificate examination.

"Finally, the Junior Technical School is pervaded by an 'atmosphere' readily perceived by the visitor, but difficult to convey in words. The pupils attack their work with a seriousness and satisfaction not always found in schools for pupils of their age. They concentrate because they are interested, they are interested because they have no difficulty in realising the direct bearing of their work on their future life. They have the air of knowing exactly what they are doing, and exactly why it is worth doing."¹ In spite of this commendation the Board still continued to look upon the junior technical school as a poor relation. The views expressed by the Spens and Norwood Reports were discussed in Chapter x. The view of the Spens Report that every junior technical school should be part of a senior technical institution, although it tended to ease of administration, was severely criticised by many experienced teachers. As a result of the Education Act of 1944, the technical schools are being absorbed into the statutory system of secondary education.

One of the features of the period we have been considering was the slow growth of full-time courses in senior technical institutions. The Board of Education *Report on Education for Industry and Commerce*, 1928, showed that in Prussia only about ten per cent of technical schools provided evening classes; in the United States, less than thirty per cent; whilst in England, evening classes accounted for between eighty and ninety per cent of the total number of students. The Report urged the development of part-time and full-time day courses as a matter of national importance. The moving spirit behind the Report was Lord Eustace Percy who,

¹ *The Junior Technical School*, pp. 20-1, H.M.S.O., 1930.

when he became president of the Board of Education, displayed a special interest in the problems of technical education. He wrote : "The wastage of human material is, of course, only one aspect of the problem of technical education. The other aspect is that of industrial efficiency in a scientific and severely competitive age, which calls for continual improvement in the technical equipment of the individual worker."¹

Lord Eustace Percy was responsible for a number of special inquiries into education for industry and commerce. They included not only a regional inquiry in one of the main industrial areas of England, but also an investigation of particular branches of industry and commerce. The results of the latter were embodied in the reports of the Goodenough Committee on Education for Salesmanship, 1931, and the Clerk Committee on Education for the Engineering Group of Industries, 1929. The former committee included a large number of directors of important firms, and it investigated the methods which should be employed for recruiting persons who would be engaged in buying and selling, and the means of providing them with suitable training. The Clerk Committee spoke highly of the work performed by the junior technical schools, and stressed the value of obtaining recruits to the engineering industry from those who had received a full-time education in them or in secondary schools.

The Second World War not only emphasised the value of technological education for the nation, but it also revealed the lack of co-ordination between the different agencies in the same region whose function it was to provide such training. An article in the *Times Educational Supplement*, 8th April 1944, pointed out that in the Midland region the major technical colleges at Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Coventry, and Rugby, worked in practical independence of the technological departments of the University of Birmingham. There was little liaison between the University of Leeds and the Leeds College of Technology, and none at all between the university and the technical colleges at Bradford and Halifax. On the other side of the Pennines, the University of Manchester possessed a complete faculty of technology in the Municipal College of Technology, but its relations with the Royal College of Technology at Salford, the Bolton Technical College, the Wigan Mining and Technical College, and the College of Further Education at

¹ In the preface to Mr. Abbott's book *Education for Industry and Commerce*, p. viii, O.U.P., 1933.

Stockport, were slender. The University of Liverpool had no liaison with the technical colleges in its area. In the north-east the University of Durham had no connection with the Rutherford College at Newcastle, and the University of Wales had but slight liaison with the colleges at Swansea and Newport. In London the situation was quite different because of the inclusion of the South Kensington group of science and technological colleges within the faculty organisation of the University of London.

In order to link up all the bodies concerned with higher technological education so that their work might be closely co-ordinated, the Ministry of Education appointed, in 1944, a special Committee on Higher Technological Education. The Report which was issued in 1945 is usually known as the Percy Report (from the chairman, Lord Eustace Percy, who had been chosen on account of his interest and wide knowledge of the problems of technological education).

The Report fully realised the issues involved. "The evidence submitted to us concurs in the general view: first, that the position of Great Britain as a leading industrial nation is being endangered by a failure to secure the fullest possible application of science to industry; and second, that this failure is partly due to deficiencies in education. The annual intake into the industries of the country of men trained by Universities and Technical Colleges has been, and still is, insufficient both in quantity and quality. We believe that the industrial demand for such men will increase in quantity after the war; and that the demand for higher quality, especially in certain categories, will become more insistent as the nation becomes more conscious of its need for technical efficiency. In particular, the experience of war has shown that the greatest deficiency in British Industry is the shortage of scientists and technologists who can also administer and organise, and can apply the results of research and development."¹

Attention has already been drawn to the traditional British view that technical education which is concerned with the principles of the industry and their application should be quite distinct from works training. The Percy Report considered that the two aspects should be intimately related and that there ought to be a closer liaison between the technological institutions and the leaders of industry. "Technological education must be conceived in terms of of a combined course of works training and academic studies; and both the course as a whole and the period allotted to academic

¹ *Report on Higher Technological Education*, para. 2, H.M.S.O., 1945.

studies must be long enough to give full scope to the student's development. Full co-operation between industrialists and educators must be based upon a recognition, by both parties, of the supreme importance of increasing the efficiency of manufacturing processes, and of initiating new branches of technology, as a means of expanding the nation's export trade and advancing its standard of living."¹

In order to achieve the necessary co-ordination, it is essential to understand quite clearly the division of function between universities and technological institutions. In some aspects of the work the division is clear enough; the universities are expected to train scientists and research workers and to produce teachers of science; the technical colleges aim at training technical assistants and craftsmen. In the future, both institutions will be expected to educate students who will become senior administrators and managers of industry. This necessitates a joint arrangement for consultation and planning, which at present scarcely exists. The Committee thought that in districts where Regional Councils of Further Education had been established, something of this kind had been accomplished, but much more was needed.

The report was mainly concerned with the three branches of engineering—mechanical, electrical, and civil—because these were the chief studies common to both universities and technical colleges. In 1939 the output of mechanical, electrical, and civil engineers was slightly above 2,000, of which the universities supplied thirty-five per cent. War conditions necessitated an increase, and in 1943 the output rose to about 3,000, out of which about forty-five per cent came from the universities, and this number would be required annually to meet post-war conditions.

The Committee agreed that, on the whole, the division of function between the universities and the technological institutions was sound, that the former should emphasise the science aspect and the latter the works training, but such a division could easily be exaggerated. They recommended that a limited number of technological colleges should be selected in which technological courses of a standard comparable with those of the universities should be developed. The selection of the colleges would have to be left to the Ministry of Education. In addition to the normal courses, provision should be made for post-graduate studies in special branches of technology available for both full-time and part-time

¹ *Report on Higher Technological Education*, para. 3, H.M.S.O., 1945.

students. One aspect of the work would be research into specific problems of local industry. Such colleges would be performing a national rather than a local function. They should be organised to provide accommodation for a considerable number of residential students and should be given the greatest possible degree of self-government and responsibility. The Government should assist them by capital grants in a way similar to that contemplated for universities, and the salaries of the staff should be comparable to those of university teachers. It was important that colleges which were not selected under the scheme should not be regarded as of inferior status.

It was recommended that regional advisory committees should be established, working in co-operation with a National Council of Technology. The work of the regional councils would be to further the co-ordination of technological education in the university and technical colleges of the region, and that industry should be fully represented on the regional organisation. Eight regional councils were suggested; London and the Home Counties; the Southern and Western counties; East Anglia and the East Midlands; the West Midlands; Lancashire and Cheshire; Yorkshire; the four Northern counties; and Wales. There should also be arrangements for consultation between central bodies in England and Wales and in Scotland.

The question of the recruitment of students was also discussed. The Committee believed that "the best material is not being offered . . . in sufficient quantities. In a word, industry, and educational institutions training for industry, are not getting their fair share of the national ability."¹ The solution lay in a national campaign to increase the prestige of the technical professions, and it should be specially directed to the public schools where a bias against technology existed. There should be close co-ordination between the Ministry of Labour and its appointments department, the Juvenile Employment Bureaux, and the University Appointment Boards. Industry, too, would have to take part in the recruitment drive. Much could be expected from the State bursary system which should be continued and extended. It was hoped that the expansion of secondary education, envisaged by the Education Act of 1944, would also be a potent factor.

The question of the qualifications to be awarded by colleges of technology caused some division of opinion amongst members of

¹ *Report on Higher Technological Educational*, para. 41, H.M.S.O., 1945.

the Committee. All agreed that it was desirable that the colleges should conduct their own examinations and award their own qualifications, but there should be some national body to guarantee national standards.

Such a body would be found in the National Council of Technology, which should work through an academic board. This would not mean the formation of an external examining body. Its function would be that of approving and moderating courses of study, suggesting standards of staffing and equipment, and selecting external examiners to co-operate with the staffs of the colleges. The technological qualification given by the major institutions should be equivalent to a university first degree. When the exact title of the qualification was discussed, disagreement became apparent.

Some members of the Committee thought that the title should be that of a degree which might be called the B.Tech. This would assist in attracting students to the major colleges and would present a parallel with the junior technical schools. The latter had become secondary technical schools and had taken a place in the system on an equal footing with the grammar-schools. The new technical schools would be a source of recruitment for the technological colleges, and it would be damped from the start if the idea got abroad that the ultimate qualification for students who followed this path was inferior to that given to those who proceeded to a university. It was also suggested that the degree of Tech.D. should be awarded for post-graduate research.

This view was not favoured by other members of the Committee. They argued that industrialists, in engaging a man, were concerned with the kind of training he had received rather than the exact title of his qualification. They preferred a diploma instead of a degree. Lord Eustace Percy did not agree with the former view and added a Note to the Report, in which he pointed out the difficulties that would arise if it were adopted. If the power to grant degrees were given to technological institutions there would be no end to the process. The same privilege would have to be offered to university colleges, the Royal Colleges of Art and Music, and to other institutions for further education. "In all civilised countries the power to confer degrees is the distinguishing mark of a University. In this country the power can be exercised only if it is granted by an act of Government, and the Government has jealously restricted such grants. Government policy has been based on the principle that a

University should be a fully self-governing community of teachers and students, working together in one place, with substantial endowments of its own, mature enough to set its own standards of teaching and strong enough to resist outside pressures, public or private, political or economic.”¹

The Chairman suggested that the selected colleges should be given the title of Royal Colleges of Technology and should be granted the power of conferring, at the graduating stage, an Associateship of the Royal Colleges of Technology and, at the post-graduate stage, a Fellowship. His recommendations were accepted with the others made by the Committee and endorsed by the Minister of Education in *Circular 87*, February 1946. This was followed by the establishment in 1948 of the National Advisory Council on Education for Industry and Commerce.

¹ *Report on Higher Technological Education*, Chairman's Note, para. 4, H M.S.O., 1945.

CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND TO 1872

The history of education in Scotland deserves a book to itself, and in the two chapters which deal with this subject there is only space to consider the development of the Scottish educational system in broad outline and to indicate some of the main ways in which it has both influenced, and been influenced by, events in the southern part of the kingdom.

There are three main characteristics, amongst others, which have been distinctive of Scottish Education from a very early period:—

1. The people of Scotland have for centuries attached great value to education, especially university and secondary education, and have consequently made considerable sacrifices in the past to obtain the best that was possible for them. In England the majority of the poorer classes never appreciated the value of education, even when it was offered cheaply or freely. The Act of 1870 filled the gaps and covered the land with elementary schools, but, for over twenty years, compulsion had to be applied to fill them.

2. In Scotland there has never been the wide gulf separating primary and secondary education that existed in England until very recent times. The popular schools, *i.e.* the parish schools, not only provided an elementary education but frequently trained their bright pupils in classics and mathematics to enable them to proceed direct to the universities.

3. The Scottish people have never been class-conscious to the degree that the English were in the 18th and 19th centuries. In other words, in both the schools and the universities there has been a strong democratic tradition, so that the right of the clever child, the "lad o' pairts," the earnest, industrious, and capable student, to obtain the highest forms of education provided, has never been denied because of his lowly birth or his station in life. The Scottish parochial school of the last century was a common school in the sense that pupils of all creeds and of all degrees of society sat at the same benches side by side. This characteristic of the parochial school has been noticed by many observers. Thus, speaking of the 18th century, Graham writes: "They gave access to instruction to the lowest and the poorest as well as the highest,

for the laird's and the ploughman's son, the sons of the carpenter and of the lord of session, met together; they opened to them professions and posts in which so many rose to distinction; they effected an unequalled diffusion of education to every class in the country, and the teaching of the schools formed an easy stepping-stone for all to the highest training of the universities." ¹

The reputation of the parochial schools was maintained untarnished in the middle of the 19th century. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, weary of the incessant denominational disputes in England, was able to point in contrast to the tolerant character of the parish school in which members of all religious denominations and of all social classes could join. He wrote: "The Scotch Parochial School has been distinguished by one beautiful feature. Upon its benches the children of every rank in life have met, and have contended for honours, earned only by higher natural gifts, or superior moral qualities. Those whom the accidents of rank and fortune have not yet separated have here formed friendships, which have united the laird and the hind through life, by mutual service and protection. Thus, sentiment has overleaped the barriers which divide society into classes, to acknowledge the claims of personal feeling, and to lift humble merit from obscurity." ²

There is practically no documentary evidence before the 12th century to prove the existence of specific schools in Scotland, but, as in England, organised education began with the coming of Christianity. St. Ninian left the shores of the Solway to visit Rome, and after training there he stayed some time at Tours before returning to Scotland. Here he met St. Martin, whose influence had contributed greatly to the spread of monasticism in Gaul. When Ninian returned to his home district he began to preach Christianity to his fellow-countrymen. He won many converts for the new faith and, with the help of masons sent by Martin, the first Scottish church of white stone—*Candida Casa*—was built at Whithorn about 397. Associated with this church was the first of many monasteries in Scotland bearing the name of St. Ninian. Using the monastery as a base, Ninian made journeys to carry the Gospel to the Picts who dwelt north of this district. It is a reasonable conclusion that the monastery of Whithorn was a centre for both religious and secular education.

¹ H. G. Graham. *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 433, A. and C. Black, 1909.

² Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. *Public Education*, p. 535, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853.

We are, however, on surer ground when we come to the work of Columba, who settled his headquarters in the island of Iona in 563. The monastery of Iona became the centre from which Christianity spread not only to other parts of Scotland, but also, as we saw in the first chapter, from which it was carried by Aidan to northern England. The monastery of Iona was modelled on abbeys in Ireland, from which country Columba had come. In Ireland the monasteries were centres of civilisation and learning to which students came, not only to receive training for the work of the Church, but for secular learning as well. In Scotland the Celtic Church differed in its organisation from the Roman Church which had been introduced into southern England by Augustine. The ancient Irish and Scottish Churches, owing to their long isolation from the Continent, had not only developed customs of their own, but had organised themselves on a monastic basis. Each Scottish monastery looked to the Abbot of Iona as its head. As yet there was no diocesan and parochial organisation such as was growing up in England. As a consequence, whilst the early English schools grew up in association with the cathedrals and collegiate churches, those in Scotland developed in connection with the monasteries.

Each monastery was a centre of learning and civilisation, and young people entered them not only to be trained as novices, but also to gain a general education. The work of the monasteries in education was especially stressed by the disciples of Columba. We can picture the Celtic Church gradually extending southwards into Northumbria, founding here and there a monastery to be the religious and educational centre of its district and, at the same time, the Roman missionaries moving ever northwards, bringing with them the traditions of order and organisation derived from the Continent. The two streams of Christianity met in the northern Midlands and the problem as to which should be supreme in England was settled at the Synod of Whitby in 664. In Scotland the better organisation of the Roman system prevailed only after many years, but by the time of Malcolm II, 1018, the Celtic Church was fast being merged into the Roman.

Much as one admires the piety and zeal of the Columban Church, its assimilation to the Roman brought Scotland into the main stream of European civilisation from which it had so long stood aloof. The old tribal organisation of the Celtic Church disappeared, and Scotland, like England, was eventually mapped out into dioceses and parishes. The great monastic orders of the

Western Church entered into possession of the Celtic monasteries, and many new abbeys founded by the Benedictines and Cistercians sprang up in different parts of the kingdom. From the time of this assimilation we have increasing documentary evidence of the rise of specific schools associated with the monasteries, cathedrals, and churches. Thus there are definite references to the existence of schools at Abernely, Perth, Stirling, Roxburgh, and Lanark, in the 12th century. "Schools for Latin, to which were subsequently added 'Lecture' schools for English, existed in the chief towns of Scotland from a very early period. We have authentic notice of a school in Aberdeen in 1124. The schools of Perth and Stirling were in existence in 1173." ¹

The history of these mediaeval Scottish schools is analogous to those in England of the same period. They were under the control of the Church and were directly connected with the cathedrals, monasteries, and collegiate churches. The original dioceses were St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Moray, but new dioceses were created subsequently, and by the end of the 12th century there were eleven bishoprics organised on English models, *e.g.* Dunkeld and Glasgow were modelled on Salisbury, and Elgin on Lincoln, as regards their constitutions. As in England, two types of school developed from the cathedrals and collegiate churches, the Grammar School, and the Sang (Song) School. Grammar-schools, distinct from schools of the monks, grew up in connection with the monasteries and, where the abbey was in or near a town, the grammar-school was often to be found in the town itself, as in Edinburgh. The division of the country into parishes resulted in another type of school connected with the parish churches. The church building was often used for the purposes of a school. The instruction given in these parish schools was probably very elementary and was connected with the services, and especially the music, of the church. Most of these schools were smaller versions of the sang-school attached to the cathedrals. A well-known story of the village school at Norham-on-Tweed is related by Reginald of Durham in the 12th century.

A certain boy named Haldane tried to escape the rod for idleness by stealing the key of the church, locking the door, and throwing the key into a deep pool of the river. The master and his assistants were unable to break open the church door, but Providence intervened to help them. St. Cuthbert appeared in a dream to the

¹ *Third Report of the Schools Commission (Scotland)*, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

master and instructed him to go to the fishermen early next day and buy their first catch. When he awoke, he carried out the saint's instructions and received an enormous salmon which contained the missing key in its gills.

Grant illustrates the work of the sang-school of Aberdeen in the contract signed by the master, in which he "obliges himself by the faith of his body, all the days of his life, to remain with the community of the burgh, singing, keeping, and upholding mass, matins, evensongs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphonies, and hymns in the parish kirk on festival and ferial days, for a salary of 24 merks Scots annually. The town council further appoints him master of their sang school to instruct burgesses' sons in singing and playing on the organs, for the upholding of God's service in the choir, they paying him his scolage and dues."¹

The Scottish Church, like the English, claimed a monopoly of education and occasionally schoolmasters set up private schools without the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities. For instance, in Glasgow, the control of education was in the hands of the Chancellor of the diocese. In 1494 a priest who had attempted to teach grammar without authority from the Chancellor was brought before the Bishop and ordered to give up his school. The claims of the Church, however, were not always successfully maintained. In Brechin, in 1485, a dispute on the right of presentation as preceptor of Maisondieu, to which office was attached the duties of schoolmaster, arose between the bishop and the Earl of Ross.

The King decided in favour of the latter and gave warning that none of his subjects should "take upon him to make any manner of persecution or following of the said matter at the Court of Rome since it pertains to lay patronage."

The 15th century was a very important one for Scottish education. In the first place it furnished the first attempt in any European country to make education compulsory by means of legislation. An Act of Parliament, 1496, in the reign of James IV, ordered all barons and freeholders who were of "substance" to send their eldest sons to school at the age of eight or nine and to keep them at the grammar-school until they "have perfect Latin." On leaving the grammar-school, they were to spend three years at the school of Art and Law, so as to obtain knowledge and

¹ J. Grant. *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools in Scotland*, p. 66, William Collins, 1876.

understanding of the laws¹ The penalty for disobedience was a fine of £20 to be paid to the King. Some writers suggest that this statute is a proof of the high level in education reached in Scotland at this time. It is true that it presupposed the existence of grammar-schools, but it more probably emphasised the backward state of education and endeavoured to improve it by legal enactment. The Act applied only to the wealthier people, "men of substance," and there is no evidence that it was ever enforced.

In the Middle Ages it was one thing to enact a law but quite another to get it obeyed, and the complaint of John Major in 1521, "the gentry educate their children neither in letters nor in morals—no small calamity to the state," shows that the Act was not universally observed. The Act, however, foreshadowed the line of development of the national education in later years.

The second important development in 15th-century Scottish education was the foundation of the universities. Before this time Scotland had no institution for higher education, and scholars, after leaving the grammar-schools, were forced to travel abroad to continue their studies. Many Scottish students were to be found in the universities of Bologna, Geneva, Pisa, Louvain, and Padua. In the latter, the Scottish students formed a "Nation" and later, at Paris, the Bishop of Moray founded a Scots college in 1326. Other students pursued their studies at Oxford and Cambridge. Those who travelled overseas ran the risk of attack by pirates, and because of the almost continual warfare between England and Scotland, it was not an easy matter for Scottish students to enter England. James I fell into the hands of the English and remained a prisoner for a considerable time.

Yet in spite of the difficulties, quite a number of students found their way to the English universities, and, to maintain poor Scottish students at Oxford, Sir John Balliol founded a college there. His work was completed by his widow, Devorgilla, the founder of New Abbey (Sweetheart Abbey) in Kirkcudbrightshire. There was, however, a strong feeling that the needs of Scottish students could only be met by a university in Scotland. Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews obtained from Benedict XIII a Bull of foundation for a *studium generale* in 1411. The university was modelled upon Paris and Bologna and its members were divided into Nations according to the district from which they came. (Fife, Lothian,

¹ The reference to schools of Art and Law ("sculus of Art and Jure") refers to higher monastic schools where the art of charter-writing was taught.

Angus, and Alban. The last included all students who were not in the first three Nations.)

The arrival of the Papal Bull was the occasion of great rejoicing, and even James I, still a captive in England, heartily approved of the new foundation. When he was released from captivity, he confirmed the privileges of the university by a royal charter and did all in his power to ensure its successful development.¹

At the beginning, the University of St. Andrews had few students and teachers. There were no colleges, and students lodged in the town. Shortly after its foundation, Robert of Montrose provided a house for the students of theology and other benefactors began to add to the buildings of the university. In the early days the teaching was carried on in buildings lent or hired for the purpose and the professors had no salary. By the time of the Reformation, St. Andrews possessed three colleges: St. Salvator's, 1450, founded by Bishop Kennedy, the successor of Wardlaw; St. Leonard's, 1512, founded by Archbishop Alexander Stuart; and St. Mary's, founded by Archbishop James Beaton in 1537. The distinguished scholastic, John Major, was the principal of St. Salvator's.

Glasgow was the next university to be established, and its foundation in 1450 was due to the influence of William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, who persuaded James II to petition Pope Nicholas V for a Bull authorising its inception. The royal charter was received in 1453. Glasgow University was modelled on Bologna and Louvain. Like St. Andrews, Glasgow had no buildings for teaching purposes and students were obliged to attend classes in the cathedral and other churches. Later, a tenement in the High Street with four acres of land was given by Sir Gavin Hamilton. It seems he had some doubts about the success of the institution, for in the charter he asserted the right of his heirs to take back the land into their possession. His Scottish caution was perhaps justified, for Glasgow had a very chequered history for a number of years, and it was not until the time of Andrew Melville that it was in a flourishing condition.

Scotland's third university was founded at Aberdeen in 1494, when Alexander VI issued a Bull to James IV and Bishop Elphinstone. The King had sent a petition to the Pope asking for his authority to establish a university, and he urged its foundation on the ground that owing to the geographical features of the Highlands and their remoteness from seats of learning, the people were

¹ One of the privileges was that its members were exempt from all taxes,

ignorant and almost barbarians. As a consequence it was difficult to find suitable priests to preach and administer the sacraments. The King was probably referring not so much to Aberdeen itself, which was provided with schools and had already produced some well-known scholars, as to the wild country to the north and west. In any case, he no doubt thought it worth while to colour his petition highly to ensure its success. Elphinstone, who had been Rector of Glasgow University, fully realised from his experience the vicissitudes resulting from an institution which is unendowed, and he took good care that Aberdeen had sufficient endowments to pay the salaries of its teachers. Hence, in its early days, the University of Aberdeen had a more flourishing career than the earlier foundations.

The foundation of three universities (the fourth, Edinburgh, was founded in the next century) was a marvellous achievement in those days for a country such as Scotland. Her population was scanty,¹ and the land was disturbed both by constant warfare with England and by rebellions of the nobles against the King. Moreover, compared with England, Scotland was a very poor country, and remained so until the expansion of trade in the 17th century and the industrial changes of the 18th. Her largest towns were not much more populous than English villages. Glasgow in 1450 had about 1,500 inhabitants, and Aberdeen as late as 1572 had a population of less than 3,000. Edinburgh itself was not much larger. We may suspect that much of the teaching in the early days of the universities was little in advance of that given in the grammar-schools, and a good deal later the schools complained that the functions of the grammar-school and university overlapped to a considerable extent, to the detriment of the former. The importance of the universities at this period lay in the fact that from the beginning they provided the basis from which future development could spring, and after the Reformation they were able to play a leading part in the intellectual life and cultural progress of the kingdom.

The effects of the Renaissance reached Scotland almost a century later than in England, with the consequence that they had barely time to be felt before the country was thrown into turmoil owing to the Reformation. At the end of the 15th century, the Renaissance was represented by the works of such men as William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, and the introduction of printing and the dissemination of books led to the growth of lecture-schools in

¹ Even by 1560 it was probably not more than half a million.

the burghs for teaching reading and writing.¹ Another effect was the increasing interest in education shown by the town councils, and their claim to have a share in the patronage of schools. The first recorded appointment to a school by a burgh was that at Peebles in 1464. The claims of the burghs led them into conflict with the Church and we shall see that the Reformation speeded up the process by which the burghs obtained control over their schools. Dr. Strong illustrates this development by the following example.²

In 1418, at Aberdeen, the master of the school was presented for examination to the Chancellor by the Provost and the community of the burgh. In 1509 John Merschell was appointed by the "provost, bailzeis, counsale, and communitie" without reference to the Chancellor. This occasioned an appeal to Rome by the Church, but the quarrel concerning the patronage of the school broke out again in 1538. The town council appointed Hugh Munro, but the Chancellor had already selected Robert Skeyne. The council prevailed, but when Munro retired in 1550 the new master, James Chalmer, was appointed by the burgh council and sent to the Chancellor for admission "as vse hes bene tharrof in tymes bigane." The claim of the town councils was a reasonable one since in many cases they had undertaken the provision and upkeep of the school buildings and even the payment of the master's salary. There are also instances where the Church authorities and the council combined to exercise supervision over the school.

The earliest known teaching of Greek in Scottish schools is 1534, when Andrew Melville was taught the language by a French teacher in the grammar-school of Montrose and later surprised the masters at the University of St. Andrews by being able to read Aristotle in the original. Greek was introduced into the schools of Aberdeen about 1540, and, as in England, a few schools taught Hebrew. Owing to the close friendship between Scotland and France, the teaching of French was fairly widespread, and shortly after the Reformation the town council of Edinburgh licensed a schoolmaster to keep a school for the teaching of French.

The supporters of the Reformation had grown so powerful by 1543 that they influenced Parliament to enact that the Bible might be read in English or Scottish translation. In 1557 the lords of the congregation, inspired by John Knox, drew up their covenant,

¹ Grant (*op. cit.*, p. 63) thinks that the earliest lecture-school was that in Edinburgh in 1479.

² J. Strong. *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, pp. 33-4, Clarendon Press, 1909.

and by 1560 the Protestant party became supreme in Parliament and an Act was passed abolishing the Mass and the Papal authority, adopting the Confession of Faith drawn up by Knox and his supporters. The Reformed Church asserted the control over education claimed and exercised by the Catholic Church, and John Knox thought the time was ripe for a complete reorganisation of Scottish education. He realised the decay into which the rural parish schools had by now fallen. The burgh and the grammar schools were fairly efficient largely due to the zeal and interest displayed by the town councils, which not only had the patronage of the schools in their hands, but were also financially concerned in them. The universities, especially Glasgow, were not in a flourishing state, and many students preferred to seek higher education in England or on the Continent. It was to meet these conditions that Knox prepared for the consideration of Parliament a scheme in which he was assisted by his colleagues Wynram and Douglas. The organisation proposed forms part of his *First Book of Discipline*, which was mainly concerned with religion, education, and the poor, and his scheme was so clearly thought out, so masterly in its conception, and so comprehensive in its scope, as to be several hundred years in advance of the time.¹

Knox proposed the establishment of a school in every parish or associated with every kirk. Its function was to supply primary education for children up to the age of eight. Grammar and Latin might be taught, but in rural districts where a competent schoolmaster would be difficult to obtain, the minister or reader should be responsible for seeing that the village children were instructed in elementary subjects and the Catechism, *i.e.* the Catechism of Calvin, translated in the *Book of Common Order*. Those who could afford it would be compelled to educate their children at their own expense, but the children of the poor would be paid for by the Church and maintained at school, either to proceed to a university, if capable of higher studies, or be set to a trade. From the elementary school the pupil would go to a grammar-school. No scholar of ability was to be barred from the grammar-school on account of poverty. This involved the establishment of a grammar-school in every important town where, under a master appointed by the Church, the pupil would learn "grammar and the Latine tounge" for a

¹ The title *First Book of Discipline* was adopted to distinguish it from a later *Book of Discipline* written by Andrew Melville. Although Knox was the chief author of the *First Book of Discipline*, there is no proof that he wrote the section on Education. The book was issued in 1560.

period of three or four years. In every notable town there was to be a higher grammar-school, or college, where a four-year course in logic, rhetoric, and languages, would be provided. Finally, those who could produce a satisfactory certificate from the master of the school and the minister might enter one of the three "great Schollis callit Universities." At each stage, the pupil's progress would be supervised and tested each quarter by the minister and other learned persons, and if, at the end of any course, a pupil was found not to be fitted for further study, he would be sent to craft or other suitable occupation. At whatever stage a pupil's education ceased, it was to be ensured that he had received sufficient religious and moral instruction to enable him to become a responsible member of the kirk. The scheme was meant to be compulsory.

"No father of what estate or condition that ever he be, can use his children at his own fantisie, especially in their youth-head," wrote John Knox, "but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue." The reason for compulsion was the claim of the State, "that the Commonwealth may have some comfort by them." The pupil who was unfit to proceed to the next stage in his education was, as we have seen, to be put to handicraft. "It is pretty certain that Knox did not intend that the embryonic handicraftsman who was to make a profitable exercise of his life, should waste his time in grinding at Latin grammar. He knew that there were pupils for whom university training would be of no benefit either to themselves or to their country, pupils who were intended by nature to be hewers of wood or drawers of water, and whose proper and unalterable sphere of action was handicraft or other functions subordinately intellectual."¹

The scheme of John Knox presented a magnificent ideal far in advance of anything that had been worked out at that period and, if it had been adopted in its entirety, it would have revolutionised the whole of Scottish history. It was, as Dr. Kerr says, "a national misfortune" that it was not fully carried out. John Knox knew that his scheme would require a great deal of money, but he had carefully provided for this. He proposed that the money used by the Catholic Church for education, and the incomes of the abbeys and chantries which had been suppressed, should be given to the building and maintenance of schools and colleges, and teachers and professors. What happened in England in the 16th century took place on a more thorough scale in Scotland. The greed and

¹ J. Kerr. *Scottish Education, School and University*, p. 78, C.U.P., 1910.

rapacity of the nobles knew no bounds and only a small proportion of the money found its way to the Scottish Church which, in the view of John Knox, should provide the funds for education. When Knox put his proposals to Parliament, Maitland, the Queen's Secretary, styled them "a devout imagination." Knox was bitterly incensed, but he could do but little to prevent the nobles from seizing the spoils of the Catholic Church. A small amount of money did indeed find its way to the funds of the Kirk, but the result was that for generations both religion and learning had to contend with insufficiency of money.

It is easy to criticise Knox's scheme in detail as being too bound to mediaeval scholastic learning, or its policy of handing over the control of education to the Church, but it is important to remember that every man is limited by the age in which he lives. Knox's views have proved a living ideal to which the Scottish nation, step by step, through many generations, has striven to attain. Dr. Strong summarises the great principles of his scheme as follows.¹

(a) It was a national system; (b) education was graded from the primary school to the university; (c) all schools were to be periodically examined; (d) promotion depended upon successful effort; (e) provision was made for the free education of poor but clever pupils. One could add that the very point on which Dr. Strong criticises the scheme is perhaps one of its greatest features, namely Knox's clear perception and firm conviction that all sound education must rest on a religious basis and that the Church at that time was the only organised body that could or would superintend education.

The graded course from the elementary school to the university did not come into existence and pupils passed to their higher studies, not only from the grammar-school, but also from the parochial schools. It was this association of the parochial schools of Scotland and the universities that was distinctive of Scottish education for so many generations and which resulted in a less rigid line of demarcation between elementary and secondary education than in England. The support which the Church was unable to give was partially provided by the efforts of the town councils. Indeed, it was largely the poverty of the Church that accounts for the ease with which the burgh schools passed into municipal control. The Church at first opposed the claims of the municipalities, but eventually a concordat was established whereby both bodies were able to

¹ J. Strong. *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, p. 61, Clarendon Press, 1909.

work harmoniously together. The parish schools, which became the backbone of the Scottish educational effort, remained under Church control, with the result that in no other country was the power of the Church over elementary education so complete as in Scotland.

In pursuance of its claim to control education, the Church enacted in 1565 that nobody should have charge of schools, colleges, or universities, or teach privately, unless he was "tried" by the Kirk, *i.e.* examined by the Presbytery, or admitted by the Kirk. The decree of the Church was supported by an Act of Parliament in 1567. The power thus gained was freely exercised. We read of the dismissal of schoolmasters who refused to conform to the Confession of Faith, the suspension of masters and tutors for teaching Popery, the fixing of age-limits for university students, and the making of the provisions for bursars. The schoolmaster was also expected to take a leading part in the parish work of the kirk, such as reading prayers on Sundays or acting as precentor or session clerk. This was partly due to the fact that a large number of priests had refused to accept the changes in religion. An interesting case is provided by William Robertson, master of the grammar-school at Edinburgh. He remained an adherent of the old faith and the town council wished to remove him. Robertson refused to resign and appealed to Queen Mary, and the council was obliged to retain him and pay his salary. It was not until twenty years later (1584) that Robertson agreed to give up his post on consideration of the payment of a generous pension.

The people who resented most the introduction of the new religion were the schoolboys. They had been accustomed to holidays on the feast days of the old Church, but the Reformers abolished the holidays at Easter and Christmas because they thought the keeping of these festivals savoured of Popery. The schoolboys demanded the holidays as a right, and in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and other towns, frequent riots and rebellions occurred. At Aberdeen, the scholars took possession of the school and held it by armed force against the masters. In 1587, at Edinburgh High School, a similar event occurred, and in 1595, when the council refused their petition for a holiday, the scholars took possession of the school and barred out the master, Mr Rollock. He applied to the magistrates for assistance and John Macmorran, a member of the town council, was shot through the head and killed when he was trying to force open the door.

During the latter part of the 16th century and most of the 17th century there is evidence to show that the town councils made great efforts to procure the best qualified masters for the burgh schools, and that the Church authorities, as far as their financial resources would allow, made an honest attempt to put into practice the recommendations of John Knox. As Grant shows, they frequently protested to the King and Parliament against the behaviour of the nobles in regard to their "wrangous using of the patrimony of the Kirk to the great hurt of scullis."¹

The schoolmaster's lot in these times was not a happy one. He suffered from insecurity of tenure; it was not until the 18th century that the custom became common of appointing the master for life, *ad vitam aut culpam*. There was no provision for pensions, and since endowments were few and slender, the schoolmaster largely depended on his fees. If at the quarterly examination of the school the results of his teaching were not considered satisfactory, he was liable to dismissal. He sometimes had a house provided, but his finances were frequently so straitened that he gladly availed himself of goodwill gifts from the parents. One source of profit, as in England, was from cock-fighting, and the pupils either supplied the cocks or compensation in money.² Before the Reformation, the schoolmaster was high in the social order but his position had now declined. However, it is surprising how efficient the average schoolmaster was in spite of his handicaps. Political changes caused him a great deal of concern. When the Presbyterians were in power, he had to sign the Covenant, but when, as in the reign of Charles II, the Episcopalians were supreme, he had to accept the Prayer Book.³

The University of Glasgow, which had nearly ceased to exist in the middle of the 16th century, received some help from Queen Mary, who assigned the monastic property of Glasgow to the town council. On the advice of James VI, this was presented to the university, but owing to maladministration and fraud, the property yielded a yearly income of only £300 Scots. When

¹ J. Grant. *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools in Scotland*, p. 80, William Collins, 1876.

² Sometimes the council supplied the master with coal or a money equivalent, and parents often sent a load of peat to the schoolhouse. Grants to buy clothes were made and one town council subscribed half a guinea to buy the assistant a new hat. This may have been on account of his poverty, or, quite likely, it was due to the fact that the wearing of a hat added to his dignity.

³ When Presbyterianism was suppressed in 1662, the schoolmaster had to be licensed by the bishop as in England, but in 1690 William III once again recognised the Presbyterian form of Church government.

Andrew Melville returned from the Continent in 1574 with a great reputation as a scholar, he found Glasgow University in what has been described as a state "of suspended animation." He accepted the post of principal and began with determination to revive the university. Although after six years he was transferred to St. Andrews, yet in this short time he brought about revolutionary changes which placed Glasgow on a sound footing. He began by abolishing what was known as the "regenting" system in which all students who entered in any one session were placed under the same regent or tutor, who took them through their studies until they graduated. Obviously this did not conduce to sound scholarship since it would be rare to find one man who was equally good at every subject. Melville substituted for this a system whereby a separate lecturer became responsible for each main subject of the university course. Lack of staff forced him to train a number of promising young men himself, which speaks much for his wide range of scholarship. He instituted four new Chairs—in languages, science, philosophy, and divinity, which last he held himself—and he insisted on Latin and Greek being continued throughout the university course instead of being dropped at an early stage. In 1577 James VI granted to the university a new charter which recognised the reforms. Melville introduced similar reforms into Aberdeen in 1575 and St. Andrews in 1579. His transfer to St. Andrews was in order to supervise the working of the reforms there. The latter part of Melville's life was devoted to opposing the attempt of James VI to impose Episcopalianism on the Scottish people.

The original college of Aberdeen was King's College, but in 1593 Marischal College was founded by George, Earl Marischal of Scotland, and the two colleges were united under the University of Aberdeen in 1641. This union broke up later and the two colleges again became separate institutions until 1860.

The University of Edinburgh is an example of a foundation due to the efforts of the municipality. The accounts of its foundation differ considerably, but we do know that from 1582 the college carried out the work of a university in granting degrees. In 1621 an Act of Parliament granted Edinburgh the full privileges of a university, but it still remained under the control of the Town Council and did not gain its full independence until the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858. In 1592 Sir Alexander Fraser made an attempt to found a fifth university, at Fraserburgh, but the institution was shortlived.

It will perhaps be more convenient to consider the later developments in education under separate heads and begin with an account of the Parochial Schools. When the Church, in the 17th century, was unable to achieve its policy by direct means, it endeavoured to carry it into effect by securing Acts of Parliament. Thus in 1616 the Privy Council directed "that in every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for entertaining a School, a School shall be established, and a fit person appointed to teach the same upon the expense of the parochinaries, according to the quality and quantity of the parish." This decree was ratified by Parliament in 1633 and was the first Act authorising the establishment of Parish Schools. Another Act for founding schools was passed in 1646 which ordered the heritors¹ to provide a school house and a stipend for the master in every parish. Once again the law was largely disregarded, and in 1662 it was repealed. These early Acts were incorporated in the important Act for Settling Schools, 1696. This law ordered "that there be a School settled and established, and a Schoolmaster appointed, in every parish not already provided by the advice of the heritors and ministers of the parish." The schoolmaster was to be provided with a commodious house which should be used for a school and that the "stent" (assessment) should come half from the tenants and half from the heritors to pay his salary. If the heritors refused to act, the Presbytery could apply to the Commissioners of Supply² to carry out the provision at the expense of the heritors.

The Presbyteries did their best to compel the heritors to carry out their obligations, but many parishes still remained without schools. Progress in establishing schools was slow and by 1732 only 109 new schools had been built. "Notwithstanding the inadequacies of the parish school system after the 1696 Act, and the difficulties which presbyteries had during the eighteenth century in arousing, sometimes through vigorous measures, the heritors of the country and magistrates of the towns to understand and to fulfil their legal obligations toward education, it exercised a profound

¹ *Heritor* = Scottish freeholder.

The Act of 1646 authorised the Presbyters to nominate "twelve honest men" to carry out the law if the heritors neglected their duties. Graham remarks, "It was all very well to appoint 'twelve honest men' to look after the heritors; but who was to look after the twelve honest men?" H. G. Graham, *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 419, A. and C. Black, 1909.

² The Commissioners of Supply were similar to the Commissioners of Land Tax in England.

influence upon Scottish character and education. During the eighteenth century it was not only instrumental in satisfying the desire for education on both the primary and secondary levels, but it was also an influential agency in cultivating further interest in education. . . . By opening an educational highway to the universities and the learned professions, the parish school encouraged boys with ability and determination to pursue their studies beyond the primary school level.”¹

One important defect of the Act was the stipend laid down by law for the schoolmaster. A minimum of one hundred merks (£5 9s. 0d.) and a maximum of two hundred merks (£10 18s. 0d.) was provided for.

At the beginning of the 18th century this represented a stipend which would just keep a married man and his family. Owing to the rapid fall in the value of money, by the end of the century schoolmasters were in dire poverty, and it was not until 1803 that another Act of Parliament raised the schoolmaster's salary to a minimum of 300 and a maximum of 400 merks and provided a dwelling-house and a fenced garden. The man who enjoyed this princely salary was expected to have graduated and to be capable of teaching the elementary subjects together with Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics. He was exceedingly fortunate if he received the whole of his statutory salary. It often had to be collected in petty sums from the heritors and tenants and frequently he was put off by stories of bad harvests and disease amongst the cattle.² No wonder that the schoolmaster sought other means of augmenting his income. Cock-fighting has been mentioned previously. One custom which added to his salary was the payment of “bent silver.” The schoolroom often had an earthen floor which was covered with rushes or bent. In early times the children were given a holiday to collect the bent but later, once in a quarter, the bent silver was handed in as a substitute. The children continued to have holidays to mark the occasion. In many parishes where no schoolhouse existed, classes

¹ N. A. Wade. *Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland, 1872-1936*, p. 22, University of London Press, 1939.

² At Prestonpans there was an endowment of 70 merks a year. This furnished the heritors with an excuse, and in 1725 they refused to contribute on the grounds that the endowment produced a sufficient sum to pay the master's salary. In Kirkcudbright in 1696, the schoolmaster was paid £7 Scots from the fines which had been imposed for misdemeanours. The pound Scots amounted to 1s. 8d. and became obsolete after an Act passed in the reign of Queen Anne.

were taught in the kirk or in any barn or stable which happened to be vacant¹ In others, the schoolhouse was often in a semi-ruinous condition with leaky roof,² small windows, often unglazed, and very little in the way of furniture.³

Children travelled miles over the moors to start school at seven o'clock in the morning On winter days, the only means of warmth was a peat fire which filled the small room with dense clouds of smoke. In the Highlands, where pupils lived at small farms widely separated from each other by moors and hills, a system reminiscent of the Welsh Circulating Schools was in vogue. The master travelled from house to house and stayed a short period in each filthy, verminous hovel, instructing the Gaelic-speaking children in the English language. Probably in no modern State has education been carried on under such difficult and heartbreaking conditions and our admiration increases when we realise how efficiently the schoolmasters carried out their duties and the remarkable influence which the parish school exerted upon the Scottish people. As in England, order was maintained by a free use of the birch or tawse (strap). In Aberdeenshire, a curious piece of school furniture known as the "queelin" or cooling-stone was in use in many schools even until the beginning of the 19th century. When a boy had been flogged he was made to sit upon a smooth, flat stone. It is uncertain whether this was an act of mercy designed to assuage his pain or part of his punishment.

Reference has been made to the Act of 1803 which raised the stipends of the parish schoolmasters. In the Highlands and Western Islands, parishes were of such extent that often two schoolhouses were needed for a single parish. In such cases, the heritors might provide a salary of 600 merks without a house and divide the money between two or more parishes. The additional school was known as a Side School. The Act laid down that the schoolmaster should be elected by the minister and the heritors; after

¹ At Strathblane, the school was held in the kirk until 1731 and then was transferred to a stable at the inn.

² Frequently the Kirk-Session ordered the pupils to bring straw to thatch the roof. At one school it was found that straw was so scarce that season that only half of the school roof could be covered.

³ In 1677 Mr. Thomas Kirke of Cookridge, Yorks, and his friend Ralph Thoresby, the historian of Leeds, toured Scotland on horseback. The former wrote an account of his journey, *The Journal of Thomas Kirke, Esq. of Cookridge, An. 1677, Through Most Parts of Scotland*. At Burntisland he found that there were no forms in the school. There was a seat for the master but the scholars sat on the heather and grass covered floor "like pigs in a sty."

examination and approval by the Presbytery, he was required to subscribe to the Confession of Faith.

The Act did not apply to the large towns where great deficiencies in school accommodation existed,¹ and it was ineffective in dealing with the large scattered parishes of the Highlands and the Islands in which John Knox's proposals for a school in every parish were seldom carried out. These regions presented a special difficulty on account of the obstacles to communication, the barren nature of the soil, the poverty of the inhabitants, and the fact that a large proportion of the population was Gaelic speaking. The government made every effort to extirpate the speaking of Gaelic. Thus an enactment of the Privy Council decreed that the "Irishe language [Gaelic] which is one of the chieff causes of the continuance of barbaritie and incivilitie among the inhabitants of the Isles and Highlandes should be abolished." The people were strongly attached to their language and therefore it is not surprising that they generally disobeyed the injunction.

The conditions of this part of the country had acutely disturbed a number of nobles and gentry, and at their instigation the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was formed. It was not necessary that members of the Society should be Presbyterians, indeed most of the London members were Episcopalians, but they had to be Protestants. The early years of the Society's work were marred by the attempt to suppress Roman Catholic schools and to prohibit the use of Gaelic. It should be remembered that many of the inhabitants of the Highlands clung to the old faith, and that Catholicism and the speaking of Gaelic were regarded with suspicion as intimately associated with Jacobitism. Later in the century, the S.P.C.K. changed its policy and actually provided copies of the Scriptures and religious books printed in the Gaelic language. Encouragement for the Gaelic-speaking people was also provided by the establishment of Gaelic Societies at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Inverness, in the early years of the 19th century.

The S.P.C.K. received letters patent in 1709, and with the help of the General Assembly it set about the business of establishing schools. One of the earliest schools erected by the S.P.C.K. was in the remote island of St. Kilda. George I gave an annual grant of £1,000 for the work in the Highlands and the S.P.C.K. received £2,000 from the estates forfeited as a result of the 1715 Rebellion.

¹ Even as late as 1873 the deficiency of elementary-school places was about 30,000 in Glasgow and over 4,000 in Edinburgh.

It was due to the work of the society that, in conjunction with the Presbytery, the school at Stornoway in Lewis was reopened after a closure of some years. The S.P.C.K. was instrumental in establishing a spinning-school at Stornoway in 1763. It was at first difficult to persuade the women to attend, as a story had been circulated that it was part of a scheme to send them to the plantations.¹ When they had been reassured, the school became a great success. The Scottish spinning-schools form an interesting feature of this period.²

The first two Stuarts had encouraged the development of the Scottish woollen and linen manufactures and the earliest school of which we have record was opened at Peebles in 1633, but the disturbed conditions of the mid-17th century did not encourage the development of further experiments. Spinning-schools were established in the early part of the 18th century by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and later by the S.P.C.K. One of the expressed objects of the society was "To Erect and Maintain Schools, to Teach to Read, especially the Holy Scripture and other good and pious books; As also to Teach Writing, Arithmetick, and such like degrees of Knowledge in the Highlands, Islands, and remote Corners of Scotland." At first the S.P.C.K. kept strictly to this curriculum but later, as in the case of the similar movement in England, instruction was given in industrial subjects. New letters patent issued in 1738 allowed the society to do this, provided it did not neglect its former work. Thus, in the Minutes of the society from 1753 to 1767, we find encouragement given to the teaching of Gaelic and the establishment of spinning-schools. Nearly 100 dame-schools for girls were built. In some of the schools the curriculum was expanded to include such studies as mathematics, Latin, Greek, music, and bookkeeping. Raining's School, founded by the S.P.C.K. in Inverness in 1757, provided a definite secondary education. At the beginning of the 19th century, the S.P.C.K. had about 290 schools with nearly 16,000 scholars.

The philanthropic movements of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, *e.g.* Sunday Schools, Infant Schools, and Monitorial Schools, affected Scotland and have already received attention in Chapter vi in connection with the work of Bell, Stow, Wilderspin, Wood, and Owen. The Ragged School movement was also an

¹ The rumour may have started from the fact that in the north a type of linen (Harns) was manufactured to supply clothing for the negroes in the plantations.

² A full account is given by Irene F. M. Deans in *Scottish Spinning Schools*, University of London Press, 1930.

important influence in Scottish educational effort amongst the poor. Three years before the London Ragged School Union was formed, Sheriff Watson opened the first Ragged School in Aberdeen in 1841. A similar school for girls was opened in 1843, and a mixed school in 1845. The movement spread to Dundee and other towns, but the great apostle of the movement was the Rev. Thomas Guthrie. Through his pamphlets he kindled a fire of enthusiasm, and the schools founded through the efforts of Dr. Guthrie saved hundreds of children from a life of crime and poverty.

When in 1833 the Government voted a grant of £20,000 for building schools in England, Scotland did not receive any money, but from 1834 to 1839 an annual grant of £10,000 was paid. An Act of 1838 set aside part of the grant for endowing schools in the Highlands for which the heritors were to provide a schoolroom, a master's house, and a garden. These schools were afterwards known as Parliamentary Schools. In 1837 and 1839 the respective sums of £6,000 and £4,000 were set aside from the grant for this purpose. In 1839 the Committee of the Privy Council was formed, and as far as State intervention is concerned, the Scottish schools came under the same system of grant and inspection as the English schools. Part of the annual grant of £30,000 was allocated to Scotland. As was the case in regard to some denominational schools in England, quite a number of Scottish parochial schools did not avail themselves of the increased income provided by the grant.

In 1843 came the Great Disruption, when 470 ministers left the Established Church and formed the Free Church. Sectarian bitterness was rife for a time and the Free Church began to build its own schools, often in places where a parochial school already existed. Thus in some districts there was overlapping, whilst in others the deficiency in school places still remained. These years were the only period in which the religious difficulty which had proved so formidable a problem in England, invaded Scottish education, but the disturbance was mainly confined to competition between the Established and Free Church schools in certain districts. In 1829 the parochial schools had been opened to all denominations, including Roman Catholics, and parents were able to withdraw their children from religious instruction they did not approve.

The Revised Code was intended to apply to Scotland. The parochial schools, with a wider and more liberal tradition than the English elementary schools, resented its introduction bitterly, and in 1864 the most injurious part of the Code, Payment by Results,

was withdrawn, although the examination in the three R's was retained. One of the chief grounds for the opposition to the Revised Code was that it introduced class distinctions into the schools and tended to destroy the democratic tradition. Shorn of its most vicious feature, the Code produced certain beneficial results. There had always been a tendency for the schoolmaster to concentrate on his able pupils with the hope of sending them to the university. Inspection and examination forced him to spend more time and effort on the less able who thus became better grounded in the elementary subjects.

The Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters' Act of 1861 increased the stipends of the parish schoolmasters to a minimum of £35 and a maximum of £70 per annum, and gave them certain advantages as regards their accommodation. Women teachers were recognised, with a salary of not more than £30 a year. The examination for teachers was taken out of the hands of the Presbyteries and put under the control of the universities. The schoolmaster was no longer obliged to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, but merely had to make a declaration that he would not teach anything contrary to the doctrine of the Church of Scotland. The power of dismissal for inefficiency or neglect of duty rested with the heritors and minister of the parish after consideration of the report of the H.M.I. A teacher charged with a moral offence came under the jurisdiction of the sheriff of the county in place of the Presbytery. In burgh schools, teachers were no longer required to sign a Confession of Faith or submit to the discipline of the Church of Scotland, or be subject to the Presbytery as regards their qualifications. These conditions really recognised what had been common for some time. Thus, in 1861, only fifty out of 113 burgh school teachers were members of the Church of Scotland. The Act of 1861 is important not only for the benefits it conferred on members of the teaching profession, but chiefly because it represents a step in the transfer of the control of education from the Church to the State, a change which was accomplished in 1872. We can now leave the parochial school for a time and turn our attention to the progress of the other educational agencies prior to 1872.

According to Dr. Strong, the progress of the burgh or grammar schools from the Reformation to 1872 falls into three well-marked periods.¹ In the first, which extended well into the 18th century, the dominant subject of the curriculum was classics, especially

¹ *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, pp 135-6, Clarendon Press, 1909.

Latin. The second period, which began about the middle of the 18th century and continued to the early years of the 19th, was characterised by a reaction against the exclusively linguistic outlook of the schools. This produced in turn a state of confusion in regard to both educational aims and organisation.

The scheme proposed by John Knox had failed to materialise through lack of funds. The burgh or grammar schools still continued to supply the bulk of secondary education, especially in the towns, and like the grammar-schools of the same period in England, their curriculum was almost entirely classical. The Scottish Parliament in 1607 tried to follow the example of England and attempted to prescribe a national Grammar to be used in all schools. Fortunately the attempt met with failure.¹

Already by the beginning of the 17th century, certain schools in the larger towns, because of the number of their scholars, and the ability of their masters, were taking the lead in secondary education. The outstanding examples were the grammar-schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The classical curriculum of the schools and the demand that pupils should be grounded in the reading and writing of English before admission to the grammar-school led Edinburgh and Glasgow to the establishment of separate preparatory schools not unlike the petty schools of England. The grammar-schools in non-university towns taught the elementary subjects in the grammar-school itself and in this way approximated to the parochial schools. In fact, some parochial schools, such as that at Kilmarnock, eventually became grammar-schools. As in the case of England, we occasionally find other subjects than the classics taught in grammar-schools, e.g. bookkeeping, navigation, mathematics, drawing, and French. In large schools such as those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the regenting system mentioned in connection with the universities was adopted. Thus at Edinburgh there was a staff consisting of a principal master and four regents or doctors, who kept their classes through each year until they handed them over to the principal master. As the schools were financed by the town councils, it naturally followed that the council would take a prominent part in the affairs of its grammar-school.

At Peebles in 1649 the council drew up a set of regulations for the conduct of the school, and in most burghs the council visited the school at regular intervals. They were very proud of their

¹ Ruddiman's *Rudiments* appeared in 1714 and was universally used for 150 years, but this was by consent and not by legal enactment.

grammar-schools and did all they could to promote the efficiency of the instruction. In some towns the council insisted upon compulsory attendance and inflicted fines for disobedience. In the 17th century the councils prohibited the opening of other schools in the district without a licence, but towards the end of the next century this discipline was relaxed and some councils even encouraged private-adventure schools.

About the middle of the 18th century a reaction against the classical curriculum set in. The trade and industries of Scotland were quickly developing and a demand for a type of education of a more practical character which would help the pupil in his career began to show itself. This movement was not altogether unconnected with changes that were taking place in the universities. The ideas of educationists like Comenius, Locke, and, later, Rousseau, were beginning to be known in Scotland. The pioneer of the reform movement was the town council of Ayr. In 1746 it introduced into the grammar-school instruction arithmetic, geometry, algebra, natural philosophy, navigation, surveying, and literature, and announced that their aim was to give the scholars a preparation "for business in the most expeditious and effectual way possible." The example of Ayr inspired Perth to go a stage further. This town took the lead in the teaching of science, and in 1761 opened the first academy, an innovation soon followed in other towns. Many of the grammar-schools were housed in ancient and dilapidated buildings, and, instead of reconstructing these, the councils often preferred to erect academies. The latter not only taught classics but included mathematics, modern languages, and commercial subjects, in the curriculum.

A curious state of affairs came into existence. In some towns the academy and the older grammar-school continued their existence either in co-operation or, more generally, as rivals; in others the academy superseded or absorbed the grammar-school. This explains why some schools which were originally grammar-schools have since been known as academies. In Edinburgh and Glasgow, where the grammar-schools had a great reputation, they continued in their original role. New endowed schools, proprietary schools, and high-class private schools were established. Some of these new institutions have since become so well known that they deserve special mention.

The foundation of the Dollar Academy constitutes a romance in itself. Dollar is a village or small town of about 1,500 inhabitants

situated between Stirling and Perth. It possessed a parochial school of which, in 1800, Mr. M'Arbrea was the master. One day he received a visit from an old gentleman who discussed with him in detail the subject of the state of education in the parish of Dollar. The visitor hinted that he knew of an anonymous donor who was prepared to augment the educational facilities of the parish. Nothing more of this was heard until two years later when Mr. Watson, the minister, received a copy of the will of Captain John McNabb of the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney, Middlesex, by which a large sum was left to the parish of Dollar. After mentioning some personal legacies, the will continued, "the other moiety or share, I would have laid in the public funds, or some such security, on purpose to bring one anualy income or interest, for the benefite of a charity or school, for the poor of the parish of Dollar and shire of Clackmannan, whier I was born, in North Britain or Scotland." The parish minister and the Kirk Session were nominated as trustees.

No steps seem to have been taken to carry out the will of the founder until 1807. The delay was caused by an objection raised by a cousin of John McNabb, and the Court of Chancery ordered a scheme to be prepared for the disposal of the legacy. Mr. Watson thought that a hospital, school, or almshouse should be erected for the poor of Dollar. The heritors refused to carry out his wishes in view of the fact that Mr. M'Arbrea declared on oath that he remembered the visit of the old gentleman, who was none other than John McNabb himself who had received his baptism in the old parish church of Dollar. No mention of a hospital or almshouse had been made during the conversation. The result was a lengthy Chancery suit which was finally decided in favour of Mr. Watson. Before the decision could be enforced Mr. Watson died, and the scheme for a hospital was abandoned. This long delay was actually beneficial, for in the meantime the original sum had grown, by the addition of interest, to £92,345 in 1819.

Dr. Mylne, Mr. Watson's successor, arranged for the management of the legacy to be brought under the control of the Court of Session. The scheme for building a school was approved and the statutes and rules for the Dollar Institution were drawn up. The building was planned by Playfair, the most famous of Scottish architects, and he produced what has been described as "one of the finest Grecian structures to be seen and admired anywhere." The school building was completed in 1821, but for some time teaching had been carried out in temporary premises.

Dr. Mylne had to endure a good deal of opposition to his plans, but he was determined to go ahead. His ideas were much in advance of the age. Thus the first two appointments he made were those of a school doctor and a nurse. When an infant-school was opened in 1831 and put under the charge of Mr. Russell, two conditions were made regarding the admission of pupils. All pupils were required to be vaccinated, and parents promised that they would ensure that their children came to school clean, with hands, faces, and necks washed each morning. The school prospered and numbers increased so that in 1867 additional accommodation was added. As a consequence of the Endowed Schools Commission of 1887, the infant and junior schools were handed over to the School Board and the Dollar Academy was able to concentrate on secondary education. It is now a secondary school recognised for direct grant. A new junior school was opened in 1937.

The St. Andrews Madras School owed its origin to Dr. Bell, who gave a sum of £50,000 to the town council in 1831 on condition that the old grammar-school should be transferred to the trustees of Dr. Bell and the monitorial system of instruction adopted.¹ In such cases, the town council lost most of its control over the school. The new academies had their own governors elected by the subscribers.

Perhaps one of the most widely known Scottish schools is Loretto, which rose to fame on account of the work of its great headmaster. Hely Hutchinson Almond is one of those names in the history of schools that one couples automatically with those of Butler, Arnold, Thring, and Sanderson. Loretto School is at the east end of the town of Musselburgh, near Edinburgh. The origin of its name is often a puzzle to English people, but it has quite a simple explanation. At the beginning of the 16th century, Thomas Doughtie of Musselburgh, who had left his home land to fight the Turks, decided to return to Scotland. On his way back he passed through Loretto, and from the famous shrine he carried back a statue of Our Lady of Loretto. The provost and council of Musselburgh granted him land on which he could erect a chapel for his image. The shrine of Our Lady of Loretto attracted numbers of pilgrims, but in 1544, when the Earl of Hertford (later Protector Somerset) invaded Scotland, the chapel was entirely destroyed. By 1550 it had been rebuilt, only to be razed to the ground when Scotland accepted the Reformed faith.

¹ The Cupar Academy was founded in a similar way by Dr. Bell.

The Loretto land came into the hands of Maitland of Lauderdale, who built his house on it. This was entirely rebuilt early in the 18th century and still forms part of the school. After several changes of ownership, the house was eventually bought in 1829 by the Rev. Dr. Langhorne, the Episcopal clergyman of Musselburgh, for the school which he had started and which had outgrown its premises. At first Loretto was a preparatory school. Pupils left before the age of fourteen to proceed to the Edinburgh Academy (founded 1824), or to the Merchiston Castle School, or to some English public school. It had, however, gained a good reputation. Almond was appointed mathematics master in 1857, but he soon left to become second master at Merchiston under Dr. Harvey, later Rector of the Edinburgh Academy. Almond purchased Loretto from the sons of Dr. Langhorne in 1862.

When Almond took over Loretto, he found the school almost extinct and he began his first year with only twelve of the old pupils and two new ones. His aim was not only to build up numbers, but to make Loretto a distinctive school, one that would compare with the public schools of England. The first few years were difficult and he was beset with financial worries, but eventually the fine training given by the school was recognised and its success was assured. Almond learnt much from the writings of J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, and John Ruskin. Many people spoke of him as unconventional, but this was a complete misjudgment of him. From Mill he had learnt that life should be guided by reason; in Spencer he found ideas that supported his own practice, and Ruskin had shown him the importance of teaching and practising the laws of health. Thus Almond chose physical education as the guiding principle in building up Loretto School. He was a firm believer in the virtues of cricket and football, and was the originator of the inter-school matches between Loretto and such schools as Merchiston, the Edinburgh Academy, and Fettes College; and this was at the time when physical training and games were practically unknown in Scottish schools.

Almond was opposed to any form of coddling. In defiance of prevailing ideas he insisted that bedroom windows should be open at night, and he saw that all classrooms were well ventilated. The next step was regarded as scandalous by many of his contemporaries. Considering that boys wore too many clothes to be healthy, he introduced the custom of wearing knickers, and, later, shorts and open-necked shirts and going bare-headed. In hot weather,

boys were allowed to take off their coats in school. Every class-room was furnished with a thermometer, and when the temperature reached 60° it was considered warm enough for a boy to discard his coat. All this, be it remembered, was entirely contrary to the conventions of the 1860's. Almond also paid attention to the feeding of the boys. In contrast to many of the boarding-schools of the period, he insisted that growing boys should have plenty of good food and that a variety in the diet was an acceptable thing.

Before long, numbers began to grow and pupils had to be accommodated in houses outside the main school-building. Like all great public-school masters, Almond regarded the school chapel as essential in the life of the school. He was a music lover, and as a result the choir-singing at Loretto gained a well-deserved reputation. The first chapel was an iron structure, but an appeal was launched and sufficient funds were acquired to build the present chapel in 1893. Almond instituted the anniversary of the founding of the chapel as Commemoration Day, and this became the most important festival of the school year. After Almond's death in 1903, a foundation scheme was organised. Funds were raised by subscription, and a company was formed and its directors became the governing body of the school. By this Loretto was placed upon a permanent footing and carried on under a regularly constituted board of governors.

Fettes College, in one respect, is unique amongst Scottish schools. It was opened in 1886 under the trust deed of Sir William Fettes, Lord Provost of Edinburgh. The trustees considered that the education of the poor was being well cared for by numerous hospital schools, and like Canon Woodard in England, they thought it was time that something was done for the children of the middle classes. Fettes is entirely a boarding-school, and it has a generous scheme of open scholarships and a number of foundation scholarships available for competition only by boys who have attended State-aided schools. The college is run on English public-school lines and its pupils are prepared for the examinations of the English universities.

The new developments resulted in what may be called a state of educational chaos. A fresh type of school had appeared which affected the older grammar-schools considerably. The curricula of schools were expanding in different directions and staffs began to increase. Unfortunately there was no clear idea about the aims of secondary education and experiments were being made in the dark. In many schools there was no controlling authority, but often several departments existed, each independent of the

rest. Dundee High School presented a good example, with eight departments each having its independent headmaster, but no rector to exercise co-ordination. The universities, if they had been constituted on the English model, might have had some influence in controlling matters, but as they had no external examinations or even entrance examinations, their effect on the schools was negligible. Later we shall see that this state of affairs produced the Royal Commission on the Universities in 1826, and the University Act of 1858. Dr. Strong speaks of Dundee as "a little republic without a chief magistrate." At Edinburgh, the rector was in absolute control of the school, and in other towns the administration varied between these two extremes. As a rule there were no compulsory studies. Each subject taken was paid for separately and the parent made the choice for his child. It was quite possible for a pupil to attend a grammar-school for some subjects and a private-adventure school for others. The reader will recollect that in England the great problem was to bring some flexibility into the rigid classical curriculum of the public and grammar schools. In Scotland it was the opposite problem of introducing order and organisation into the chaos and confusion into which misguided, or rather unguided, zeal had led the grammar-schools.

One more type of institution calls for mention. In the matter of educational endowments, Scotland was very unfortunate as compared with England. Very little money or property was left to the Reformed Church to endow schools, and until later years few benefactors appeared to help the cause of education. Practically the only bequest of importance for education until the middle of the 17th century was a modest sum given to Dunfermline by Anne of Denmark, the queen of James VI. In 1639 George Hutcheson of Glasgow left land for the erection of a hospital for poor and aged men. Two years later his brother Thomas left money and land for the building of a "commodious and distinct house" associated with the hospital to house and educate twelve orphan boys who were sons of the citizens of Glasgow. Similar hospitals were founded in Aberdeen, Stirling, and other towns. Some of them were for the aged and infirm and only partially concerned with education. In course of time, the hospital system became obsolete and the trustees sought powers from Parliament for their reorganisation. As a result various Acts, including the Education Act of 1872, were passed which put the hospitals on a new footing, and they were able to play their part in the secondary education of

Scotland. Thus the Hutcheson Hospital at Glasgow came under the administration of the Hutcheson Trust which erected a number of first-class schools for boys and girls.

One of the most famous endowed institutions was the George Heriot Hospital at Edinburgh which originated from the bequest of George Heriot, a jeweller and goldsmith to James VI. He became a very wealthy man, and when James became King of England, he followed his sovereign to London. Heriot died in February 1623/4 after he had invested the bulk of his fortune in land in the city of Edinburgh. After several personal legacies, his will directed that the remainder of his property should go to "the Provost, Bailies, Ministers (of the Established Church), and the Town Council of Edinburgh, for founding and erecting an Hospital in that city; and for purchasing land to belong in perpetuity to the Institution, to be employed for the maintenance, relief, bringing up, and educating, as far as the means will allow, of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh."¹ Heriot had evidently been impressed by Christ's Hospital and had made up his mind to found a similar institution in his native city. In a paper written a year before his decease, he set down his wish "And forsamikle as I intend be Goddis grace, in the zeale off pietie, to found and erect ane publick, pious, and charitable worke within the said burgh of Edinburgh, to the glorie of God, ffor the publick weill and ornament of the said burgh of Edinburgh, ffor the honour and dew regaird quhilk I have and bears to my native soyle, and mother citie of Edinburgh forsaid; and in imitatione of the publick, pious, and religious work foundat within the citie of London called Chrystis Hospital thair, to be callit in all tyme coming Hospital and Seminarie of Orphans." Building commenced in 1628, but the hospital was on such a grand scale that it was not until 1659 that it was ready for the accommodation of thirty boys.² By 1695 that number had increased to 130, who, when they were old enough, were sent to the High School.

This practice ceased in 1809 when schoolmasters were appointed for the hospital. In 1835 an Act of Parliament abolished the hospital system and schools for poor children were built in various

¹ Dr. F. W. Bedford. *History of George Heriot's Hospital*, p 33, Bell and Bradfute, 1872.

² The architect is reported to have been Inigo Jones, and Archbishop Laud took great interest in the progress of the building. When it was partially completed, in 1650, it was used by Cromwell for accommodating the sick and wounded after the battle of Dunbar.

parts of the city. The Hospital Trust had erected sixteen schools accommodating 4,000 children by 1872.¹ As a consequence of the Colebrooke Commission of 1872, the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act was passed in 1878. This Act gave authority to governing bodies to obtain Provisional Orders for the better application of the funds of educational endowments. In 1882 the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act constituted the Balfour Commission with compulsory powers to settle the endowments. In 1885 the governors of the Heriot Hospital obtained power to discontinue the elementary schools associated with the foundation and to establish George Heriot's Hospital School in the hospital building. This was extended and the governors established, with the Watt Institution and School of Art, the Heriot-Watt College to provide higher and technical education on the lines of the Technical College in Glasgow.

This sketch of the Heriot foundation has been given in some detail as an example of one of the largest Scottish endowed institutions. The burgh schools were very meagrely endowed. The Argyll Commission revealed that in 1868 nineteen burgh schools out of twenty-nine possessed no endowment, and the remainder had together £1,400. The town councils contributed from the Common Good annual payments towards the maintenance of the schools, which in the same year amounted to £5,600. The Edinburgh High School had one of the largest endowments, £513. At this time the endowments of Eton were £20,569 from landed property, the gift of thirty-seven livings worth £10,000 a year, and a probable additional income from lands of £10,000 a year. The Commissioners also drew attention to the fact that the foundations of Eton and Winchester alone were producing a greater revenue than all the burgh schools and universities of Scotland taken together. The lack of endowments meant that the Scottish schools were almost entirely dependent on the grants of the town councils and on fees.

The problems of Scottish education were investigated by the Argyll Commission which reported in 1867. The Commissioners inquired into all types of schools in Scotland and thus the inquiry corresponded "to the Newcastle, Clarendon, and Taunton Commissions rolled into one," as Graham Balfour puts it.² The Taunton Commission was sitting in England at the same time and Mr. Fearon

¹ In 1854 Dr. F. W. Bedford, headmaster of Leeds Boys' Modern School, was appointed headmaster of Heriot's Hospital and Inspector of the Heriot Foundation Schools.

² Graham Balfour. *Educational System of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 136, Clarendon Press, 1898.

was sent to Scotland to investigate conditions in the burgh schools and compare them with English grammar-schools.

The conclusions of the Argyll Commission as regards elementary education were somewhat similar to those of the Newcastle Commission in England and were characterised by the same note of optimism. In the *Second Report* (elementary schools) the Commissioners drew attention to the deficiencies they had discovered. In the rural districts only 1,133 schools were parish schools, out of 4,451. The remainder were proprietary and private-adventure schools, many of which were hopelessly inefficient. (Pp. clxxiv to clxxvi.)

The Minutes of the Committee of Council containing the reports of H.M.I.s show that these schools were very similar to the type existing in England, e.g. "It is difficult to give any adequate notion of the character and condition of most of the adventure School-houses. These Schools are generally taught in apartments of a dwelling-house. The dimensions are contracted; there are no proper means of ventilation; the floor is generally earthen and damp; the walls are frequently unplastered and dirty; the forms and desks are of the poorest description, and frequently incapable of accommodating all the pupils. Little attention is given to neatness and cleanliness of the apartment; the furniture is seldom tastefully and conveniently arranged." (*Minutes*, 1842-3, p. 689.) "These Schools are generally held in small ill-ventilated apartments, unfurnished with the necessary apparatus. The course of instruction includes nothing but reading, writing, and arithmetic; and these are most imperfectly taught. Neither the general character, nor the training and attainments of the teachers, fit them for the discharge of such important duties. . . . The fees were generally paid weekly. This arrangement has been rendered necessary by the improvident habits, by the ignorance or the indifference, by the dissoluteness or the poverty of the parents." (*Minutes*, 1844, Vol. II, p. 326.)

The Commissioners found that most of the schools were in charge of women. The men teachers had often been "parochial teachers at some time, dismissed or superannuated, or they laboured under some physical infirmity, lame of leg, or of an arm, or, as in one case, lame of both legs, or paralysed, or hopelessly crippled, and in the few instances where they were physically competent to teach, they generally had other pursuits to follow." (P. xxxvii.) Their general conclusion was that "for the sake of all concerned, teachers

and taught alike, the sooner private adventure schools for the lowest classes ceased to exist the better." (P. li.) These extracts should be compared with similar ones from the Newcastle Commission given in Chapter vii.

The Commission considered that the parochial school system of Scotland was now no longer adequate; there was lack of organisation and supervision by a competent authority and the only remedy was for the Education Department to take control of the parish schools, and then to fill the gaps by rate-aided schools. It was thought that this could be accomplished by a 2d. rate in rural districts and a 2½d. rate in Glasgow and the large towns.

In the *Third Report*, which dealt with the burgh and middle-class schools, the Commissioners thought that on the whole secondary education was in a satisfactory condition, but that it required and was capable of amendment. (P. xviii.) They found that thirty-three burgh schools existed, twenty-three academies, and thirty-one parochial schools which carried out the functions of burgh schools. These were satisfactorily distributed so that only three burghs, Kinghorn, Oban, and Portobello, were without secondary schools. In addition there were a number of private schools, some being day-schools such as the Edinburgh Institution, some boarding-schools such as Loretto, and others day and boarding schools such as the Aberdeen Gymnasium. Altogether 15,946 scholars were on the roll of these schools and nearly ninety per cent were in attendance, and the schools provided instruction for more than two-thirds of the Scottish middle-class population. This represented a proportion of one in 205 receiving secondary education, as compared with one in 249 in Prussia, one in 570 in France, and one in 1,300 in England. (P. viii.) The slender endowments of Scottish secondary schools has already been mentioned, so that the sum of £42,000 per annum was paid in fees by the parents. (P. xvi.)

The prevalence of mixed schools was noted and the Commissioners gave their opinion that "the influence of Mixed schools of boys and girls is not beneficial from a social point of view; but, intellectually speaking, there is a good deal to recommend in such schools. There seems to be no reason why girls should not have the same educational advantages as boys, as they appear to make quite as much of what opportunities they have, and in some branches they are distinctly superior to the boys. If they are taught on the same system, and by the same masters, they should have distinct schoolrooms, and be kept separate from the boys, and under their

own lady-superintendent." (P. xiii.) The mid-19th-century point of view is very apparent in this passage.¹

Pupils came very early to school and left very early. About fifty-six per cent were under twelve and sixteen per cent under eight. In the private schools, pupils came later and remained later. Scholars were extremely hard worked and the Commissioners reckoned that they put in twice the number of hours per week as the pupils at Eton and Winchester. The average worked out at nine hours a day for a five-day week. The Commissioners were of opinion that a good deal of confusion existed as regards the curriculum. In some schools the subjects of instruction were elementary, in others definitely beyond that standard, and, in still others, a mixture of both. The curriculum varied considerably in different parts of Scotland. "Parents look upon education as a means to an immediate end. The great object is to get a lad placed in some situation in which he will gain pecuniary benefit, and keep himself at as early an age as possible. If he can do this by means of classics, as at Aberdeen, they will teach him classics; if by writing, they will teach him writing. If, along with his writing, he can pick up a little Latin and a little French, so much the better, but it is not essential. This is the view of education which is adopted by parents of the middle class in Scotland; and those subjects of instruction which conduce to this end are most appreciated by them." (P. 116.)

The introduction of the Revised Code was not recommended since "the teachers will be compelled to bring their inferior scholars up to the standards required by the Code, and so will have little time to devote to the higher branches. . . . It is of vital importance that every encouragement should be given to that class of young men who, since the foundation of the Parish schools, have risen to eminence through their medium. The number of distinguished men who have risen up in Scotland through these schools and our universities has long been the glory of this country and the wonder and envy of other countries, and it would be a matter of infinite regret if this national feature were to be obliterated." (P. 146.)

They therefore recommended the foundation of district or supplementary schools, and a scholarship system to these schools and to the universities to complete the system and so enable scholars of ability to proceed from the elementary schools to a university career. In addition it was recommended that Treasury

¹ Compare this statement with that of Mr. Fearon which is quoted on p. 535.

grants should be given to parish schools where the schoolmaster carried out the function of a burgh schoolmaster in giving higher education to his pupils. The link between the parochial schools, the burgh schools, and the university, was so essential a feature of Scottish education that it should be maintained, supplemented, and strengthened.

Other recommendations were that the Committee of Council should devise a scheme for the superannuation of schoolmasters, make grants for building, extensions, and repairs, subject to a report from H.M.I., that the tenure of the schoolmaster *ad vitam aut culpam* should be placed on a more explicit basis, and that, apart from these recommendations, no further grants should be made nor any other alterations in the management or superintendence of burgh schools. Finally, the statutes and rules of hospital foundations should be examined, and with the approval of Parliament, alterations with a view to the extension of education should be made.

The Commissioners spoke highly of the private schools which catered for the middle classes and which should not be confused with the "wretched seminaries" for the elementary education which had been roundly condemned in the *Second Report*. One of the reasons given for their efficiency was that most of the teachers had been trained in normal colleges. Also, they were not afraid of publicity, but threw open their doors to teachers and parents. These schools filled an important place in the national scheme by supplementing the education given in the burgh schools. The standard of the private schools in Edinburgh was exceptionally high and it was noted that they had separate departments for girls which carried education to a higher point than the boys' departments. This was because the boys were transferred at about the age of eleven to the high school and academy, but the girls remained until about fourteen or fifteen years of age. The Edinburgh Institution was described in detail in the Special Reports of the Commissioners. (Pp. 313-18.) The school had accommodation for 949 scholars and its fees were moderate. The staff was highly qualified and the object of the instruction was the preparation of the pupils for university entrance, the professions, and business appointments. The general report on the school was that a very good liberal education was supplied at a moderate cost and that there was a sensible earnestness about the teachers and scholars that could not fail to have good results. Similar schools existed in other

large towns, e.g. the Gymnasium, Old Aberdeen, and Fordyce Academy, Banff. The prospectus of a typical private academy in Edinburgh in 1856 is printed on the opposite page.¹

Mr. Fearon's report is interesting since he had been appointed as Assistant Commissioner under the Taunton Commission investigating conditions in the English endowed schools and from his experience he was well qualified to draw a comparison between them and the Scottish secondary schools of the period. He thought that the English endowed schools made poor showing in comparison with the Scottish burgh schools. At the conclusion of his report he asked, "Why are these nine Scotch burgh schools so well attended? And why is such good work done in most of them? Because they are constantly stimulated from without. Public feeling, public demand for the things which they produce, make them work; and public interest in the result of their work helps to make that result successful. . . The mere fact, for example, that 390 children are attending as day scholars at the burgh school of Ayr, a town with less than the population of Reading or Canterbury, is in itself, irrespectively of the quality of the education afforded in that burgh school, a most healthy symptom. Where in England could we produce such an instance of interest and confidence in a public school among the middle classes of our rural

¹ The following extracts throw some light upon conditions in Scottish schools during this period:—

(1) Extract from a letter of Mr. T. Christie describing the John Watson's Institution to a friend in England, 30th October, 1855.

"Before leaving Scotland I was appointed to the post which I at present hold in John Watson's Institution. It is only an assistantcy, salary £50 besides Bed, board and washing, but such Board as would cost me I should think £50 a year. . . . A few words now as to our School. It numbers 58 boys and nearly 50 girls, both being taught together. We are not at a loss for room, having no fewer than six schoolrooms, besides a chapel capable of holding 6 or 8 hundred, where I have very often to read and pray. There are three resident male teachers, besides visiting Masters for vocal, and instrumental music and dancing. I am sorry to say that the scholars are in a very low educational condition. The new set of teachers, I think, are bringing about a change for the better."

(2) Extract from letter of Dr. Bedford in reply to a teacher seeking a post in Scotland.

George Heriot's Hospital,
Edinburgh.

March 20th, 1855.

" . . . Parochial teachers in Scotland are very heavily worked, I hear, but Mr. Christie knows more about them than I do. Many clever young men are glad to get some 50£ or 60£ a year. In a letter which I wrote . . . yesterday I stated that *good* educational appointments are rare in Scotland. I think Mr. Christie will support me in that opinion. . . .

F. W. BEDFORD."

ENGLISH, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, &c.

MR CHRISTIE will open advanced Classes for ENGLISH, &c., at 12 QUEEN STREET, on *Monday, 3d March*.

The Young Gentlemen will meet from 9 till 11 o'clock, and the Young Ladies from 1 till 3 o'clock. Fee, 15s. per Quarter.

Extract from Testimonial in Mr CHRISTIE's favour from Dr BEDFORD, House Governor of Heriot's Hospital:—

"For four years Mr CHRISTIE was one of my most valued Colleagues, when I was Head Master of the Schools with which he is now connected.

"As a Gentleman, a Christian, a Scholar, and a Teacher, he stood very high in my estimation.

"I have seldom observed Classes so well conducted, and maintaining so superior a tone, as those under Mr CHRISTIE's tuition."

WRITING, ARITHMETIC, BOOK-KEEPING, & ALGEBRA.

MR WATSON will resume his MORNING CLASSES at 12 QUEEN STREET, from 7 till 8, on *Monday, 3d March*. Other Classes from 11 till 1, and from 3 till 5 o'clock.

THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN ARE TAUGHT IN SEPARATE ROOMS.

The next General Quarter Day being on *Saturday 1st March*, Mr WATSON and Mr CHRISTIE will be in attendance at the Class Rooms from 11 till 3 o'clock, to answer enquiries, enrol Pupils, and receive Fees.

Specimens of Penmanship by Mr WATSON's Pupils will be exhibited.

Classes for LATIN, FRENCH, GERMAN, DRAWING, PIANOFORTE, NEEDLEWORK, &c., at different hours, to suit Pupils attending other Classes.

QUEEN STREET ACADEMY,
February 26, 1856.

population?"¹ His advice concerning English secondary schools was, "Let the grammar schools, like the Scotch burgh schools, assimilate themselves to public requirements; popularise their education, and condescend to consider things as they are, as a first practical step towards making things as they should be."²

Earlier in his report, Mr. Fearon contrasted the work of the Scottish burgh school with that of the English grammar-school in a passage which is well worth quoting in full. "I wish that I could picture to the Commissioners the interior of such an English grammar school as I have often seen it both in town and country at about 3 o'clock p.m. The long room empty or vacant in the middle, with the massive old fashioned desks ranged round the walls. The three seats for the teachers, carefully graduated in size; the largest and most imposing for the master at the top of the room; the second at the bottom for the usher; and at one side a smaller desk, inferior in comfort and dignity, for the occasional French master. The 30 boys divided nominally into six forms, of which the sixth contains two or three boys, boarders, who are reading 'Greek Play,' and one of whom is said to be preparing to try for an open scholarship at the university. The fifth form perhaps, 'vacant just at present,' and the bulk of the scholars in the lower forms classified according to their different degrees. The master well clothed and fed, lounging in his chair of state, 'hearing the sixth form,' who sit or lean round him, in every variety of posture that can indicate indifference and weariness. The usher, an ignorant untrained drudge . . . wearing the listless and depressed look of one who has known or has been vainly hoping for better days. The whole scene one of sleepy monotonous existence; resembling rather a gathering of priests and worshippers of Morpheus than the Muses.

"And the contrast between such a scene, and that presented by the class-room of a Scotch burgh school; crowded with 60 or 100 boys *and girls*, all nearly of an age, seated in rows at desks or benches, but all placed in the order of merit, with their keen thoughtful faces turned towards the master, watching his every look and every gesture, in the hopes of winning a place in the class, and having good news to bring home to their parents at tea time. The *dux* seated at the head of the class, wearing perhaps a medal; the object of envy and yet pride to all his fellows; fully conscious both of the glory and the insecurity of his position; and taught,

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. VI, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61

by experience of many falls, the danger of relaxing his efforts for one moment. In front of this eager animated throng, stands the master, gaunt, muscular, and time-worn, poorly clad, and plain in manner and speech, but with the dignity of a ruler in his gestures and the fire of an enthusiast in his eye, never sitting down, but standing always in some commanding position before the class; full of movement, vigour, and energy; so thoroughly versed in his author or his subject that he seldom requires to look at the textbook, which is open in his left hand, while in his right he holds the chalk or the pointer, ever ready to illustrate from map or blackboard, or perhaps flourishes the ancient 'taws' with which in former days he used to reduce disorderly newcomers to discipline and order. The whole scene is one of vigorous action and masterly force, forming the greatest possible contrast with the monotonous, unmethodical, ill-seconded working of the English teacher." ¹

Mr. Fearon did not agree with the Argyll Commission's opinion on mixed schools. He was convinced that "the presence of the girls both civilises and stimulates the boys, and that the opportunity of working with the boys strengthens the judgment and braces the mental faculties of the girls." ²

The reports were submitted to Parliament and after two unsuccessful attempts, in 1869 and 1871, to secure an Education Act, Lord Advocate Young succeeded in obtaining the passage of the momentous Act of 1872. The authors of the Act had before them the lessons of the English Elementary Education Act of 1870, and they were determined to produce an enactment of a more thorough and comprehensive nature. Hence the Act of 1872 was concerned with Scottish education as a whole and not merely elementary education. The Act was so great a milestone in Scottish educational progress and marked so fully the distinction between the old and the new, that its consideration is postponed to the chapter dealing with the modern period in Scottish education.

During the 17th century, the universities suffered greatly from the disturbed state of the country due to the continual strife between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians. It speaks much for the keen interest in higher education of the nation as a whole, that they were able to continue their existence and identity. The outstanding figure in connection with the universities of this period is Bishop Forbes, who in the early part of the 17th century did

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. VI, pp. 51-2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

much to encourage the development of Aberdeen. He established the Chair of theology in 1620, to which his son was appointed, and he gathered round him the famous group of scholars and divines known as the Six Aberdeen Doctors.

To understand the Scottish universities at this time, we must realise that they were to a much greater extent the universities of the people than were those of England. As Graham Balfour said, the university system of Scotland differed at almost every point from the universities of England. However, they were similar to the English universities in one respect: they reached their lowest position during the latter part of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. The invigorating spirit of the Renaissance and Reformation had exhausted itself and there was a general retrograde movement towards mediaevalism. The faculty of arts dominated the universities, and other faculties such as law, medicine, and theology, had to be content with a subordinate position. The practice of regenting became universal and continued through the first half of the 18th century.

Each regent taught his students, during a course of three or four years, Greek, ethics, pneumatics,¹ logic, mathematics, and physics. The regenting system first came to an end at Edinburgh in 1708. At Glasgow it was abolished in 1727, at St. Andrews in 1747, but although Marischal College abandoned it in 1757, it was retained at King's College until the end of the century.

The burgh schools were justly proud of their Latinity, but at the universities the standards in Greek and Latin were very low and there was no professor of Latin until the beginning of the 18th century. The first professor of Latin (Humanity) was inducted at Glasgow in 1704 at a salary of £20 per annum. The special Chair of Latin at Edinburgh dates from 1708. The opposition to the teaching of Latin in the universities came from the burgh schools, whose masters thought it would lessen the number of their pupils, and therefore their fees.

The teaching in those days cannot have been much more advanced than that given at the grammar-schools. This is evident from the early age at which many students entered. Thomas Reid was twelve when he entered Marischal College and Dr. Chalmers became a student of St. Andrews at an even earlier age. As late as 1830, the royal commission reported students as young as

¹ This study was combined with philosophy and dealt with the nature of angels, of the human soul, and the being and attributes of God.

eleven at Aberdeen and the average age of entrants at Edinburgh was fourteen and a half. There was no entrance examination, and the majority of the students entered the universities without any intention of proceeding to a degree. They selected their own subject for study, and, provided the professor was willing to take them, they attended the course until it suited them to leave. Those who remained to graduate often did so at an age as early as sixteen. Many came to the university ignorant of Latin or Greek and elementary classes in these languages had to be started. All university lectures were dictated in Latin until 1729. In this year Professor Hutcheson of Glasgow broke away from tradition and began to deliver his lectures in English. His example was followed very slowly, and as late as 1776 a student who studied Church History at St. Andrews for three years, left on record that during the whole of that time he never heard one word of English from his professor. During the 17th century the university authorities encouraged students to live in chambers in the colleges, but this custom began to disappear later, partly owing to the increased number of students, which became too great to be accommodated in college, but more particularly because the majority of the students could not afford the moderate charges of the common table. "The great majority of the lads were extremely poor, and lived in mean garrets in the wynds; some were so badly off that old Kirk-Session records mention little doles of a few pence given to lads to help them on their way as they travelled to college. When they went to their classes in October they often took with them a supply of oat and barley meal, which with occasional supplies from home, lasted by careful stinting till the Session was over in May."¹

If the majority of the students were poor, the salaries paid to the professors were also extremely small. The principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, received a salary of £60 per annum. The principal of Edinburgh in 1703 received £90, but the principal of Glasgow was given £60 a year and board at the common table. The four regents also shared the table and received a salary of £25 each. The professor of mathematics at King's College, Aberdeen, in the early part of the century, had an income of £10 and board at the common table. His salary was paid out of a tax levied on the ale sold in the town, so that in his case the teaching of mathematics to university students depended on the amount of

¹ H. G. Graham. *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, A. and C. Black, 1909.

beer consumed by the populace. Later in the century the salaries of the teaching staffs were roughly doubled. In addition to his official salary, a professor received fees from his students, so that the total income of a professor teaching a large number of students might approximate to £150 a year. Professor Reid, in 1764, as professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow, received a salary of £50. He wrote: "I have touched £70 in fees, and may possibly make out the hundred this session." The cost of living was low, otherwise it would have been impossible for any professor to live on his salary. Small wonder, then, that a university Chair was sought mainly as a stepping-stone to a more lucrative appointment in the Church or as a private tutor to the son of a nobleman.¹

The condition of the universities slowly improved during the 18th century, which was one of the most brilliant periods in the history of the intellectual life of Scotland. One has to recall such names as Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Thomas Reid, Adam Smith, James Beattie, Principal Robertson, and many others of European reputation, to realise that in spite of the adverse conditions there was a strong intellectual life in the Scottish universities. A change parallel to that in the burgh schools was taking place. The dominance of the arts faculty was challenged and theology, law, science, and medicine came into their own. The progress of the last-named study was remarkable.

In the early days of the universities, both at Edinburgh and at Glasgow, the medical profession was associated with the barbers, e.g. the Incorporation of Surgeons and Barbers in Edinburgh and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow, which included barbers. The barbers not only cut hair but cut veins and arteries in the process of bleeding a person. Hence it was necessary for them to have some understanding of the body. The physicians and surgeons despised their more humble brethren and during the 17th

¹ J. Grant, in *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools in Scotland*, gives in an appendix many examples of the salaries and fees paid in the schools. Thus at Edinburgh in 1562, the master received £80 yearly and fees—"so large a salary is given because of the great profit of his school in London, and being very learned in Greek and Latin." But in 1835 the rector's salary was £33 6s. 8d. and each of the four classical masters received £20. The teachers of writing, arithmetic, and mathematics had no salary and depended entirely on fees. Kirkcudbright, which may be taken as an example of a school in a smaller burgh, paid its master £30 in 1787. His assistant received £10. In 1788 the writing and mathematical master received £20 and the following fees from each pupil taking the subject: English, 2s. 6d.; Latin, 2s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 1s. 6d.; first six books of Euclid, practical geometry and plane trigonometry, 15s.; navigation, 15s.; geometry, 10s. 6d.; bookkeeping, 15s. These fees applied to burghesses' children only. Others paid higher fees.

century the doctors and the barbers tended to fall apart, and finally in 1727 the two crafts separated. The red and blue stripes on the barber's pole are a reminder of the close association between surgeons and barbers; the red stripes representing arterial blood and the blue that from the veins.

From this date the medical schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh developed rapidly and, thanks to a succession of eminent teachers, they obtained a well-earned reputation. In 1824 a dispute arose in the University of Edinburgh over the introduction of midwifery as a subject for graduation in the medical faculty. The Senate objected to its introduction, but the town council, who were the legal masters of the college, insisted. They proposed a visitation of the college and this caused the Senate to petition for a royal commission, which was appointed in 1826 and took for its field all the Scottish universities. The recommendations of the commission did not receive immediate attention and it was not until 1858 that the University Act was passed.

The Act reconstructed the government of the universities. Previously, the governing body of a university had been the Senate, which consisted of the professors, who were both the teachers and the governors of their institution. The Act created two new bodies, the University Court and the General Council. Thus in Edinburgh, the former consisted of the Rector, the Principal (in Edinburgh, the Lord Provost; in Glasgow, the Dean of Faculties), and four Assessors. The Court appointed the professors, except those nominated by the Crown, and was responsible for the revenues, the regulation of fees, and the internal arrangements of the university. The Council was a larger body consisting of the Chancellor, the members of the Court, the professors, and graduates. Its meeting took place twice yearly and it discussed measures which had been approved by the Senate or the Court. The Senate still retained considerable power, especially in matters concerned with instruction.

The effects of the Act were soon apparent. The basis of the government of the universities had been broadened and the inclusion of the graduates on the Council had considerable influence in bringing university studies into line with the demands of the outside world. The net result was a large increase in both students and graduates. The salaries of the professors were increased and opportunities were given for bringing in lecturers to assist the professors.

Edinburgh, as the original cause of the royal commission, received special treatment. The patronage, which had been in the hands of the town council, was now transferred to seven curators, four nominated by the town council and three by the University Court. The Rector was to be elected by the students and the Chancellor by the graduates and the General Council. To carry out the provisions of the Act, an executive commission was appointed with Lord Justice Clerk Inglis as chairman.

The commission abolished the degree of B.A. and substituted the M.A. as the first degree, to be taken in three stages. Seven subjects were obligatory for the ordinary course in arts: Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, moral philosophy, and rhetoric. Honours might be taken in one of four departments classics, philosophy, mathematics, or science (geology, zoology, and chemistry). In the first three there were two classes of honours, but only one in science. English literature was included under philosophy. Graduates were qualified to become members of the General Council. The elementary classes in Latin and Greek, instituted as a concession in the 18th century to students who were without classical scholarship, were continued as a provisional measure. It was not considered advisable to break the link with the parochial schools in virtue of which bright pupils might pass direct to the university. In pursuance of this policy, the commission did not insist upon the establishment of an entrance examination at the time, but, when secondary education had been reorganised, a Preliminary Examination for university entrance was enforced in 1892.

In conclusion, one very important development should be mentioned. The Andrew Bell Trustees, from 1830 onwards, had been granting money for the building of schools, but after the Education Act of 1872 they found themselves with a surplus of £18,000. With this money they endowed Chairs in The History, Theory, and Practice of Education, at Edinburgh and St. Andrews in 1876. These were the first Chairs in education to be established in Great Britain. The first professor of education at Edinburgh was S. S. Laurie, who in his long life contributed much to the university and to the cause of education in general.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND — 1872-1949

The Education Act of 1872 represented such a radical change in the Scottish educational outlook that it will be of value to consider certain broad aspects of this development before examining the details of the Act. The outstanding feature of the Act was the substitution of State for Church control in education. Although this might seem so much at variance with Scottish tradition as it had existed for centuries, it was in fact only a particular instance of the general political changes which were affecting the whole of Europe. This may be summed up by saying that European countries had recognised the importance of education in the secular life of man, and this conclusion was connected with the growing feeling of dissatisfaction with the interference of the clergy in secular affairs. These changes had taken place in Prussia and France early in the 19th century, and the State had assumed responsibility for education in these countries. In Britain the new influences were somewhat later in development. The religious revival of the late 18th century, *e.g.* Methodism and the Evangelical movement, and the general acceptance by all classes of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, were mainly responsible for the delay. These factors were not so influential in Scotland as in England, with the result that the assumption of control by the State was delayed in the latter country. The Elementary Education Act of 1870 was a measure designed to "fill the gaps" and not to supersede, but rather to supplement, the efforts of the religious denominations. In Scotland, as we shall see, it was otherwise.

The logical mind of the Scot saw quite clearly that if education was to concern the whole of the people, then it must be an affair of the State rather than the Church. This conclusion was strengthened by the fact that after the Disruption of 1843 there was no longer one national Church. In other ways the Church had shown that it was not able to provide an efficient system of elementary and secondary education for the whole of the nation. The Church system had taken the parish for a unit, but in the larger towns the rapid growth in population of the city parishes was breaking down the parochial

system. Although the Act of 1872 endeavoured to save as much of the parochial system as possible, this proved one of its weaknesses and eventually the country adopted the county organisation. The schools, when under the control of the Church, had concentrated on giving a liberal education, but the development of industry on a large scale demanded attention to scientific and technical training which the small and often isolated parochial school was unable to supply.

The transition from Church to State control was accomplished with comparative ease because there was little in the school system which had been specifically Presbyterian apart from the assent to the Confession of Faith, and this had already been abolished by the Act of 1861. The religious instruction in the schools, as we shall see, was not changed under the School Boards, and the parochial unit of administration was continued.

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 was a much more comprehensive measure than the English Elementary Education Act of 1870. The latter was concerned only with elementary education, but the Scottish Act dealt with both elementary and secondary education. Its object was "to amend and extend the provisions of the Law of Scotland on the subject of Education," and in the preamble its aim was further defined as that the means "of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland." The preamble also declared that the religious basis of education was to be retained. "And whereas it has been the custom in the public schools of Scotland to give instruction in religion to children whose parents did not object to the instruction so given, but with liberty to parents, without forfeiting any of the other advantages of the schools to elect that their children should not receive such instruction, and it is expedient that the managers of public schools shall be at liberty to continue the said custom."

The Act created a central authority for education and representative local authorities for administrative purposes. The former was to be the Scotch Education Department which was to consist of "the Lords of any Committee of the Privy Council appointed by Her Majesty on education in Scotland," but to assist in putting the Act into operation, an interim Board of Education of five members sat in Edinburgh. When it came to an end in 1878, its duties devolved on the Scotch Education Department. The president of the Committee of the Privy Council was the Lord President of the

Council. The Committee was given compulsory powers over the local authorities and was responsible for the administration and distribution of the parliamentary grants for education in accordance with an annual Code submitted for the approval of Parliament. The Education Department had authority to conduct an annual inspection of schools and could legislate through Minutes, which, when approved by Parliament, had the same force as an Act. The chief executive officer was the Permanent Secretary, who was directly responsible to the head of the Department.

Local administration was conducted by 984 popularly elected School Boards which corresponded on the whole with the existing parish or burgh areas. The minimum membership of a School Board was five, and the maximum fifteen. All existing schools established by previous Acts of Parliament were transferred to the School Boards and the authority of the Church over these schools was abolished. Thus all schools, parish or burgh, whether academies, high schools, or grammar-schools, were to be handed over to the School Boards. These schools had been the property of the heritors, presbyteries, town councils, and other bodies, but none of these sought or received compensation for the transfer of their buildings. If they did not wish to transfer their schools (as was the case with the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians), they had to maintain them at their own expense. Schools administered by the School Boards were termed "public schools"; the remainder, "voluntary schools."

The first duty of the newly elected School Boards was to survey their districts and estimate the number of school places required to meet the deficiencies. They had the power of levying a local rate and of borrowing money for enlarging existing schools or building new ones. The School Boards also fixed the amount of the school fees, appointed or dismissed teachers, and paid them their salaries. There was as yet no statutory salary scale. In accordance with a conscience clause, the Boards decided upon the kind of religious education to be given and were responsible for receiving and distributing the parliamentary grants paid to them by the Education Department. Since the grants were paid to the School Boards according to the Minutes of the Department, the authority of the Department was assured. All children under thirteen were compelled to attend school, and parents who were unable to pay school fees could apply to have them paid by the Parochial Board. Parents who did not fulfil their duty by seeing that their

children received elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, were liable to penalties.

The public schools consisted of two types, State-aided elementary schools and Higher Class Public Schools. The latter included most of the former burgh schools which, unlike the English grammar-schools, now came under the authority of the School Boards. These schools were defined by the Act as those which gave instruction in Latin, Greek, modern languages, mathematics and natural science, and the higher branches of knowledge generally. They received no grant from the Education Department but had to depend upon fees, revenues from endowments, and sums paid from the Common Good. Fees were the chief means of support, and since the Scottish secondary fees had always been moderate, they sufficed to pay only the teachers' salaries. Consequently, for some years the Higher Class Public Schools had a difficult struggle for existence, until in 1892 they were able to share in the benefits of the Education and Local Taxation Act, by which the sum of £60,000 was transferred to the Department to aid secondary education ¹

It will be seen that although the Act attempted to define a higher-class public school, it made no effort either to define secondary instruction or to limit it to any one type of school. As we saw in the earlier chapter on Scottish education, many parish schools had been providing what was in fact a secondary education for their brighter pupils, and had sent some of them direct to the universities. It was the intention of the Act to encourage this. Clause 67 provided that the Scotch Education Department was to take due care in the construction of its Minutes, not to lower "the standard of education which now exists in the public schools." Thus secondary education could be given both in the Higher Class Public Schools and in the State-aided elementary schools.

In addition, a third type of school, the Higher Class School, was recognised. These schools comprised certain endowed, private, or subscription, schools such as the Academies of Edinburgh and Glasgow, St. Andrews Madras College, the Dollar Institution, Fettes College, Merchiston, and Loretto. Some of these schools eventually came under the management of the School Boards, but the

¹ The Elementary Education Act of 1891 for England and Wales provided for a fee-grant of 10s. per year for each child in average attendance. If the managers accepted the fee-grant, no fees were to be charged for children between the ages of three and fifteen. Scotland was entitled to an "equivalent grant" which was applied to assist secondary education in the way described in the text. Certain secondary schools, as in England, were receiving grants from the Science and Art Department, South Kensington.

endowed schools increased in number, and owing to the gifts of wealthy benefactors and to Acts permitting the "diversion" of hospital endowments, they achieved a financially secure position. One weakness of the Act lay in the lack of provision of a common point of contact between the three types of school in which secondary education could be given.

A further defect was the omission of guidance with regard to the aim of secondary education. One might have thought that some reference would have been made to the relations between the secondary schools and the universities, but the only reference to the latter was in Clause 62 which was concerned with the qualifications of teachers. The consequence was that secondary education was left in a state of utter chaos. As in England, there seemed to be no clear ideas about the aim and scope of the secondary school.

Many of the School Boards were responsible for such small districts that they were not adequate to carry out the ever-increasing duties which subsequent Minutes of the Department thrust upon them.¹ Nevertheless, for the first few years there was much enthusiasm shown by the new local authorities and the building and enlargement of schools proceeded rapidly. A modified version of the system of Payment by Results was still in operation and continued for some years, with the effect of narrowing the work and outlook of the elementary schools.

In 1885 the Secretary for Scotland Act reorganised the Scotch Education Department. The Secretary for Scotland became vice-president of the Scottish Education Department. This followed the English precedent of 1856, when the Lord President of the Privy Council became president of the English Education Department. This in effect made the Secretary for Scotland the head of the educational system of Scotland. The secretary of the Education Department was responsible to the Secretary for Scotland, and this ensured that the Department was under the control of Parliament. The first secretary of the Department was Mr. (later Sir) Henry Craik. He

¹ "That there were so many small School Boards may come as a surprise to educationists of to-day. A few cases, chosen at random, are worth recording :

<i>School Board</i>	<i>Total Population of Parish</i>	<i>School Board</i>	<i>Total Population of Parish</i>
Stirling (Landward) ..	85	Cranshaws (Berwick) ..	142
Morham (Haddington) ..	204	Glendevan (Perth) ..	105
Dolphinton (Lanark) ..	231	Moonzie (Fife) ..	154
Lynne (Peebles) ..	174	Lunan (Forfar) ..	248"

Quoted from the *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1946.

was an extremely able administrator and his previous experience as a senior examiner of the old Department had shown him the needs of Scottish education. One of his first actions was to rid the schools of any traces of Payment by Results. His new Code in 1886 contained many changes. It abolished the examination in the three R's in all classes below Standard III, restricted Specific Subjects¹ to classes above Standard V, and enriched the curriculum by making English, history, geography, elementary science, and drawing, class subjects in all elementary schools. In 1890 individual examinations were abolished in the senior classes of State-aided schools and at the same time the number of Specific Subjects was reduced. Craik next turned his attention to freeing elementary schools from fees. By 1893 elementary education was free throughout Scotland for children from three to fifteen years of age. It was due to Craik that Scotland obtained her share of the money which came through the Education and Local Taxation Act. The four universities were given £30,000, and, as was mentioned above, £60,000 was assigned for the encouragement of secondary education. A Secondary Education Committee was established in each county and the five largest towns for the distribution of the grant. In this way he anticipated the Act of 1918.

Although the Church of Scotland and the Free Church had handed over all their schools to the Department, Roman Catholic and Episcopalian schools remained outside the national system. The Education Department eventually acquired a substantial measure of control over the denominational schools. This was accomplished through the powers given to the Department to inspect all schools in order to determine how far existing schools were adequate for the educational needs of particular districts. In addition, schools which satisfied the requirements of the Department were able to receive grants. This meant that the denominational schools had to bring their buildings and standards of instruction up to the level of the Board schools in order to satisfy the inspectors.

Perhaps Sir Henry Craik's greatest achievement was the institution of the Leaving Certificate Examination. The Act of 1872 had provided for the examination of the Higher Class Public Schools

¹ The Specific Subjects were introduced by the Code of 1873, which was an attempt to carry out the provisions of Clause 67 of the Act by furnishing instruction in the "University Subjects"—Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Other subjects were added to these, making a total of thirteen. Instruction in any of these subjects, under conditions laid down by the Code, could earn a specific grant; hence the name.

by the universities. A further Act of 1878 made it permissible for the Department to examine such schools on the application of a School Board. Higher Class Schools could also apply to be examined by the Department, but they had to bear the expenses of the examination. The Educational Endowments Act of 1882 made it obligatory for the Department to inspect all endowed schools. In 1886 the first general inspection of all secondary schools took place. All these steps led to the introduction in 1888 of the Leaving Certificate Examination. At first the examination was only available for Higher Class Public Schools and Higher Class Schools, but it was not compulsory for them. In practice there were a number of causes which made the examination universally accepted. The Leaving Certificate was accepted as an entrance qualification by many bodies, and it considerably simplified work in the schools by substituting one examination for the variety which had previously existed. In the latter respect it can be compared with the English School Certificate.

The introduction of the Leaving Certificate did much to lift secondary education out of chaos and provide it with an aim and direction. It tended to bring the curricula of the different types of secondary school into line with one another and to set up a link between the schools and universities, since the latter accepted the Leaving Certificate, under certain conditions, in lieu of their own entrance examinations. The Scottish Leaving Certificate was normally taken a year later than the English School Certificate, and thus university candidates often proceeded direct to the universities, entering a year younger than students in England who remained at school to take the Higher School Certificate. It should be noted that in Scotland the equivalent of the School Certificate Examination had been in existence for more than a quarter of a century before a similar idea was adopted in England. Also, while in England the universities examined for the School Certificate, in Scotland the examination was conducted by the Education Department. Some of the Scottish "public schools," such as Fettes, presented their pupils for the School and Higher School Certificates of the English universities.

Originally the Department wished to confine the Leaving Certificate Examination to Higher Class Schools. At the time, however, the greater numbers of university students came from the State-aided schools. By way of experiment, candidates from these schools were admitted to the examination in 1892. The success of the

experiment was so decided that there was no further question in the matter. In 1902 candidates were required to pass in certain groups of subjects. An Intermediate Certificate was also introduced, but it was abolished by *Circular 44* in 1922. In 1937 the only obligatory subjects that remained were English, arithmetic, and either history or geography. After 1939 the certificate was known as the Senior Leaving Certificate and testified to the satisfactory completion of a five-year course of secondary education. When the examination was instituted there were three grades: Honours, intended for those preparing for the Indian Civil Service; Higher, which was an entrance qualification for the arts course at the universities; and Lower, which was accepted for entrance to the medical faculty. The recent modifications of the Leaving Certificate will be discussed later in this chapter.

In 1892 a leaving-certificate called the Merit Certificate was instituted for elementary schools. The certificate was awarded to scholars over thirteen years of age who satisfied the inspector that they had attained a standard of efficiency in the three R's, in two class subjects, and one specific subject.

Craik also introduced reforms into scientific and technical education, and in 1899 established a system of higher-grade schools. Eventually, pupils were able to continue their education in these schools until seventeen or eighteen years of age and could present themselves for the School Leaving Certificate. As in England, the higher-grade school became, in reality, another type of secondary school.

The school-leaving age was raised to fourteen in 1901, and special courses of instruction were arranged for pupils between twelve and fourteen, thus recognising a break at twelve between primary and post-primary education. The post-primary courses were known as Supplementary Courses, and the Merit Certificate, for which the age-qualification was reduced to twelve, marked the division between primary and post-primary education. In 1903 a qualifying examination was substituted for the Merit Certificate, and its purpose was to select those pupils who would benefit from a course of post-primary education. This was in effect an unfortunate change, since, like the free-place examination in England, the examination tended to turn the upper classes of the junior school into cramming institutions. "On paper the new plans looked promising, but their development was far from satisfactory. A certain element of gradation was introduced into the whole school

system. The common foundation was the primary school, terminating for the average pupil about the age of twelve. The successful completion of that stage was tested by means of a qualifying examination implying a knowledge of fundamentals sufficient to justify promotion to a higher stage. A pupil, on passing that examination, was free to go on to secondary education in a higher grade or higher class school, or to enter upon the supplementary course of a primary school. . . . Educationally the supplementary courses did not prove a success except in the larger towns where the work was centralised. . . . The courses were not secondary, and compared with secondary courses they were generally inferior in premises and equipment. . . . In the eyes of the industrial and commercial world they were not considered as equivalent to secondary schools.”¹

Although the Act of 1872 had handed over the schools to the control of the State, the training of teachers remained under the care of the Churches. Until 1901 students in training for the teaching profession were examined and certificated by the Department. Craik abolished the external examination. Training-colleges submitted their own syllabuses for the approval of the Department, from this year, and when approved, the colleges were empowered to conduct their own examination, the inspectors acting as external assessors. Training-college authorities recommended candidates, on the results of this examination, to the Department for certification or failure. The system worked very well and led to a rise in the standards of instruction in the colleges. It was an anticipation of the Joint Board arrangement adopted in England in 1930. The establishment of the supplementary courses led to a demand for increased numbers of well-qualified teachers. To meet the need, a Minute of the Department, January 1905, reorganised the training of teachers and placed the responsibility for it upon four Provincial Committees connected with the universities. The following year new regulations governing the training and certification of teachers were issued and the grants to secondary schools were overhauled.

The Scottish Education Department in its early days had to encounter difficulties similar to those we find in England between 1870 and 1902. The chief problem was that of securing regular attendance. The Act of 1872 had given compulsory powers to the School Boards, but these were rarely exercised. Thus, one inspector reported, “Even in the very centres of population hundreds of

¹ *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland*, pp. 155-6, Edinburgh, 1946.

children are allowed to absent themselves altogether from school, or to attend so irregularly as to be a constant source of annoyance to the teachers and to render it impossible to give them any effective instruction . . . they know by experience that the threats mean nothing, that the School Board has no intention of proceeding to extremities with them, and things go on as before. In many, indeed in most, School Boards in the rural districts, the members are the employers of juvenile labour. The law says they must see that the children attend school, their own interest says that they must get their trees planted, their turnips thinned, their potatoes gathered, their cattle herded, as cheaply as possible." (*Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland*, 1880-1, pp. 145-6.) In spite of obstacles the majority of the School Boards did their utmost to supply sufficient accommodation in the schools, and the counties which were noted as being the most progressive were Bute, Peebles, Dumfries, Fife, and Edinburgh. The Roman Catholics were foremost in the provision of voluntary schools. Dr. Kerr reported: "I am not aware that a single school has been built in Glasgow for some years by any other religious denomination. The example set by the managers of these schools, in the interest they take in all that concerns their welfare, is worthy of general imitation." (*Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland*, 1880-1, p. 124.)

Sir John Struthers, who succeeded Sir Henry Craik as Secretary of the Education Department in 1904, accentuated the separation between primary and post-primary education, although he realised that this policy was opposed to Scottish tradition which had always considered the parish schools as one of the sources supplying secondary education. The parish schools, especially in rural districts, had neither the buildings nor the staff nor the equipment to undertake successfully the task of secondary instruction. Greater efficiency could be obtained if secondary education were restricted to certain well-equipped schools in each county and the remaining schools concentrated on elementary education. The reorganisation was strenuously opposed by Professor Laurie, who viewed with apprehension what he regarded as an encroachment of a Government department upon the freedom of the schools.

The time was now ripe for new legislation, and the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 marked an important step towards the unification of Scottish schools. "It gave broader and fuller interpretation to the scope of education. It was the first Scottish Act to

recognise that there is an essential unity in educational agencies, and that one of the most important problems of education is the improvement of the physical condition of the people. It enlarged the functions of education till they included practically everything connected with the well-being of the child physically and morally as well as intellectually.”¹ The Act retained the School Boards and gave them wide powers of a permissive character. Thus provision was made for the medical examination and supervision of pupils in school. The report of the Physical Deterioration Committee of 1904 had stirred up public opinion, and certain School Boards (Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, and Govan) had already experimented with schemes of medical inspection. This was not confined to the State-aided schools but applied to all scholars attending schools in the districts of those School Boards.

The Act empowered School Boards to make special provisions for the education of physically or mentally defective children and prescribed penalties for parents who neglected their children. If, by reason of poverty, a child was unable, because of lack of food or clothing, to take advantage of the education given, the School Board had the power to provide food or clothing for the child. School Boards could also issue orders compelling the attendance of children between the ages of five and fourteen, and were empowered to frame by-laws establishing compulsory continuation classes for pupils up to the age of seventeen. The curriculum of these classes was to include instruction with reference to the crafts and industries of the district (including agriculture and the domestic arts), the study of English language and literature (also the Gaelic language and literature in Gaelic-speaking districts), and instruction in the laws of health with opportunity for suitable physical training.

The Act brought into being a superannuation scheme on a contributory basis which applied to both elementary and secondary teachers. The different sources of income available for higher education were consolidated into one central fund known as the Education (Scotland) Fund. Provision was made for applying the fund to primary, secondary, and university education through the County and Burgh Committees on Secondary Education. This anticipated the next advance in 1918 when the county, instead of the parish, became the unit of educational administration and presented a parallel with England when the distribution of “Whiskey

¹ Alexander Morgan. *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, p. 184, Oliver and Boyd, 1927.

Money" through the county councils paved the way for the establishment of the L.E.A.s by the 1902 Act. Thus, for the first time, secondary education was put on a satisfactory financial basis. The teachers' security of tenure was defined and the procedure to be followed in the case of a teacher's dismissal was detailed. The Act also gave power to the School Boards to provide conveyance or pay the travelling expenses of teachers and pupils in sparsely populated districts who were attending a central school, and to award bursaries to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and institutions for higher education.

The supplementary courses were retarded by the growth of higher-grade schools, and between 1905 and 1907 the policy of the Department was to bring about a fusion of the curriculum of the higher-grade schools with that of the intermediate departments of secondary schools and to permit the former to offer an intermediate course in preparation for the intermediate certificate. Two distinct types of post-primary education thus came into existence: intermediate, providing a three-year course of instruction in languages, mathematics, and science (cf. the English selective and non-selective central schools), and secondary, which offered a five-year course of instruction leading to the Leaving Certificate. The intermediate certificate was valued so highly that there was a definite tendency for some pupils to remain in the higher-grade schools for more than the three years. Nevertheless, a large proportion of pupils failed to complete the three-year course. The influence of the higher-grade schools was exerted in two directions—their curriculum was of a more practical type than that of the secondary schools and thus helped to widen the conception of secondary education; and, as happened in England, some of them developed into secondary schools presenting their pupils for the School Leaving Certificate and in this way modified the secondary curriculum.

As in England, an Education Act followed the First World War. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 was a very important progressive measure. It tackled the problem of the unit of educational administration. For some years it had been generally agreed that the parish, the traditional unit, was too small under modern conditions. If an effective system of secondary and technical education was to be maintained, a larger unit than the parish was necessary. The parochial system resulted in a good many anomalies in taxation; there was considerable interference by localities with services which were more than local; and it led to widely differing standards

in buildings and instruction. In spite of these defects, the parochial system had many defenders. The local people did not desire a change, because for many years they had played a conspicuous part on the School Boards, and they were supported by the clergy who feared a diminution of their influence. Strangely enough the Scottish Labour Party were opposed to the change because they believed that the county councils would be reactionary and that it would be difficult for members of the working class to attend meetings. Yet the success of the Act of 1902 in England had proved that the county and the large county borough were the obvious units.

The original intention was to make the county councils the local authorities for education, but this was strongly opposed. The Government saw many obvious advantages that would accrue. The small amount of additional administration could easily be managed by the county councils, which already possessed the appropriate organisation. Better co-ordination between the different social services could be achieved, for the same authority which was responsible for education was also in charge of poor-relief, the sick, the delinquents, and child welfare. On the other hand, it was urged that the best policy was to create a number of *ad hoc* authorities for education. They would be concerned with a single function and so would be more likely to be more efficient in carrying out their task; they would attract people who had special interests in education, and it was thought that religious education would be better organised. Scottish tradition was all in favour of *ad hoc* authorities and the supporters of this policy won the day. Like the English Act of 1902, the Scottish Act created a partnership between the central and the local authorities. The central authority became the Scottish, in place of the Scotch, Education Department created by the Act of 1872. The 947 School Boards (some had been amalgamated since 1872) gave place to education authorities (five burghs and thirty-three counties). The five burghs were Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Leith. The result was that 5,651 School Board members were replaced by 987 members of the new authorities which were elected every three years by a system of proportional representation. Later, Leith was amalgamated with Edinburgh. Each local authority was given the duty of preparing and submitting to the Department schemes for the constitution of school management committees for managing schools or groups of schools to be placed under their control. Parents were to be

represented on each school management committee, and teachers could also be nominated for appointment on the committees. The powers and duties of the committees were limited in regard to finance and control of expenditure, the acquisition of land, the appointment, transfer, remuneration, and dismissal of teachers and certain other matters.

The Act enunciated the principle that no child who was qualified for entry to an intermediate or secondary school should be debarred by reason of poverty, and authorities had power to assist by paying travelling expenses, or fees, or the cost of residence in a hostel, or to grant bursaries and pay maintenance allowances in cases of hardship. The education authority might also provide books not only for children and young persons attending schools and continuation classes but also for adults in the district and for this purpose it could make suitable arrangements with the public libraries. Every authority had to submit to the Department its scheme for providing primary, intermediate, and secondary education in its area and for the maintenance and support of a limited number of fee-paying schools. Perhaps one of the most important sections of the Act is that which directed the authority to institute a scale of salaries for its teachers in conformity with the conditions to be laid down by the Department in consultation with representatives of the education authorities and the teaching profession. Dr. John Strong, then rector of the Royal High School, Edinburgh, and afterwards professor of education in the University of Leeds, played a leading part in the institution of the salary scales.

The education authorities were permitted to aid in supplying nursery schools for children between the ages of two and five. They could also contribute, if they thought it necessary, towards the maintenance of schools not under their own management, or to universities. Each education authority was to contribute to the maintenance of training-colleges such sums as the Department might determine. The amount of such contributions would depend upon the number of teachers employed by an authority. The school-leaving age was to be raised to fifteen on a date to be announced by the Education Department and no exemptions from attendance were to be granted to children under the age of thirteen.

Like the corresponding English Act, pupils leaving school at fifteen were to attend continuation classes till sixteen and eventually up to eighteen years of age. Schemes for the education of these continuation-class pupils were to be submitted to the Department

and were to provide for instruction in English language and literature and such other parts of a general education as might be deemed desirable; special instruction conducive to the efficiency of young persons in the employment in which they were engaged or proposed to be engaged; and instruction in physical exercises adapted to their age and physique. It was hoped that advantage would be taken of holiday camps, Boys' Brigades, and kindred organisations. As in England, the instruction was to amount to at least 320 hours a year, arranged to suit the particular conditions of the district. Restrictions on the employment of children under thirteen were to be in force. (The age in England was twelve.)

Voluntary or denominational schools might, with the consent of their trustees, be transferred to the local education authority, which was bound to accept the transfer on terms such as might be agreed upon. This amended the Act of 1872 under which School Boards were not bound to accept the transfer. Transferred schools became public schools and teachers appointed to them would have to satisfy the Department as regards their qualifications and be approved as to their religious belief and character by the representatives of the Church or denomination in whose interests the school was conducted. No school could be transferred later than two years from the passing of the Act, and after that date no grant could be paid to a voluntary school which had not been transferred. Clause 20 of the Act authorised the establishment, by His Majesty in Council, of an Advisory Council to assist the Department on educational matters. The Department should take into consideration any advice or representation submitted by the Advisory Council. Not less than two-thirds of the members of the Council should be persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education, *e.g.* representatives of education authorities, universities, the Educational Institute of Scotland as representing the teachers and other bodies connected with education. The remainder would consist of persons of wide experience and expert knowledge of the industrial, social, commercial, and economic aspects of the national life. The Council could initiate representations to the Department on matters of educational policy or administration. Its functions were therefore wider than those of the Consultative Committee of the English Board of Education and similar to those of the two Central Advisory Councils established by the Act of 1944.

Every education authority was obliged, within three months of its first election, to establish a Local Advisory Council consisting

of persons qualified to represent the views of local bodies interested in education. The Local Advisory Council had the duty of advising the education authority on educational matters relating to its area, and the latter was obliged to consider any advice or representation proffered.

The Scottish Act of 1918 suffered the same fate as the English Act. Owing to the operation of the "Geddes Axe," that part of the Act dealing with the raising of the school-leaving age, and with the institution of compulsory continuation classes, was not carried into effect.

The first Circular issued by the new Scottish Education Department advised each local authority to appoint a full-time Director of Education as technical adviser to the authority and chief executive officer responsible for carrying out the schemes of reorganisation. The duties of the Directors were neither simple nor popular since the Act was resented by many who believed in the tradition of the parish school providing both elementary and secondary education. In 1921 Struthers announced the Department's policy of reorganisation in *Circular 44* which contained many drastic reforms. The issue of the Circular had been preceded by a simplification of the grant system by which a uniform annual grant per pupil was to be paid irrespective of the type of school, primary, intermediate, or secondary. Since the grants no longer depended upon examinations, the qualifying and the intermediate examinations were abolished. This was a much-needed reform, because the examinations had completed their work in raising the standards of all types of school and were now beginning to dominate both the curriculum and the teaching of the schools. Thus only two types of school were now recognised: primary and secondary.

The former was for pupils leaving at the age of fourteen and was organised in the following divisions: Infants (for children under seven), Juniors (ages seven to nine), Seniors (ages nine to twelve), and an Advanced division for pupils between the ages of twelve and fourteen or fifteen. Pupils who had completed satisfactorily a two-year course in the Advanced division could gain the award of the Day School Certificate (Lower). The certificate was issued by the local education authority. For those who completed satisfactorily a three-year Advanced course, the Education Department issued a Day School Certificate (Higher). For this certificate, pupils normally offered four subjects. English, with history and geography, was compulsory. The second subject was determined

by the character of the course followed by the pupil: literary (a foreign language), commercial, technical, domestic, or rural. The third was arithmetic, with algebra in commercial courses. The fourth subject could be science, arts and crafts, or any subject not already selected.

The secondary-school course extended for five years, with the Senior Leaving Certificate as its goal. The reorganisation met with much adverse criticism both in the press and from the Educational Institute of Scotland which had for many years urged a national system of education embracing all stages from the primary school to the university and ensuring a full secondary education for all pupils.

In 1920 there was a further development in the arrangements for the training of teachers. The administration of the training scheme was handed over to a National Committee for the Training of Teachers and the four Provincial Committees, who were now relieved from financial responsibility, were given the management of the four training-centres at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews. By agreement, the Episcopal and Roman Catholic training-colleges were transferred to the National Committee which now controls all the training-institutions in Scotland. Since 1924, except for teachers of handicraft, physical training, art, music, and domestic science, all Scottish men teachers must be graduates.

Since the war, a few non-graduate men teachers, trained under the Emergency Training Regulations, have been admitted to the schools, but this is purely a temporary measure. Women need not be graduates, though a great many of them are. The Educational Institute of Scotland believes that women should be on the same footing as men in this respect, and has been alarmed at the increase of non-graduates among women teachers. Thus, in 1930, women entering the profession were in the proportion of 870 graduates to 301 non-graduates. In 1948 this ratio had become 340 graduates to 630 non-graduates. In 1946 the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland in their report on the *Training of Teachers* showed that they were not in agreement with the views of the Educational Institute, and were reluctant to require all women teachers in primary schools to be university graduates. Scotland is experiencing the same difficulty as England in obtaining honours graduates for the teaching of mathematics and science. The present salary scales are such that a good honours-degree man can obtain a more remunerative post in industry.

As soon as the period of financial stringency had passed, local authorities began to experiment with different types of post-primary organisation. Some preferred to house the advanced divisions and the secondary courses in separate schools. In some districts separate central schools were established for advanced division pupils, whilst in many country areas advanced division "tops" to the primary school were common. Some authorities preferred to include the advanced division in the secondary school and this experiment led to the "omnibus" type of school which is similar in some ways to the English multilateral school ¹

In 1936 Parliament passed the Education (Scotland) Act which was similar to the English Act of the same year. This Act extended the school-leaving age to fifteen, with certain exemptions, and applied the term "secondary" to all forms of post-primary education. As in England, the outbreak of the Second World War rendered the Act inoperative.

The Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 transferred the function of the *ad hoc* education authorities, established in 1918, to the county councils of the counties and the town councils of the four burghs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Each of these became the local education authority for its area and was required to appoint an education committee as in England.

After the Second World War, Parliament passed the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945, followed by a consolidating Act in 1946, which brought together all the enactments concerning education in Scotland. The Act of 1945 applied to Scotland the policy that the Government had decided upon with regard to England, but there are certain differences between the Scottish Act and the English Act of 1944. Thus Scottish education did not have to deal with the problems caused in England by the dual system. Other important differences should be noted. The county colleges of the English Act are called junior colleges. Clause 11 provides that primary, secondary, and compulsory further education, in public schools and junior colleges shall be free, but local authorities may charge fees in some or all of the classes in a limited number of primary and secondary schools; but the power to charge fees can only be exercised where it is without prejudice to the adequate provision of free primary and secondary education in schools in which no fees are charged.

¹ For the details concerning experiments in post-primary education between 1918 and 1936, the reader should consult Newman A. Wade, *Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland*, University of London Press, 1939.

Where education is free, there must also be provided, free of charge, books, stationery, mathematical instruments, and other necessary articles. Clause 48 made the appointment of Directors of Education obligatory and Part III of the Act laid down the conditions under which they are to hold office. Clause 78 empowered an education authority, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to make such provision for conducting or assisting the conduct of research as may appear to the authority to be desirable for the purpose of improving the education provided in its area. The Act of 1872 had imposed restrictions on the time during which religious instruction could be given. These are now abolished, but, unlike the English Act of 1944, no specific form of religious instruction is prescribed. All education authorities must submit to the Education Department schemes showing the methods they propose to adopt for promoting pupils from primary to secondary schools.

The Scottish Act grants the central authority more direct and extensive control than has been the case in England. For example, every education authority is required to furnish a promotion scheme for the approval of the Secretary of State, which must show the method of promotion adopted and the means by which a decision is reached regarding the courses from which a pupil shows a reasonable chance of profiting. The English arrangement has been to leave such matters to the discretion of the L.E.A. Again, the Secretary of State is directly responsible for the training of teachers, and has the power by means of regulations to "constitute, alter the constitution of, incorporate and dissolve committees or other bodies for the training of teachers." His control extends as far as prescribing the duties of the committees and the course of training they provide. He also awards certificates of competency to teach, prescribes by regulations the forms of these certificates, the conditions of award, and the conditions under which they may be withdrawn (Section 49). This is a distinct contrast to the English system whereby the Ministry no longer takes an active part in certification, but has delegated the power of examining candidates and recommending them to the Ministry for recognition as qualified teachers to the University Institutes of Education. The Scottish Act provides for a register of educational endowments, but the official appointed as registrar is to be an officer of the Secretary of State.

Another feature worthy of notice is the precision in the definitions of primary and secondary education. It has been noted already that the English Acts have been deficient in this respect.

Thus Section I of the Act of 1945 defines primary education as a "progressive elementary education in such subjects as may be prescribed in the code, regard being had to age, ability, and aptitude of the pupils concerned, and such education shall be given in primary schools or departments. Primary education includes training by appropriate methods in schools and classes—for pupils between the ages of two years and such later age as may be permitted by the code. . . . Secondary education means progressive courses of instruction of such length and in such subjects as may be approved in terms of the code as appropriate to the age, ability, and aptitude of the pupils who have been promoted from primary schools and departments and to the period for which they are expected to remain at school. Such courses shall be given in secondary schools or departments."

The Act also revises the conditions of superannuation for teachers. Each teacher is required to pay five per cent of his salary towards superannuation, and the education authority, governing body, or managers, are required to contribute an equal amount. The minimum national scales of salaries for teachers are abolished and the Act requires all education authorities to pay salaries in accordance with scales to be prescribed by regulations made by the Secretary of State. A National Joint Council had been set up before the outbreak of the Second World War to investigate the problem of teachers' salaries, but the beginning of hostilities postponed a decision. During the war, teachers were given a war-bonus to enable them to meet the rising cost of living. The Advisory Council to the Education Department recommended in 1943 the substitution of standard national scales for the minimum national scales. The National Joint Council was reconstituted and now consisted of twenty-four representatives, half of them representing the authorities and half representing the Educational Institute of Scotland. In addition, six assessors were appointed. Lord Teviot was appointed as an impartial chairman. The Council met in December 1944, and after a lengthy series of negotiations the present Teviot scales were adopted.

The Advisory Council on Education has recently issued three important reports: *Primary Education*, 1946, *Technical Education*, 1946, and *Secondary Education*, 1947.

The report on *Primary Education* emphasises twelve as the normal age for transfer from primary to secondary education. It pays much attention to the problems of school sites and

school buildings. Many visitors to Scottish schools comment upon the barrack-like appearance of most of them, especially of those built before the First World War. Even some of the more recent buildings compare unfavourably as regards playground facilities and amenities with English schools of the same type and date. The report recognises that under present conditions, especially in the large towns, the existing barrack-type schools will have to be used for some years, but it recommends that they should be made as attractive as possible internally and the numbers on roll drastically reduced. As outside recreational activities are restricted in such schools, the interiors should be reconstructed to provide the maximum of amenities such as school halls, dining-halls, and gymnasia.

Special emphasis was laid on the colour scheme of the interior. "As children are notoriously fond of bright colours, it seems reasonable that the colour schemes of classrooms should be so designed as to give them pleasure . . . we hope that no school interior will in future be painted in a dull muddy colour which is alleged to be 'restful,' or is guaranteed 'not to show the dirt.'" (P. 8.) It is important that during the whole period of primary education there should be continuous co-operation between home and school and to this end, the report suggests that to encourage a good relationship between the two, visits of parents to the schools should be welcomed and other devices should be tried. It is recommended that the enrolment of a primary school should never exceed 650 and that 400 to 500 could be regarded as a reasonable maximum.

The curriculum and methods of the primary school should be thought out afresh and should follow the child's natural line of development and his delight in all kinds of activity. The "bookish" tradition of Scottish education came in for criticism and the following paragraph is significant of the modern outlook. "It is still assumed in some quarters that those subjects confidently referred to as the 'Three R's' are the central core of education, and indeed all that is necessary for the great mass of children. The consideration we have given to this matter, and the evidence we have heard, lead us, however, not merely to question but to deny the validity of this assumption under present day conditions." (P. 21.) Instead of a curriculum revolving round the three R's, the report reviews the subjects of the primary school under the broad headings of physical education, hand-work, and speech. It deprecates a pre-occupation with school "subjects" in the traditional sense. "A teacher who has realised how futile it is to attempt to teach young

children according to a logical scheme will be equally aware that the idea of a school 'subject' is a logical device or abstraction. The giving of separate names to different skills and branches of knowledge and the making of clear dividing lines between them is attractive to the logical mind and is within limits a useful procedure; but it tends to obscure the unity of all knowledge and the infinite interrelation of things in the pattern of life." (P. 29.)

Chapter xi of the report contains many valuable suggestions on teaching method, but the following chapter is unlike anything to be found in the English reports. It is concerned with the place and value of Scottish traditions in the school. Although Scotland has much in common with England, there has been in modern times a growing national feeling which is not "a movement of antagonism to England but a growing determination that Scotland should not be submerged, ignored or treated as a 'province' or a 'region'." (P. 72.) The following are among the suggestions made in this chapter: the allotment of a definite weekly period in the higher classes of the primary school for the study of Scottish traditions and language; the production of anthologies of Scots verse and prose, which should include modern works of good quality; the teaching of the best Scottish folk-tunes; the tradition of using the fiddle as a means of instruction in Scottish songs and dances should be revived; the industries of the district should be reflected in the crafts of the school; all Scottish children should learn something of Gaelic life, legends, and traditions.

Circular 122, which accepts in principle the main suggestions of the report, welcomes the attention to Scottish traditions, but doubts the value of allocating a set weekly period for their study and conveys a warning to over-zealous teachers that in Lowland schools where Gaelic is not spoken, the instruction in Gaelic life and traditions should not go beyond what can be readily related to the natural interest of children at the primary stage.

The report suggests the abolition of compulsory homework and its replacement by different forms of voluntary work, but the Circular indicates that the Education Department is not at present desirous of going as far as this and recommends that homework should be so regulated as to avoid over-pressure. It should involve not only the reading of books, but also research projects making use of purposeful activity and observation out of doors.

The report also stresses the value of organised research into educational problems and commends the policy of the Scottish

Council for Research in Education of providing the great body of Scottish teachers with brief and clearly stated summaries of the main conclusions of recent research work. "Scotland is indeed fortunate in possessing a Council for Research in Education broad enough in constitution and purpose to be a fit instrument for performing the functions we have in view. If up to now their activities . . . have been in a sense sporadic, they may with justification plead that they have been to work only under serious limitations of finance and personnel." (P. 113.) Hence, the report recommended that the Secretary of State and the education authorities should take full advantage of the powers given in the Act of 1945 to put the Research Council on a sound financial basis.¹ *Circular 122* accepts this recommendation in principle and points out that the financial assistance asked for has now been provided through the Grant Regulations. The report on *Primary Education* is the most valuable official study yet made on the primary school and contains much of interest for English as well as Scottish teachers.

The report on *Secondary Education* emphasises three general principles. (1) Not only must every child receive a secondary education suited to his age, ability, and aptitude, but his education, whether academic or practical, must have equal importance in the eyes of the community and be provided for with equal care and generosity. (2) The good school must in its variety of types and range of ability reproduce something of the richness of a natural environment. (3) While the school should be large enough to allow of a fully varied curriculum, it should not be of such a size that the headmaster's personal influence is lost and he becomes a mere administrator. In the light of this principle, 600 is suggested as the maximum enrolment number for a secondary school.

The idea of the multilateral school is rejected. "We cannot recommend the setting up of huge multilateral schools on the American model, as favoured by the L.C.C., with 2,000 or more pupils in each. The unity we seek is organic not merely administrative, and we do not believe it can be realised with such vast numbers merely by setting a collection of sub-schools of different kinds on a common campus and calling them one school." (P. 31.)

The English tripartite system of grammar, technical, and modern schools, is severely criticised. It has an obvious attraction of administrative tidiness, but there are decisive reasons against its

¹ The University of London Press publishes works approved by the Scottish Council for Research in Education.

adoption in Scotland. It is so unrelated to the Scottish system that its adoption would mean not a development but a revolution. "The whole scheme rests on an assumption which teacher and psychologist alike must challenge—that children of twelve sort themselves out neatly into three categories to which these three types of school correspond. . . . Status does not come with the attaching of a name or by a wave of the administrative wand, and the discussion to date has left the position of the modern school neither defined nor secure. Indeed, it seems clear to many that the modern school will in practice mean little more than what is left, once the grammar and technical types have been housed elsewhere, and that the scheme will end not in tripartite equality but in a dualism of academic and technical plus a permanently depressed element. . . . If education is much more than instruction, is in fact life and preparation for life, can it be wisdom thus to segregate the types from an early age? On the contrary, we hold that school becomes colourful, rich, and rewarding just as in proportion as the boy who reads Homer, the boy who makes wireless sets and the boy without marked aptitude for either are within its living unity a constant stimulus and supplement one to another." (P. 31.)

On the other hand, the existing Scottish organisation into senior and junior secondary schools is regarded as unsatisfactory because it emphasises the academic tradition in Scottish education and so relegates the junior secondary school to an inferior position.

Hence the report recommends "That the name 'junior secondary school' be no longer used, as it has in fact conveyed a suggestion of inferiority." (P. 35.)

The solution recommended is that of the "omnibus" secondary school.¹ This type of school, however, differs from the multi-lateral school in both size and organisation. Speaking of pupils from twelve to sixteen, the report says: "Within this part of the school [what the Norwood Report called the "Main School," as distinct from the sixth form] we are satisfied that the omnibus principle can operate without waste of staffing, provided the total school roll is about 800. This is a third more than we recommend as applicable to secondary schools . . . where we were specially concerned to ensure the personal influence of the headmaster on his

¹ The organisation of an existing "omnibus" school, the Kirkcaldy High School, is described by Dr. F. M. Earle in his book *Reconstruction in the Secondary School*, University of London Press, 1944.

pupils, but we feel that the concession is worth while, if it secures the advantage of the omnibus school." (P. 39.)

The discussion on examinations and certificates is most interesting, especially if read in conjunction with the English report of the Secondary School Examination Council, 1947. Speaking about external examinations, the Scottish report says: "We do not say that examinations are ruining secondary education in Scotland; but they are gravely distorting it and narrowing its vision." (P. 43.)

The report makes the following recommendations:

- (1) That there be no external examination for boys and girls leaving at fifteen.
- (2) That each pupil leaving school, either at fifteen or without securing the School Certificate referred to in (3), be supplied with a record giving particulars of his work in the secondary school.
- (3) (a) That a School Certificate be instituted, to be taken at the end of the fourth year of secondary school. (This involves two examinations a year, since junior secondary schools have two commencing dates.)
(b) That this certificate be awarded on the results of internal examinations conducted by the teachers in each school and a process of standardisation carried out by the Scottish Education Department. (The method of standardising the results sent in by different schools is fully discussed in the report.)
(c) That this School Certificate be not awarded on a group basis, but show the subjects included in the course and those in which a pass has been obtained.
- (4) That a Higher School Certificate, also on a subject basis, be instituted, to mark the completion of various types of sixth-form course.
- (5) That the external examination for the Higher School Certificate be conducted by the Scottish Education Department.
- (6) That on the institution of the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate the award of the Senior Leaving Certificate be discontinued. (Pp. 52-3.)

The proposed School Certificate would be freed from any relation to university entrance requirements. "Experience on both sides of the Border has shown that the surest way to distort a School

Certificate from its proper function is to peg it to university matriculation requirements." (P. 58.)

The Scottish Education Department, in *Circular 145* of January 1949, accepted the general principles recommended by the Advisory Council's report, but differed as regards certain details. Thus the group system of the Senior Leaving Certificate was abandoned after 1949, but every candidate is required to follow a course of study approved by the Department. For example, although a pass in arithmetic is no longer demanded, yet this subject must be included in every approved course. At the end of a five-year course the school authorities decide the number of subjects each candidate will present for examination, but the certificate is awarded on a subject basis. The value of the certificate depends upon the number and character of the passes recorded on it. A candidate who wishes to satisfy the preliminary entrance requirements of a particular professional body will offer those subjects only which are necessary for this purpose. On the other hand, as in England the Scottish universities have their own entrance regulations and these will influence the curriculum of the school. Although the leaving-certificate is taken at the end of a five-year course, it is still possible, though it is not encouraged, for a candidate to take, in the fourth year of the school course, as many subjects as the school authorities consider he is capable of attempting. These subjects will be taken on the lower grade. This provision, which comes into force in 1951, is to meet the needs of pupils who wish to leave school at the end of the fourth year. It will be remembered that the original Senior Leaving Certificate testified to the satisfactory completion of a five-year course of secondary education. Hence the recent developments are not subject to the criticisms that have been levelled in England about the age at which the General Certificate of Education should be taken. The new examination will in future be known as the Scottish Leaving Certificate.

Chapters ix to xi of the report are concerned with the Secondary Curriculum, Technical Education in the Secondary School, and Secondary Education in Rural and Highland Scotland respectively. The suggestions regarding the treatment of school studies and the place technical education should occupy in the secondary school, will repay study by English as well as Scottish teachers.

The chapter on the Inspectorate emphasises the role of the H.M.I.s as consultants and collaborators, and, although inspection must always remain one of the functions of the Department's

officers, the report recommends that "the Inspectorate be renamed His Majesty's Educational Service, the members of the service to be known as His Majesty's Education Officers." (P. 140.) "And we may properly draw attention to two important respects in which the position of H.M. Inspectorate in Scotland differs from that in England and justifies a relatively larger staff:

- (1) In Scotland no share in the work of inspection is taken by officers of the education authorities.
- (2) In the conduct of the Higher School Certificate Examination and in the award of the School Certificate the Department and the Inspectorate will perform important and exacting duties that have no counterpart in the work of the Ministry of Education." (P. 141.)

The Scottish Education Department has been very energetic in carrying out the obligation and using the powers conferred by the Acts of 1945 and 1946. The raising of the school-leaving age in 1947 and the shortage of teaching staff put a heavy strain on the schools, but the output of the training centres and colleges (including those trained under the Emergency Scheme) has relieved the situation. Some concern is being felt with regard to the supply of specialist teachers of mathematics and science and specialist women teachers of physical training. The shortage of teachers would certainly have been remedied by 1948 had the Scottish Education Department adopted the short training-scheme for emergency entrants which had been decided upon in England. The Department, however, took a long-term view and instituted a full course of training, encouraging those who were fitted to read for university degrees. The Day Schools (Scotland) Code, 1939, fixed the maximum size of classes at fifty in a primary school, at forty in the first three years, and thirty in classes beyond the third year in secondary schools, but these maxima have been greatly exceeded.

Shortage of accommodation has been the principal worry of the authorities. Large housing estates are springing up in the suburbs of the largest towns and these have to be provided with new schools. The rise in the birth-rate will entail an increase of twenty to twenty-five per cent in the entrants to infant-schools between 1951 and 1953. Difficulties in regard to labour and materials aggravate the situation. As in England, the increased accommodation demanded when the school-leaving age was raised is being met by the provision of HORSAs huts. Progress in this has, however, been

retarded by a shortage of boilers and radiators, and huts have had to make do with temporary heating expedients.

In spite of these drawbacks, the progress in general has been satisfactory. A Circular of 1945 asked education authorities to begin active experiment to discover the most effective methods of training pupils in citizenship. In 1948 a series of conferences was held with the object of pooling the experience that had been acquired, and a summary of the discussions is to be published in the near future. Some interesting experiments were carried out in regard to education for leisure and social and recreational activities. Thus the Highlands and Islands Film Guild operated six mobile-cinema vans in Inverness, Argyll, and Skye. A similar service was provided by the Orkney Education Authority. A good attendance was secured and many of the islanders saw a film for the first time in their lives. The Department also co-operated with the Scottish Music Committee in encouraging the formation of choral, listening, and instrumental, groups.

One of the most important achievements has been in connection with the youth service. In 1943 the Department asked the Scottish Youth Advisory Committee to undertake an inquiry into the needs of youth, how far they were met by existing agencies, and into the influences that lead to a sound development of character and to the prevention of anti-social conduct and juvenile delinquency. The result was the publication in 1945 of the report entitled *The Needs of Youth in These Times*. The committee, in its report to the Secretary of State, emphasised, "We believe this to be the first occasion on which a Minister of State has given a committee an opportunity of taking into comprehensive review all the needs and possibilities of that stage of human development which we call 'youth,' of considering the vitally important period of transition from childhood to manhood and womanhood as the integral process which it really is." Those who read the report will agree that the committee made full use of the opportunity and produced a valuable and comprehensive report which dealt with the psychological, social, religious, and cultural, aspects of the problem. The first report was followed by another dealing with the way in which the youth service should try to provide for the needs of youth, and how it should be organised, developed, and controlled to this end.

The reports bore fruit in the appointment by the Secretary of State in 1947 of the Scottish Committee for the Training of Community Centre Workers and Youth Leaders. This committee

replaced the Scottish Youth Leadership Training Association and has now, with the approval of the Secretary of State, formed a voluntary body known as the Scottish Leadership Training Association. This body held its first training-course of sixty weeks duration in 1948. The youth service has shown a steady expansion. Its units, comprising pre-Service organisations for boys, uniformed organisations for boys and girls, and Church and club organisations for both sexes, by the end of 1948 numbered 12,246, with 487,761 members. Many of these members belonged to more than one organisation, but the figures quoted show the strength of the movement. Education authorities also provided youth clubs and centres for young persons above the statutory school age.

The type of work that can be carried out is illustrated by the following instance. "An interesting example of what can be accomplished in spite of the present difficulties is furnished by the Youth Panel for Eyemouth in Berwickshire. Since 1945 this body has adapted and equipped an old school to provide the locality with a hall and centre for youth and other activities; established holiday facilities which were used in 1948 by 608 young people, mainly from the Glasgow area; erected a covered stand for the local playing fields, accommodating 300 spectators and providing dressing rooms, showers and kitchens, which was opened in October, 1948. Much of the work was done by voluntary labour and with second-hand material."¹

In the earlier chapter on Scottish Education, reference was made to the slender endowments of the burgh schools and universities in their early days. By way of contrast, the 19th century was prolific in the number of bequests for educational purposes. The endowments of Dr. Andrew Bell have already received mention.

Two very important educational endowments are those known as the Dick and the Milne bequests. The former was due to James Dick who in 1828 left a fortune of approximately £113,000 to be applied for the maintenance and assistance of the country parochial schoolmasters in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray. The income derived from the bequest was devoted to the augmentation of the very meagre salaries of the country schoolmasters. The bequest was also intended to encourage the "literary elevation" of the schoolmasters, and in order to benefit from it candidates were required to pass an examination of so severe a character that even university graduates of those days are said to have failed. Since

¹ *Education in Scotland in 1949*, H.M.S.O., 1949.

1890, university graduation has been accepted as evidence of sufficient scholarship to enable a teacher to benefit from the fund. The Education Act of 1872 made certain modifications in the distribution of the grants.

The other important endowment was the Milne bequest. Dr. Milne, president of the Medical Board of Bombay, left a sum of about £50,000, in 1841, to be used in a way similar to the funds of the Dick bequest. In this instance, however, the benefits were restricted to the county of Aberdeen. The arrangements of the original trust deed of Dr. Milne were superseded in 1888 by a scheme for using the income in the establishment of bursaries for pupils attending State-aided schools.

Several references have been made in this chapter to the Educational Institute of Scotland. The Institute was founded in 1847. Before this year, certain local associations of teachers had existed, *e.g.* at Aberdeen, 1838, and Glasgow, 1846, but as the first president of the Institute declared, "Scotland is the first country in the world that has a National Association of all her Teachers, resolved and determined to provide their country with the best system of education that they can devise." The Educational Institute of Scotland has been a professional association in the highest sense of the term. During the last hundred years, it not only strove to secure better conditions for Scottish teachers as regards salaries, tenure, and superannuation, but it accomplished important reforms in the schools themselves, maintained the tradition of "sound learning," raised the status of the teaching profession in the estimation of the Scottish people, and encouraged educational experiment and research.¹

There is little space remaining to do more than present the barest outlines of university development after the Act of 1858. Demands for further reforms in the universities brought about the Royal Commission of 1876. As a result of the Commission's recommendations, the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, was passed and it completely remodelled the constitution of the Scottish universities. In addition to enlarging the membership of the University

¹ In 1944 the Scottish Secondary Teachers' Association was formed within the Educational Institute of Scotland in order to give special attention to the interests of secondary teachers. It broke away from the parent body in the following year. Its objects are "to advance Secondary Education in Scotland, and to safeguard and promote the professional interests of Scottish Secondary Teachers in all matters, particularly in such as affects remuneration and other conditions of service." About twenty-five per cent of Scottish secondary teachers are members of the Association.

Court and more closely defining its functions and those of the Senate, it brought into being a new body, the Universities Committee of the Privy Council, to which all new ordinances were to be referred. Authority was given to affiliate University College, Dundee, with the University of St. Andrews. The Students' Representative Council, which had originated as a student movement, received official recognition. New courses of study were established at the universities, the degree of D.Litt. was instituted, and a pension scheme for professors was put into force. In 1892 women were allowed to graduate.

A further Universities Act, in 1922, made more modifications in the constitution of the universities and brought all members of the teaching staff under the Federated Superannuation Scheme in which nearly all the universities and university colleges of Great Britain participate.

The financial position of the universities was much improved during the latter years of the 19th century. Earlier in this chapter the allocation of £30,000 per annum from the Equivalent Grant was mentioned. Like the English universities, the Scottish universities also receive direct Treasury grants. Under the Act of 1889, the Treasury grant was £42,000, but this has grown to many times that amount and special non-recurrent grants for improving and extending buildings have been made.

One important legacy to the universities calls for mention. In 1901 Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave £2,000,000 to the Scottish universities for extending buildings, endowing Chairs, and promoting research. The bequest brings in an annual income of more than £120,000, and, by the terms of the founder's will, half of this amount is devoted to assisting students in the payment of their class fees. Dr. Morgan estimated that as many as seventy per cent of all the university students of Scotland obtain assistance from the Carnegie trustees.

Since the last war, the Scottish universities, like the English, have entered upon a period of expansion. The number of students has greatly increased, thereby throwing considerable strain on the available accommodation, and for the session 1946-7 it was estimated that the attendance was about 13,000.

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION IN H.M. FORCES

It is not generally known that the State created an organised system of education in the Army more than a generation before the Committee of the Privy Council for Education came into existence. As in the case of most other British institutions, Army education owes its origin to voluntary effort. In 1767 an officer of the Queen's Royal Regiment published a set of model standing orders for his unit which at that time was stationed at Dublin. Amongst them occurs the following: "A Sergeant or Corporal, whose Sobriety, Honesty, and Good Conduct can be depended upon and that is capable of teaching Writing, Reading and Arithmetic, is to be employed in the capacity of a Schoolmaster." His duty was to instruct soldiers and soldiers' children, and a room was to be appointed to be used as a schoolroom. How far this order was carried out there is no means of ascertaining, but it is known that at about the same time the 18th Hussars had a regimental school of instruction.

When the Rifle Brigade was founded and placed under the command of Sir John Moore in 1802, instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic became a regular part of the training. A knowledge of reading, writing, and the first four rules of arithmetic, was expected of every sergeant, and a school was established to enable soldiers to qualify for promotion. In 1811 the commander-in-chief, Frederick, Duke of York, addressed a letter to Lord Palmerston, Secretary-at-War, proposing the establishment of regimental schools. As a result, two general orders, December 1811 and July 1812, were issued. The first appointed one sergeant-schoolmaster, with the pay and allowances of a paymaster-sergeant, to each battalion. His duty was to instruct young soldiers and the children of soldiers, and an allowance of £10 for books was authorised. The second order required a room in every barracks to be set aside for a school, and authorised an allowance of coal.

At this time, a certain number of married soldiers in each regiment were granted the privilege of taking wives and children on service. The parents had so much to do that the children were

left to run wild, and it was felt that something should be done for their welfare. In 1811 the Adjutant-General issued an order requiring each regiment to open a school for children, which was to be placed under the charge of the sergeant-schoolmaster. Wellington, during the Peninsular Campaign, ordered schools to be opened in the field as circumstances permitted. Thus, from its commencement in 1811, organised education in the Army developed along two distinct lines: adult education for the soldier, and elementary instruction for the children. The latter at first tended to overshadow the former. It is interesting to note that the Duke of York's instructions required the adoption of Dr. Bell's monitorial system in the Army.

After Waterloo, progress was slow because of the widespread belief that education would upset the *status quo*, and even such a patron of Army schools as the Duke of York considered that a barrack library was unnecessary and objectionable. He did, however, approve the issue of twenty-eight selected and safe volumes, each one stamped "Approved, C. Cantuar, E. Ebor, J. London." "The list included such comforting works as *Kind Caution to Profane Swearers*, *Peer's Companion for the Aged* and *Discourse on a Death-bed Repentance*."¹

Thomas Macaulay, when Secretary-at-War, was responsible for two important decisions. In 1839 every barracks was provided with a reading-room and the Stationery Office sent 300 volumes to each. Macaulay is supposed to have personally selected the books and certainly the catalogue at the Record Office shows that the choice involved both understanding and sympathy. In 1840 Macaulay signed a royal warrant appointing a schoolmistress to every regiment or regimental depot. The schoolmistress was to instruct the daughters of soldiers in the three R's, needlework, and housewifery, and to train them in habits of diligence, honesty, and piety. This was the origin of the Corps of Army Schoolmistresses, which afterwards became the Queen's Royal Army Schoolmistresses.

The further development of Army education was due to the Rev. R. C. Gleig, who was appointed Inspector-General of Army Schools in 1846. The previous year, Gleig, then Chaplain-General, met Baring, the Paymaster-General, as he was boarding a river-steamer at Vauxhall. They suddenly resolved to pay a surprise visit to the

¹ Hawkins and Brimble. *Adult Education, the Record of the British Army*, p. 13, Macmillan, 1947.

Duke of York's School.¹ They found the conditions at the school revolting. The buildings were in a filthy state and the sergeant-instructors were both brutal and ignorant. The instruction was educationally valueless and discipline was maintained by flogging and confinement in iron cages so constructed that the children could not stand upright in them. The two visitors were appalled, and approached Sidney Herbert, Secretary-at-War, with proposals for drastic reforms. Herbert enlisted the help of the Committee of the Privy Council, with the result that a royal warrant of 1846 instituted the Corps of Army Schoolmasters. The reason for the new departure was given in the preamble: "Whereas we have deemed it expedient to introduce into our Army a class of man better calculated to perform the duties of schoolmaster . . ." At the same time, the Duke of York's School was completely reorganised and was restricted to boys only. The sergeant-schoolmasters ranked next to the sergeant-major. They were paid 2s. 6d. a day and beer-money, together with an extra 6d. a day for efficiency and good conduct. At first the schoolmaster wore the uniform of his regiment, but in 1854 the uniform prescribed was a dark blue frock-coat and trousers, gold cord shoulder-knots, sash, sword, and a cap with a crown worked in gold thread. At the same time warrant rank was introduced, and commissioned rank a few years later.

Another of Gleig's reforms was the establishment of a normal school as part of the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea. Its object was to produce efficient schoolmasters, and it gave a two-year training-course. Students were admitted twice a year on the result of a competitive examination, and no fees were charged. Civilians were also admitted as students, but were required to give a bond of £50 that at the end of their training they would enlist as Army schoolmasters. James Thomson, the poet, was one of the earliest students of the college. The course provided did much to raise the standard of Army schoolmasters, and by 1860 there were 244 trained schoolmasters and 242 trained schoolmistresses.

Army schools for adults and children were not only established in Great Britain but also in India and in every part of the Empire where a permanent military station existed. Attendance was voluntary, although a general order signed by Wellington in 1849 attempted to make it compulsory for every recruit to receive instruction from the schoolmaster for two hours each day. The legality

¹ The Duke of York's School had been established in 1801 for the maintenance and support of the children of Regular soldiers.

of the order was questioned and the law officers of the Crown decided that it was no part of military discipline to attend school. The military authorities were unwilling to press for new legislation on the matter and contented themselves with offering strong inducements to soldiers to attend. A general order of 1857 laid down "That no man is to be considered eligible for promotion to corporal, unless in the field, who has not been dismissed the lowest class of the school, and is, therefore, tolerably advanced in reading, writing, and arithmetic."

In 1850 infant-schools and industrial schools for girls were established. Parents sending their children to school were charged small fees which were given over to the use of the schoolmistress. Fees for children attending school in 1858 were according to the following scale: twopence per month for one child, three-halfpence per month for two from the same family, and a halfpenny a month each child if three or four attended. In this year, 11,062 children were being instructed in Army schools. Adults also paid fees. Sergeants paid 8d. a month, corporals 6d. a month, and drummers and privates 4d. a month. The schoolmaster had to provide books and materials from the fees, but in 1854 fees were no longer paid direct to the master, who was relieved of the duty of providing books and stationery.

Gleig was succeeded in 1857 by Colonel Lefroy (later Sir John Lefroy, Governor of Tasmania). The new Inspector-General was an able and zealous man who visited the schools and reported upon the work being done. From his reports, and those of certain H.M.I.s who were placed at the disposal of the military authorities by the Education Department, we learn a great deal about the varied educational activities going on in the Service. "The annual reports speak of unit libraries, managed by committees on which the rank and file were represented, of lantern lectures, community singing, Christy minstrels, dances, and gymnastic classes. In Aldershot, in 1858, there was a garrison list of twenty-seven Army lecturers. Two brigade majors, with 'magic lanthorn,' lectured respectively on 'Wellington' and 'The Australian Gold Diggings.' An artillery officer explained the new electric telegraph, and a corporal of the Devons was found constructing one from his memory of the lecture. Schoolmaster Grant lectured on 'Curiosities of Air and Water, with Chemical Experiments.' But at the other end of the scale was the wretched schoolmaster in Capetown, to whom no sailing ship delivered stores in 1857 and 1858. During these two years, in a

dark hut paved with cobblestones, he taught fifty men with the aid of a dozen (borrowed) slates, and a pocket map of the world.”¹

Lefroy introduced a number of reforms during his tenure of office. Fees were abolished in the lowest grade of school which taught the three R's and by 1870 all fees had disappeared. A Council of Military Education was formed in 1857, originally for superintending the education of officers, but in 1860 it undertook the supervision of Army schools. Queen Victoria objected to the Council because it detracted from the authority of the Commander-in-Chief. She had her own way in 1870, when the Council was abolished. Its most noteworthy activity was the institution, in 1860, of Army Certificates of Education. The certificates were in three classes and the standards to be attained by the holders were as follows: First-class—to read fluently any book of ordinary difficulty and write correctly a passage dictated from the same; an understanding of the method of keeping Mess Book, Ledger, and Regimental Savings Bank accounts; ability to work vulgar and decimal fractions and examples in compound proportion; and a fair knowledge of general geography and English history. Second-class—to read a book of moderate difficulty and write fairly a passage dictated from the same, to understand the method of Mess Book, Ledger, and Regimental Savings Bank accounts, and to work examples in practice, simple proportion and interest. Third-class—to read easy narratives and write fairly a passage dictated from the same, and to work examples in the four compound rules and reduction of money.

In 1871 a fourth-class certificate was introduced, but as its standard was too low to be of any value it was discontinued in 1877.

One may be tempted to ask what these early efforts in Army education achieved. Lefroy's reports supply the answer. Illiteracy was widespread amongst the soldiers of the mid-19th century. In 1859, 20.5 per cent could neither read nor write and 18.8 per cent could read a little and just sign their names. By 1868 these percentages had dropped to 9.46 and 10.59 respectively.

The Newcastle Commission included Service schools in their terms of reference and emphasised very strongly the value of Army education. “In the present day the soldier is not looked upon as a mere machine, but is expected to be intelligent and to exercise

¹ *Army Education*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, p. 135. “A Note on the History of Army Education,” Colonel A. C. T. White, V.C., M.C., June 1942.

self-reliance; it is impossible that he should do so if he has not mastered the rudiments of education and has been subjected to no mental training. Profligacy and habits of excess are no longer tolerated in the soldier; we must, therefore, endeavour by education to raise him above these things, and set before him better objects to wean him from such pursuits: and it must not be forgotten that in many instances soldiers are discharged the service in their prime, and it is obvious that they carry into civil life the habits which they have acquired in the Army. . . . It is most highly important, therefore, in every way that the soldier should be encouraged to attend school.”¹

The Commissioners thought that however desirable it might be to make school attendance compulsory for boys, it should remain voluntary for adults. “A great deal will always depend upon the commanding officer, and upon the interest he shows in the school. It is in his power to stimulate the men to attend, and to give orders that no trivial matters should interfere with the school hours. . . . We think it desirable that an annual report upon these schools should be issued, a copy of which should be forwarded to the commanding officer of every regiment; and that, where the schools of any particular regiment fall short of the average in efficiency and attendance, the special attention of the commanding officer should be called to the matter.”²

The Cardwell reforms of 1870, the Elementary Education Act of the same year, and the abolition of the purchase of commissions which resulted in a better type of officer, all had their repercussions on Army education. More attention was given to the soldier's welfare, especially in regard to conditions in barracks, and to messing and recreation. The educational system had to be improved to meet the needs of the better type of recruit who was entering the Army. The regulations of 1881 made promotion to the rank of colour-sergeant depend on the possession of a first-class certificate of education. A new drill-book issued in 1892 emphasised that soldiers should be “taught to think and, subject to accepted principles, to act for themselves.” The Council of Military Education was replaced by a Director General of Education in 1870, who in turn was superseded by a Director of Army Schools in 1898. New barracks were built in which separate classrooms

¹ *Newcastle Commission on Popular Education*, Vol. I, p. 427, H.M.S.O., 1861.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 427-8.

were provided. The seating accommodation in children's schools was overhauled and the desks which had been made for adults were replaced by adjustable ones which could serve for adults and children alike. Regular surprise inspections of Army schools became the custom and it has been stated that this caused a definite rise in the standard of the instruction. Published statistics seemed to show a very happy state of affairs. At the end of the century, more than 4,000 men possessed a first-class certificate and 45,000 men a second-class. Much of this progress was illusory. The Corps of Army Schoolmasters was hampered at every turn by red tape and the issue of detailed regulations encouraged formalism and stifled initiative. At one time, an exact minimum number of words and sentences was prescribed for the essay examination for the second-class certificate. The spirit bred of Payment by Results invaded and thrived in an Army atmosphere. Under such soul-destroying conditions it is scarcely surprising that the supply of suitable entrants to the educational service dwindled. A committee in 1901, called to consider the conditions of service for Army schoolmasters, failed to produce any useful recommendations. Another committee, in 1904, suggested a reorganisation which involved a revision of the syllabus and a reduction in the schoolmaster's hours of work. Improved methods of teaching began to appear and the quality of the instruction started to rise. In 1906 proficiency pay was introduced for soldiers, and one of the conditions of earning it was the possession of a third-class certificate of education.

The War Office requested the Board of Education to conduct a thorough investigation into Army education. The inspectors seconded for this duty reported in 1907, and through their recommendations the method of training Army schoolmasters was assimilated to that employed in civilian training-colleges. In 1909 the Board of Education recognised trained Army schoolmasters as certificated teachers, a step which was a boon to those who left the Army after the First World War. It enabled them to enter civilian schools with recognition on the salary scale for time spent in the Service.

Before 1914 the Y.M.C.A. had taken a keen interest in the welfare of the soldier, and in the summer training-camps for both Regulars and Territorials, the Y.M.C.A. tent had become a regular feature. It provided a "quiet room" for reading and writing, and, in off-duty periods, concerts and religious services were held in it.

and lectures of an attractive nature given. When the outbreak of war put an end to the educational activities provided by the Army, the Y.M.C.A. stepped into the breach and augmented these facilities for troops in Britain and overseas. In 1915 a committee, with Dr. Temple (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) as chairman and Dr. Basil Yeaxlee as secretary, was formed to develop its work in education. The universities and other educational bodies were also providing lecturers, and it became necessary to integrate these different activities. In April 1918 the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee was created, on which the universities were represented by their Vice-Chancellors and members of their teaching staffs, and other members were elected by the Directors of Education, the N.U.T., the W.E.A., the Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A. The whole of the expense was borne by the Y.M.C.A., which spent about £250,000 on the enterprise. Much of the work was carried out on the different fighting fronts, but the needs of soldiers in training in Britain, and workers in munition factories, also received attention. As the organisation was not supported by public funds, its work was able to develop along liberal lines and freedom in experiment was encouraged. Its object was the personal development of the soldier's interests and training in good citizenship. Owing to the exigencies of the campaign, it was difficult to organise consecutive lectures so that much of the work consisted in single lectures covering a wide variety of topics. Where possible, such as at base camps, regular classes were conducted. At Etaples, early in 1918, over 1,000 men were studying the French language. Voluntary educational efforts started within the Army itself. Thus, at Brocton Camp on Cannock Chase, in 1917, an organised experiment was carried out with certain battalions of young soldiers. The initiative came from the officers of these units and the teachers were supplied by personnel of the camp who had had either secondary education or previous teaching experience. A similar experiment was tried out in November 1917 by the 23rd Army Corps.

All this work attracted the attention of the authorities, and A.C.I. 322 of 1917 was issued which made elementary education part of the training of the young soldier, *i.e.* recruits under the age of 18½. The next step was the introduction of a definite scheme of education by the Army Council. Its general principles were announced early in 1918, and although the beginning of the scheme coincided with the great German offensive, preparations still went on. The Army was responsible for carrying out the scheme in the

forward areas, but the Y.M.C.A. dealt with the provision of educational facilities on the lines of communication. Lectures were provided through the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee and Sir Henry Hadow went to France as the Y.M.C.A. Director of Education. He was later succeeded by Sir Graham Balfour. Nearly 200 lecturers and teachers volunteered for the work, and classrooms and libraries were established at base camps. By December 1918, on the lines of communication in France, 810 courses of study, covering seventy-one different subjects and attended by 12,235 students, had been organised. The subjects offered included mathematics and science, languages and literature, history, philosophy, business and commercial subjects, and arts and crafts. Attendance at lectures, as distinct from classes, amounted in the same month to 93,380.

The Universities Committee provided educational facilities for officers and men interned in Holland. Music was in great demand there and courses were arranged by Mr. Percy Scholes, who gathered a group of outstanding musicians to carry out the work. Other fronts, *e.g.* Salonika, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Italy, received lecturers from the Universities Committee. Courses were also arranged for patients in military hospitals.

Meanwhile, the official Army scheme was launched. Lord Gorell was put in charge and was assisted by a committee on which the Armies in Britain and France, the Board of Education, and the Ministries of Labour and Reconstruction were represented. Financial sanction was obtained, and on 24th September 1918 the Army Council issued a special army order (295 of 1918) which gave official authorisation to the educational work which had been going on in Britain and France. *Army Order 18* of 20th December 1918 extended the scheme to Italy, Salonika, and Egypt. The organisation and supervision of the scheme was in the hands of a Department of the Staff Duties Directorate at the War Office, which was assisted by an Inter-Departmental Committee and a number of expert advisers appointed by the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department. The scheme provided for the creation of a teaching staff from Army personnel and authorised the appointment of education officers on a scale proportionate to the requirements of the different units. Two schools of education were opened, one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge (later transferred to Newmarket), to train officers and N.C.O.s for teaching. Intensive courses of a month's duration were held at these schools.

In order to unify educational training in the Army, the Army Schoolmasters' Department was transferred to the Staff Duties Directorate. Lord Gorell recognised the significance of this action when he said, "This transference was, as far as it goes, an acceptance of the principle that military training and educational training could be and should be viewed together."

The scheme had barely been launched when the signing of the armistice called for certain important modifications. The citizen armies were looking forward to returning to civil life and the urgent need now was to provide, for the men awaiting demobilisation, training which would assist them in taking up their old occupations or fit them for undertaking new ones. There was also the Army of Occupation on the Rhine to be considered. The task was a gigantic one and the military authorities tackled their problems with vigour. Every unit of 1,000 men in the Home Forces was allotted four officers and twelve N.C.O.s as instructors. Every available textbook was obtained and over three-quarters of a million books were sent overseas. "Colleges in the older Universities were turned into schools for Army instructors, amongst whom were teachers, lawyers, farmers, mechanics, shopkeepers—any class of men that had something to contribute to national reconstruction. Army workshops and military training establishments became vocational training schools, with curricula ranging from linotype setting and stock breeding to English literature and the Malay language. Education officers in hospitals in close touch with the Ministries of Labour and Pensions, worked to facilitate the resettlement of the disabled."¹

Perhaps the most spectacular effort was made by the Army of the Rhine. Buildings were requisitioned from the German universities and technical colleges and the Rhine Army Colleges developed in which, during the summer of 1919, about 75,000 students were taking regular courses. The Army of the Rhine was allotted double the number of instructors granted to the other armies, and civilian teachers were also employed. In all units, education for one hour each, taken out of parade time, was compulsory. From the units, selected students passed to the Divisional Schools and from these to Corps Schools or Army Colleges.

Mr. Fisher, president of the Board of Education, warmly encouraged the scheme, which he described as the "greatest military invention since gunpowder." Speaking at the Cambridge School

¹ *Army Education*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, pp. 137-8.

for Army Instructors, he said, "Nothing in the shape of adult education has ever been attempted on the same scale in the whole history of the world." The final report on Adult Education, published by the Ministry of Reconstruction, expressed the hope: "It is idle to prophesy, but we may hope that these are portents of a new educational era which we are about to enter, an era which will be marked by a large extension of adult education among the people generally."¹

Education in the R.A.F. proceeded on somewhat different lines. This was due to the fact that the Air Force differed from the Army in having a larger number of skilled and semi-skilled men. The R.A.F. education scheme was approved in August 1918, but before putting it into operation a census was made of the educational requirements of Air Force personnel serving in France. One of the difficulties encountered was that the R.A.F. had no regimental system and its units were of all sizes, scattered about the country and often in out-of-the-way places. Hence the Air Force scheme was less centralised and provision had to be made for individual treatment. The Air Ministry was convinced that education would be a permanent feature of the Service, and consequently it prepared an emergency scheme that could readily be merged into a permanent one on the return of normal conditions. Because of the necessity of decentralisation, Air Force education officers were given more freedom and responsibility. The ratio of instructors was the same as in the Army and their rate of pay was also equivalent. This was unfortunate since the pay and allowances were not sufficient to attract instructors of the best type. An additional source of supply was found amongst educated women in the W.R.A.F. A general syllabus was issued but each education officer was called upon to frame courses suited to the requirements of the personnel in his locality.

A feature of the Air Force was the large demand for vocational subjects. A system of correspondence courses was organised to meet the needs of men and women stationed in out-of-the-way places. By March 1919 about 12,300 officers and men were receiving instruction. The R.A.F. also drew upon voluntary sources such as the universities, the Y.M.C.A., and the W.E.A.

The hopes of the president of the Board of Education and the Ministry of Reconstruction were only partially realised. "A tremendous task had been attempted and something had been done.

¹ *Final Report of the Adult Education Committee*, p. 349, H.M.S.O., 1919

Much of the work was slight and ephemeral; some of it was more solid, while occasionally, a little reached a high standard. And when one remembers the conditions under which the work was attempted, one must admire the courage of the men who took up the challenge and achieved what they did.”¹

As demobilisation proceeded rapidly, many people were asking what was to be the future of education in the Army. This question was answered by Mr. Churchill in August 1919, when, as Secretary of State for War, he declared to the House of Commons: “It has been decided that education is henceforward to be regarded as an integral part of Army training.” In pursuance of this policy the Corps of Army Schoolmasters was disbanded in February 1920 and Mr. Churchill announced that, in future, regimental officers would be responsible for elementary educational training and would be assisted by an Education Corps incorporating members of the former Corps of Army Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses.

The constitution and duties of the new corps were laid before Parliament in May 1920, and the establishment, pay, and conditions of service of the Army Educational Corps were set out in *Army Order 231* of 1920. In addition to transferring personnel from the Corps of Army Schoolmasters, officers and other ranks who had suitable qualifications and experience were invited to apply for transfer. A board of selection, under the chairmanship of Lord Gorell, interviewed candidates, and the establishment was made up to 428 officers and 595 warrant-officers and sergeants. Personnel of the corps were allotted on a fixed scale to units and were to be regarded by commanding officers as expert advisers and assistants. They were not only responsible for carrying out advanced instruction, but were also required to supervise the training of regimental instructors who dealt with the more elementary aspects of the training. Other members of the corps were attached to the H.Q.s of brigades, divisions, and commands, and were appointed to the Army School of Education established at Shorncliffe or were given inspectorial posts at the War Office.

The Geddes Axe came into operation in 1922 and the establishment of the corps was cut by one-half. The official textbook of educational principles, *Educational Training, Part I, General Principles*, was issued in 1920, and was revised and enlarged in

¹ Hawkins and Brimble. *Adult Education, the Record of the British Army*, pp. 63-4, Macmillan, 1947.

1923 and again in 1931. This was an enlightened document which incorporated the principles of modern educational method. The Army Certificates of Education were restored, with an additional Special Certificate. A soldier had to gain a first-class certificate before he could receive warrant rank, and the special certificate before he could be commissioned. The examination for the special certificate included English, mathematics, a classical or modern language, map-reading, and two other subjects selected from a prescribed list.

Vocational training was introduced to fit the soldier to take up civilian employment after his discharge from the Army. This included gardening, joinery, light metal-work, and elementary electrical engineering. Special vocational centres were established. At Catterick, soldiers were trained in farming methods and poultry and pig keeping. Officers and other ranks of the A.E.C. were allotted to the apprentice tradesmen schools and were responsible for the general education of boys who were training to become skilled Army tradesmen.

Between 1920 and 1939, the A.E.C., although suffering from successive economy cuts, took on new responsibilities in Britain and overseas. Some idea of the success of the Corps is given by the number (18,000) of men who possessed the first-class certificate in 1936 (a standard roughly equivalent to School Certificate) and the fact that ninety per cent of these had left school at fourteen.

When war broke out in 1939, members of the A.E.C. were required to take up Intelligence duties, and it was not until the winter of 1940 that they were able to return to their educational work. Meanwhile, education in the Forces was left to voluntary associations connected with adult education. After Munich, a modified form of conscription had been introduced and demands were made by the Y.M.C.A., the W.E.A., and the universities, for the provision of educational training for the young militiamen. These demands were supported by the Board of Education and in consequence the War Office agreed to prepare a scheme in conjunction with the extra-mural departments of the universities. Before the scheme could be put into operation, however, hostilities broke out and the various committees responsible for it were dissolved.

As in the First World War, groups of men within the Army organised educational schemes and called upon the universities and other bodies for assistance. The need for the co-ordination

of these diverse activities grew, and the demand that something should be done was made in the press and by different educational associations. A conference representing the Board of Education and the civilian bodies met and decided upon the institution of a Central Advisory Council for Education in H.M. Forces. The Council had its first meeting in January 1940, and Sir Walter Moberly, chairman of the University Grants Committee, was appointed its chairman, with Dr. A. D. (later Lord) Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, as vice-chairman, and Dr. Basil Yeaxlee as secretary. The C.A.C. asked the vice-chancellors and the principals of the university colleges to form Regional Committees through which the C.A.C. could work. Altogether, twenty-three Regional Committees for Education in H.M. Forces were formed, on which the universities and representatives of bodies concerned with adult education served. A full-time secretary, usually a member of the university staff, was appointed for each Regional Committee, and plans were drawn up for the co-ordination of the educational resources of their areas.

The Regional Committees got busy in a very short space of time, and from August 1940 their work was financed by the Government through the War Office. These measures mobilised the whole of the civilian educational resources of the country to deal with the situation. The C.A.C., however, intimated to the War Office that it was important to utilise the educational resources of the Army as soon as possible. The Haining Committee met in March 1940, and recommended the establishment of a Directorate of Army Education. The personnel of the A.E.C. were returned to their educational duties and the increase of the establishment of the corps was authorised. The War Office ordered every unit to appoint a regimental officer as part-time education officer and his duties were to ascertain the needs of his men and make arrangements to meet them.

Some idea of the ground covered by the Regional Committees can be gained from one of the early reports of the C.A.C. for the period April-September 1941. 18,983 single lectures, 1,530 short courses, and 1,075 classes were arranged by the Regional Committees. The total number of meetings was 33,532. In addition, there were classes organised by the L.E.A.s, and between 700 and 800 provided for the Royal Navy and the R.A.F. At this time, the C.A.C. was employing forty-six full-time, and a very much larger number of part-time, lecturers.

In spite of all that was being accomplished by the C.A.C., the L.E.A.s, and the personnel of the A.E.C., the Adjutant-General, Sir Ronald Adam, calculated that nearly eighty per cent of the Army was untouched by any regular educational influence. It was largely due to his advice that the Army Council introduced in September 1941 the Army Bureau of Current Affairs. Sir Ronald Adam decided that educational activities should be compulsory in the Army, but what forms should they take?

The morale of the average soldier was causing the Government considerable concern. The Germans knew quite clearly what they were fighting for, but the same could not be said of many of our own troops. Large numbers had only a vague understanding of the causes which had produced the war, and even those who were adequately informed when they joined the Army, had lost touch with current affairs. It was felt that if the soldier was thoroughly acquainted with the essentials of the cause for which he was fighting, he would be a better soldier and the understanding would give a new direction to both his training and his campaigning. The ideal was that of the Cromwellian soldier who both knew and loved what he was fighting for.

There was to be at least one A.B.C.A. discussion a week and it was to be given by the regimental officer. In order to brief him, a bulletin was issued every week. *Current Affairs* and *War* would be supplied in alternate weeks. Mr. W. E. Williams, the Director of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, was the originator of this idea. *Current Affairs* provided a background of recent events in their relation to the war effort and *War* was to be a chronicle of the progress of the war on different fronts showing the achievements of the Navy, Army, and Air Force, and the forces of our allies. Each bulletin also contained suggestions about the methods of handling the topics. It was not supposed that every officer would be a capable instructor. Indeed, the majority were faced by a task which was entirely new to them. The method to be employed was that of a free discussion, and the role of the regimental officer was rather that of a group-leader or a chairman than a teacher. He was given the advice, "Take particular care to assure your men that you don't claim to be an expert. But tell them that it's your business, as an officer, to learn the facts about things, so that you can communicate them to the men you have to train. 'I didn't know anything about the Bren gun until I joined the Army. I've had to study it, so that I could teach it. In the same way, I've

had to study the origins of this war, so that I can teach you about it. I'm not an expert, but I've collected and examined the facts, and now, as well as I can, I'll try to answer any questions you put about it. I don't say I'll know all the answers, but I'll do my best, and at least I can help you to find them out from other sources.' ”¹

Needless to say, some officers made a great success of their new job while others were complete failures. Everything depended on the attitude of the commanding officer and the zeal and enthusiasm of the regimental officers themselves. On the whole, A.B.C.A. made many men “news-minded” and taught them how to read their newspapers intelligently and to discuss their views with their comrades.

Experience of A.B.C.A. discussions showed that the education of men and women in the forces was lacking in many fundamentals and something more than an hour per week spent at a lecture or in discussion was needed to make good these deficiencies. Accordingly, for the four winter months November 1942 to February 1943, an additional three hours a week were allotted for education from the training time. One period was for the training of the man as a soldier, another was concerned with his education as a citizen, and the third with his education as an individual. The first period was to be at the disposal of the commanding officer, who might use it for map-reading, history of the Army or the regiment, or, in the case of technical units, for mathematics or technical instruction. The briefing for the course in citizenship was by means of the *British Way and Purpose* pamphlets which had been specially written by civilian experts. Whilst the regimental officers continued with A.B.C.A., *British Way and Purpose* was usually given by civilian lecturers from the Regional Committees, personnel of the A.E.C., or specially briefed regimental instructors. The latter were obtained through short courses on subject-matter and methods of teaching held at the universities. Thus, at Leeds, during this period, the writer organised courses of a fortnight's duration through which more than 400 regimental instructors were briefed. Similar courses were arranged at most of the other universities. The third period catered for the individual interests of men and women, and a wide variety of studies and occupations was available. Correspondence courses were arranged to assist those whose professional training had been broken by enlistment. *British Way and Purpose* was such a success that the original series of pamphlets were issued

¹ *Basic A.B.C.A.*, No. 1, November 1942, p. 2.

in book form A.B.C.A. and *British Way and Purpose* were also taken up by the Royal Navy and the R.A.F.

In November 1942 the A.B.C.A. directorate began the issue of *A.B.C.A. Map Reviews*. Each of these consisted of a large coloured map of the world with arrows pointing to the regions where events of current interest had occurred. The back of the sheet contained comments on recent events illustrated by maps and photographs. They were issued fortnightly to units and formed a running commentary on current affairs. In large units a quiet room was set aside containing current copies of the pamphlets, photographs, wall-newspapers, and selected works of reference.

Music appealed to considerable numbers of men and women. Northern Command was able to produce two orchestras, the Catterick, and the Northern Command Symphony Orchestra, the latter being conducted by Richard Austin. Musical and dramatic performances were arranged by the Entertainments National Service Association (E.N.S.A.) both in Britain and overseas. In some districts, Forces Music Clubs were started and attracted the more serious students of music. The A.T.S. both used and contributed to the different services made available, and special courses in household repairs, handicrafts, and domestic subjects, were arranged for them.

To sum up, these war-time years witnessed the greatest experiment ever conducted in mass adult-education, but this was not the end of it all. As the war drew to its conclusion, serious attention was being given to the demobilisation period. Matters were complicated since no one knew when the war was likely to end, but as early as December 1943 an education scheme for the release-period was being considered. In addition to the Army School of Education, which had moved from Shorncliffe to Wakefield, and the A.B.C.A. School at Coleg Harlech, a new school for training instructors for the release-period was opened at Cuerdon Hall near Preston. The establishment of the A.E.C. was increased so that the corps could adequately supervise the scheme. Most of the actual instruction was to be given by unit education officers and personnel selected from the unit. With the assistance of the Regional Committees, a large number of intensive courses for instructor-training were organised, so that when the time came to put the scheme into operation there would be a sufficiency of instructors. In February 1944 Mr. P. R. Morris was seconded from his duties as Director of Education for Kent to co-ordinate the

Directorates of Army Education and A.B.C.A., and to organise an educational scheme for the release-period. The first Director of Army Education had been Mr. F. W. Bendall, who was released by the Board of Education for that purpose in 1942. He was succeeded by Mr. J. B. Bickersteth who returned to the University of Toronto at the beginning of the year 1944, and, in December of the same year, Brigadier (later Major-General) Cyril Lloyd was released by Field-Marshal Montgomery to take up the duties of Director of Army Education. Sir Philip Morris, who is now Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bristol, brought to the task a long experience of education and administration which was invaluable. He was mainly responsible for the Army Education Scheme (Release-Period), and when, in February 1946, the scheme was fully launched, he handed over the administration to Major-General Lloyd.

The details of the release scheme were given in the *Organisation Handbook*, 16th March 1945. It was planned on a unit basis, an A.T.S. group being regarded as a unit. A minimum of six hours a week was set aside from training- or working- hours for education, and commanding officers could allocate further periods if necessary. Other handbooks were issued which dealt with curricula, method, equipment and materials, correspondence courses, and libraries. The syllabus in each subject was divided into three grades—elementary, intermediate, and advanced. Arrangements were made for a supply of textbooks (eight hundred selected books were printed), stationery, materials, and apparatus.

Classes which could not be organised within units were provided at brigade level. The apex of the scheme was the Formation College, in which students could carry their studies to a more advanced stage than was possible in their units. One college was established in each home command, one in the British Liberation Army, and one each in the Central Mediterranean Force and the Middle East Force. Arrangements were also made for special lecturers, chosen by the C.A.C., to visit the armies in Europe, North Africa, and the Far East. Formation Colleges at home were housed as far as possible in large country houses. Thus Northern Command Formation College was at Welbeck Abbey, the seat of the Duke of Portland, but troops from the London district and Southern Command made use of a hutted camp at Chisledon, near Swindon.

In order to meet the needs of men and women who wished to

enter a university or one of the professions, courses of study leading to the Forces Preliminary Examination were instituted.¹

The scheme was drawn up in accordance with the prevailing belief that, after the war with Germany had been won, at least another year would be necessary to ensure the defeat of Japan, and that therefore demobilisation would be a gradual process. VE-Day came on 8th May 1945, but by August 10th Japan was also out of the war. As a result, the Government announced that demobilisation would be speeded up. During May and June, units made their preliminary plans and the scheme was to be complete by July 1st. In spite of difficulties caused by the diminishing number of instructors, many of whom were returning to their civilian occupations, in some units the scheme was a marked success. The Army Schools and Regional Committees worked hard to provide training courses for new unit instructors. The pamphlet *War* was discontinued, and in December 1945 the Army Bureau of Current Affairs was replaced by a civilian bureau which, under the control of the Carnegie trustees, continues to issue bulletins, map-reviews, and all kinds of visual aids, including films and film-strips.

During 1947 the Release Scheme was replaced by one more suited to peace-time conditions. The latter differed from pre-war days because a limited form of conscription was continued. The needs of young men drafted into National Service had to be considered, and at the same time arrangements were necessary for the education of Regular soldiers. Plans were prepared for a scheme of general education in which, as in the release-period, the curriculum was divided into three grades in each of the basic subjects—English, mathematics, history and geography, general science, and citizenship with current affairs. *The Handbook of General Education* was issued, 9th April 1948, in which the syllabuses for Grades A, B, and C were given, together with suggestions on teaching method.

The scheme is partly compulsory and partly voluntary. Citizenship and current affairs are compulsory for National Service men and Regular soldiers. Men who have reached the standard of the

¹ This examination was in two parts, and, in order to pass, the candidate had to satisfy the examiners in both parts, which could be taken separately. Part I consisted of three compulsory subjects: English, Mathematics or Latin or a subject chosen from Part II, and General Knowledge (including Current Affairs and Citizenship). In Part II, the candidate had to pass in two of the following subjects: Natural Science or Household Science or Latin (if not already taken in Part I), French or German, History or Geography, Social Science, and additional Mathematics or Geometrical and Mechanical Drawing.

Forces Preliminary Examination can continue their education in the form best suited to their needs. Regular soldiers will continue their education until they have served three years or reached the standard of Forces Preliminary, Part I. If they wish to continue voluntarily after this, permission will generally be given. Similar regulations apply to the A.T.S., now renamed the Women's Royal Auxiliary Corps (W.R.A.C.). Soldiers are also encouraged to make use of civilian educational facilities. Correspondence courses are still available, and each course, including the necessary textbooks, costs 10s. per annum.

Two Army colleges in Britain and two overseas are retained, and Army Education Centres up to the number of eighty may be established for garrisons of over 1,500 men at home and abroad. Regimental instructors are being replaced by personnel of the R.A.E.C., but the unit education officer is retained on a part-time basis and the commanding officer is still responsible for the education of his unit. The distinction of the title Royal Army Educational Corps was conferred, 10th December 1946, as recognition for valuable services during the war. Supplies of books, stationery, and other materials are now issued on normal equipment scales.

Two Army Schools of Education were established, one for N.C.O.s, at Buchanan Castle near Loch Lomond, and the other at Eltham Palace, Kent, for officers. In September 1948 the two schools were amalgamated and moved to Bodmin, Cornwall.¹ The whole of Army education is being brought into line with the further education planned by the Act of 1944, and to bring this about the Ministry of Education has arranged for certain H.M.I.s to co-operate in an advisory capacity with the military inspectors of the Army Directorate.

The Northern Command Formation College, Welbeck Abbey, is now closed (p. 589) and will be re-opened in September 1953 as a college to prepare boys for regular commissions in the technical branches. At present, the public schools in the south of England have supplied the majority of such officers. Few came from the north of England and Scotland or from the grammar-schools. Welbeck Abbey will offer a two-year course (16-18 years) and pupils who are recommended by the headmaster will proceed to Sandhurst without being required to pass the entrance examination.

The college will be similar to a normal boarding-school and will be staffed by civilians. Candidates for entry must be recommended

¹ The Army School of Education has recently been moved to Beaconsfield.

by their headmasters and should have obtained the General Certificate of Education in three subjects, including science and mathematics. The interviewing board will contain a number of civilian members and attention will be given to ascertaining those who possess potential officer qualities. The college will accommodate seventy-five pupils, but later the number is to be doubled. Emphasis will be placed on the study of science and mathematics and every pupil will have workshop training. Tuition will be free, but parents will be required to contribute to the maintenance of their sons, according to their income. The maximum contribution has been fixed at £90 a year. Many pupils leave the secondary school at sixteen and it is hoped to attract suitable candidates from them to the technical branches of the army.

Another new scheme opens out an opportunity of obtaining a regular commission through national service training. Selected national service officers will enter the Royal Military College of Science, Shrivenham, to read for B.Sc. External of London University. Thus candidates will be able to graduate whilst holding the rank and receiving the pay of an officer without serious disturbance to their academic studies.

The recent reintroduction of Army Certificates of Education has tended to awaken the interest of a certain number and to provide them with a goal towards which to work. *A.C.I.* 349, 20th April 1949, fixed 1st October 1949 as the commencing-date of the examination for the second and third class certificates, and 1st March 1950 for the first-class. The interest is derived from the fact that promotions are to depend on the possession of the appropriate certificate, the details of which are given in the *A.C.I.* mentioned above. The General Officers-in-Chief of commands and districts are responsible for the setting and marking of the two lower certificates, but the first-class certificates are the responsibility of the Institute of Army Education, Eltham Palace, London. For the lower certificates candidates are examined in English (oral and written), elementary mathematics, and in the general paper which includes history, geography, general science, citizenship, and current affairs. Map-reading is an additional subject for the second-class certificate. The first-class certificate consists of two parts. Part I contains the compulsory subjects: English, mathematics, and current affairs. Part II allows the candidate a choice of the following: history, geography, general science, or citizenship. For special requirements, candidates may offer other subjects such as additional mathematics,

physics, chemistry, engineering drawing, map-reading, and either French, German, or Russian. All soldiers seeking promotion are given a year of grace in which to qualify.

One problem, the number of illiterates in the forces, has caused considerable concern. In 1943 it was estimated that these represented about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the intake. Since National Service men have entered the Army, some authorities place the percentage as high as ten with possibly double that number of semi-illiterates. These figures may be exaggerated, but there is no doubt that large numbers enter the Services at eighteen who seem to have retained little that has been taught them at school. These are not always confined to the dull and backward; many with normal, and sometimes high, I.Q.s are almost illiterate. During the war, special courses in basic education were arranged to teach them reading and writing. Special textbooks (*English Parade*) were issued and the teaching of reading proceeded by a combination of "sentence" and "phonetic" methods. Some of these efforts were successful, but many men relapsed a few months after the course. Refresher courses were of value in helping to prevent this. One may ask how it is that men who have attended school until fourteen should become illiterate in the space of a few years. Investigations have shown that many causes have been at work. Some had missed the greater part of their schooling, *e.g.* children of the bargees, gipsies, etc. Another cause was the large numbers in the classes of the junior schools. Under these conditions there was a tendency to neglect the duller pupils, with the result that they left the junior school without being able to read or write. The senior school gave them little help, partly owing to the absence of suitable reading-books for "C-stream" pupils. There were also pupils who, through illness, had missed a large part of the school course. Other contributory factors were the dislocation of the pupils' studies in blitzed areas, the unsatisfactory schooling of many who had been evacuated, and the tendency of some teachers to pay less attention to basic subjects than formerly. Under the new scheme, centres for preliminary education have official recognition and provide a six-week course under specially trained instructors. When the man rejoins his unit, his preliminary education continues. The War Office realises that, under modern conditions of warfare, an illiterate can never make an efficient soldier.

Space will allow only a brief mention of the educational work in the Royal Navy and the R.A.F. during the last war. As in the

Army, education in the Navy has a long history. There were education officers on the ships of the Royal Navy at least as far back as the end of the 17th century. Their duties were to instruct young officers in the three R's and in navigation, and then to teach other young people of the ship. The Newcastle Commission was very critical of the facilities provided by the Admiralty. The Commissioners reported: "The educational arrangements of the navy present a marked difference to those in force for the army. The organisation is inferior, and the Admiralty does not appear to take an equal interest with the War Office in promoting it. The necessity of education for the navy is acknowledged but little earnestness is displayed in carrying it out."¹ Although a seamen's schoolmaster was to be found in all ships with a complement of over 300 men, the Commissioners who investigated the conditions of education in sea-going ships reported that the schools were very defective. The teaching was not of a character to interest or attract the men, and generally no register of attendances was kept. The inadequacy of the schools was largely due to the lack of interest shown by the captain and the senior officers, and the schoolmasters were of an inferior type and would continue to be so until more adequate pay was given. As the Admiralty was not prepared to spend additional money on education, the Commission recommended the introduction of the pupil-teacher system on board ship.

Dr. Wooley inspected the ships in harbour and reported on their schools as follows: "My impression is not favourable; they display an utter want of classification and intelligent system. . . . The records of attendances, if kept at all, are very imperfect The grand desideratum for these schools is the establishment of some means for providing them with a sufficiency of trained masters. Until this is done, it is useless to suggest minor improvements."²

The dockyard schools were also inspected and the unfavourable report which was issued on them resulted in the recommendation that a normal school should be established at Greenwich, similar to the one at Chelsea for the Army, and that a class of assistant schoolmasters and three grades of Royal Navy schoolmasters be established. The report of the Commission was very effective in introducing improvements into naval schools and before the end of the century many of the recommendations had been put into operation.

¹ *Newcastle Commission on Popular Education*, Vol. I, p. 428, H.M.S.O., 1861.

² *Ibid.*, p. 435.

The First World War resulted in a large extension of education, but as compared with the Army, it was to a great extent scientific and technical. During the Second World War, when operational activities permitted, education was carried on in a way similar to that in the Army. Technical education has always been important since it is required for the seaman's work, *e.g.* mathematics for his training in gunnery. Courses of lectures, debates, classes in handicrafts, and vocational classes, were provided in the ports, and one interesting feature was a series of lectures delivered on board ship by well-known university professors who were flown to the Grand Fleet at Scapa Flow.

Besides technical education, an hour a week is given to current affairs and citizenship and basic education is compulsory. The work of the Navy demands a high educational standard in its ratings so that the problem of illiteracy does not exist. Basic education roughly corresponds to the Army general education, and is usually given at those times when the seaman is on training courses, mostly ashore. The education centres established at main bases at home or overseas are to be retained and attention is being given to education for leisure and resettlement. The educational facilities of the Navy apply to the W.R.N.S., and civilian lecturers are used at shore stations.

The Royal Navy has its own education officers, two on board each large ship—battleships, aircraft carriers, and battle cruisers—and one for smaller ships. Where the complement of a ship is too small to justify a full-time education officer, one of the ship's officers acts as part-time education officer. The naval education officer has not only administrative duties but the whole of the teaching work falls on him. Every ship has its library containing both educational and recreational books, and men and women preparing for professional examinations can make use of the Army correspondence courses.

The importance of technical training in the R.A.F. was mentioned in the account of education during the First World War. It has become vital under modern conditions. The ground staff includes skilled tradesmen, craftsmen, and mechanics, and many of the officers are required to reach a very high standard of technical fitness. The technical training of the R.A.F. is shared between the technical officers who deal with the practical aspect of training and the educational officers who are responsible for the more theoretical work in mathematics, physical science, and engineering.

During the Second World War, the R.A.F. developed an education scheme similar to that of the Army, and later, in order to prepare personnel for demobilisation, a compulsory scheme known as E.V.T. (Educational and Vocational Training) was organised. The National Service man presents a special problem for the R.A.F. Many trades require more than a year's apprenticeship, so that the National Service man must be allocated to those which require only a short period of training. For boys who intend to make the R.A.F. their career, a scheme for training aircraft-apprentices exists. The course extends over three years and boys are selected by a competitive examination. A third of the time is given to mathematics, physics, mechanics, theory of flight and of structures, mechanical drawing, and the principles of the internal-combustion engine. The remainder is employed in physical training and games, English, history, and geography and current affairs. The largest aircraft-apprentice training-centre is the School of Technical Training, Halton, Bucks. The school not only provides apprentices with a wide general and technical education, but a scheme exists by which some students at the end of a three-year course are given a full university course in engineering to qualify them for commissions in the technical branch. Others may be selected for training as cadets for the flying branch, and one of the main features at the R.A.F. College, Cranwell, is the training of cadets. The R.A.F. is justly proud of its training scheme and a great deal of thought and experiment went into the making of it. Boys who intend to take up clerical and administrative work, and those with more modest attainments, are provided with other courses of training.

The General Education Scheme of the R.A.F. mainly provides for part-time education for officers and men and women in the Service, and the kind of training offered is similar to that of the Army. Each R.A.F. station has its complement of education officers based upon the numbers on the station. They undertake both teaching and administrative duties, but the latter take so much of their time that assistance is obtained from part-time teachers, who may be civilians or members of the Service. Arrangements are made for R.A.F. personnel to use civilian educational facilities in technical schools and evening institutes and help is also given by lecturers from the extra-mural departments of the universities. Before 1st October 1946 the education service of the R.A.F. consisted of civilian graduates, many of whom had been teachers in secondary schools, who were given the status of officers and allowed

to wear uniform. After this date an education branch of the R.A.F. was formed. Members are officers holding either permanent or short-service commissions. A recent development has been the introduction of special courses and examinations for officers seeking promotion.

In all three Services, the policy is to bring the education schemes into line with what is being achieved in civilian life and to integrate their efforts with the further education plans proposed by the Ministry of Education. The C.A.C. came to an end on 31st December 1948, but, as the assistance of civilian teachers was still needed by the Services, the universities, through their extra-mural departments, were invited to undertake the work previously carried out by the regional committees. University lecturers have been appointed to deal with students who are of School Certificate standard or over, whilst the W.E.A. and the L.E.A.s have undertaken to give assistance with the remainder. At each university there is a Services Education Committee of the Extra-Mural Board, on which the Services, the university, the W.E.A., and the L.E.A.s, are represented.

APPENDIX

Since the Second Edition of this book was published, the General Election of October, 1951, resulted in the return of Mr. Churchill and a Conservative Government. Miss F. Horsbrugh was appointed Minister of Education. The new Government found itself faced by a number of serious problems; the adverse trade balance, and the threat of inflation at home, the cost of the re-armament programme, and the consequent shortage in certain essential materials. The education services could not hope to escape the call for economy.

The Minister of Education expressed her intention of preserving intact the essential fabric of the Act of 1944 but urged the adoption of economy measures wherever possible. *Circular 242* called upon local authorities to make a five per cent. reduction on the amount they had hoped to spend during the year 1952-3. Most local education authorities had planned for increased expenditure and they were asked to reduce their forecasts. The Minister recognised that a five per cent. reduction would not be possible in all areas. If, however, this percentage was not practicable, a smaller amount would be acceptable.

The Minister deplored any attempt to lower the proper standards of teaching or to employ inadequate teaching staffs. The supply of books, stationery, and essential apparatus should be maintained at an adequate level. She would also deprecate any move which would impair the efficiency of the school medical and dental services or to restrict the facilities for the development of technical education. The *Circular* suggested certain ways in which local authorities might be able to effect economies. They were called upon to review their anticipated expenditure on administration. Thus the Hertfordshire Education Committee has proposed a reduction of divisional executives from seven to one. It is estimated that this would effect a saving of about £15,000 a year with the possibility of a further saving of about £4,000. This is equivalent to nearly one-tenth of the authority's expenditure on administration. It is also urged that there is nothing which the divisional executive can do which cannot be carried out as effectively by the managers and governors of schools.

The expenditure on Main Grant services had already been limited by *Circular 210*, September 1951, and the Minister could not approve any increase on this amount. Transport of school children was an item which called for serious consideration. Its cost had risen to over £4,000,000 a year and in many cases the statutory minima required by the Act of 1944 had been ignored. In normal cases, transport could be provided for children living two miles from the school if they were under eight years of age, and three miles for children over that age. Handicapped children could be considered as exceptional cases. Where, for various reasons, parents were sending their children to schools which were not nearest to their homes, they might be asked to pay part of the fares.

The Minister recommended an increase of fees for further education and that recreational classes should be self-supporting. She did not expect drastic economies with regard to the provision of playgrounds, physical education, national camps or the Youth Service but efforts should be made to avoid unnecessary spending on these items. As regards capital expenditure, e.g. school building, separate suggestions would be made. These were the subject of *Circular 245* on capital investment in 1952-3. The revised programme for educational building set forth in the *Circular* was rendered necessary by the acute shortage of building materials, especially steel. The Minister promised guidance on the economic use of steel but for the time being a halt would have to be made in all but essential building. Local authorities were asked to consider alternative forms of construction in which the use of steel would be reduced to the minimum. Plans for rebuilding out-of-date schools would have to be temporarily postponed and the fullest use be made of spare places in primary schools. This might mean the postponement of the age of transfer for not more than a year. The reduced building programme, coupled with the present shortage in the number of teachers, would prevent for some time any marked reduction in the size of classes.

It is unfortunate that the proposed economy measures have become a political issue. All people who have the cause of education at heart regret that such steps have had to be taken but most regard them as inevitable in the present condition of the nation's economy. Technically they are not cuts in estimates but in the forecasts already submitted to the Ministry. In spite of these measures, the grants

received by local authorities for 1952-3 will be £183,953,000 in comparison with £173,678,000 for the previous year. This increase will probably be offset by the additional expenditure on teachers' salaries and the rising cost of building materials, school furniture, books, stationery, and other items of school equipment. It is also unfortunate that the restrictions upon school building have come at a time when the bulge in the birthrate has demanded more and more school places.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. R. A. Butler, announced that the grants made to universities will be increased for the five-year period 1952-7. Thus the recurrent grant which stood at £16,600,000 in 1951-2 will become £20,000,000 in 1952-3 and will rise by stages to £25,000,000 in 1956-7. *Circular 247* on the award of State scholarships decided that the number will remain as at present and that it was hoped that local authority awards would follow suit.

The Government's Education (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill received its first reading on 14th November 1952. The object of the Bill was to give some measure of financial assistance to voluntary schools and to clarify certain points arising from the Education Acts of 1944 and 1946. These Acts had provided for the payment of grants not exceeding fifty per cent towards the building of new aided schools on new building estates. To claim the grant it was necessary to prove that one or more of the schools which pupils of the proposed new school had attended had suffered a "substantial" reduction in numbers as a result of the transfer. The grant would then be paid on the displaced pupils transferred to the new school. The phrase "substantial" is a relative one. Thus twenty might be considered a substantial reduction in a school where the number on roll had been about fifty, but this could not be claimed in the case of a large school of three hundred. It was soon discovered that most of the new denominational schools on the housing estates drew their pupils from a number of different districts so that it was difficult to prove a substantial reduction. In these circumstances, no grant would be paid. This had not been envisaged when the Act of 1944 was passed. The remedy suggested was a revision of the definition of "displaced pupil" to allow the religious bodies to claim grant for them. The cost to the Exchequer would be about £200,000 a year and the religious bodies would benefit to this extent. The Minister stated that she had no intention of interfering with the main structure of the Act of 1944.

At the second reading of the Bill some members proposed that the grant should be made retrospective to 1944. Also a clause which gave the L.E.A the duty of naming the school to which a child was directed by a school attendance order was criticised on the ground that it interfered with the responsibilities of parents in spite of the fact that they had the right of appeal. These points were discussed in standing committee. The Minister was opposed to an amendment which, by making the grant applicable to schemes in progress or for which accounts had not been closed, would include about six Roman Catholic schools. In the division, denominational interests were predominant and the amendment was carried against the Government by twenty-six votes to eighteen.

One important proposal of the Bill is to amend Section 40 of the Act of 1940 to enable L.E.A.s to bring truants directly before a juvenile court in place of the present practice by which they are obliged to go first to the magistrate's court. Their misdemeanours will now be considered by persons who have had experience in dealing with children. It is also made clear that it is the duty of L.E.A.s in England and Wales and in Scotland to provide their own school dental service instead of relying upon the National Health Service. Miss Horsbrugh proposed certain drafting amendments which were accepted and it is probable that the Bill will become law later in 1953.

In February 1953, Miss Horsbrugh announced a reduction of the grants for adult education which would effect a saving of about £30,000 a year. This met with widespread criticism on the ground that the saving of public money was very small but it would seriously restrict the work of university extra-mural departments. It was urged that since it would lead to the closure of many W.E.A. and university classes, the Minister should reconsider her decision. In April, the Minister reversed her decision on the ten per cent cut in the adult education grant. She announced that next year's grant will not be reduced and she proposed to set up a small committee to examine and overhaul the administration and finance of adult education.

Although University College, Dundee, had been affiliated with the University of St. Andrews for more than half a century, the arrangement had not worked smoothly. The University College had for some years claimed independent status and an appeal was made to the Minister of State for an impartial inquiry. The result was an investigation conducted by Lord Cooper, President of the Court

of Session The Report which was issued in 1949 was not accepted by either party and a Royal Commission under the Chairmanship of Marshal of the Royal Air Force, Lord Tedder, was appointed in 1951. The recommendations of the Commission formed the basis of a Bill which was introduced in the House of Lords on 26th November 1952. The chief controversy turned about the status of the Rector. In the three mediaeval Scottish universities the Rector is elected triennially by the undergraduates. He is chairman of the University Court which is an administrative body equivalent to the Council of the modern English university. The Bill proposes that the Rector shall no longer be the chairman of the University Court of St. Andrews and that his place be taken by the Principal who is the equivalent of the English Vice-Chancellor. The Minister of State was unwilling to agree to the existence of two independent universities separated by the short distance of fifteen miles. The students of the University of Glasgow expressed their concern that the constitutional change at St. Andrews might also affect them, but they were assured on this point by the Minister, the Earl of Home. A petition was received from 1,250 students of St Andrews to urge that the provision for a change in the status of the Rector should be deleted. The Bill will probably become law during the session of 1953.

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A collection of essays on mediaeval and modern education Adamson dispels the belief that England had no elementary schools before the formation of the philanthropic societies of the 18th century.

Brown, J. H., *Elizabethan Schooldays*, Blackwell, 1933.

A very readable description of the Elizabethan grammar-schools, their origin, life, and curriculum, the methods of instruction, punishments, games, and sports, etc. The author has drawn upon Leach and Foster Watson for much of his detail.

Leach, A. F., *The Schools of Medieval England*, Methuen, 1915.

English Schools at the Reformation, Constable, 1894.

These two books are a very valuable contribution to the history of English schools before the Reformation. Mr. Leach was an able historian who, during his period of office as assistant-commissioner of the Charity Commission, had access to most of the important documents dealing with the history of endowed schools.

The reader should also refer to Leach's histories of schools in the different volumes of the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*.

Early Yorkshire Schools. "The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series."

Vol. XXVII, 1899. York, Beverley, Ripon.

Vol. XXXIII, 1903. Pontefract, Howden, Northallerton, Acaster, Rotherham, Giggleswick, Sedburgh.

These volumes contain a scholarly introduction and provide a collection of all the documents (mostly in Latin) which relate to the above schools. They form an indispensable source-book for the detailed study of mediaeval schools in northern England.

Marriot, Sir J. A. R., *The Life of John Colet*, Methuen, 1933.

Montmorency, J. E. G. de, *State Intervention in English Education*, C.U.P., 1902.

A much more comprehensive work than its title indicates. The claim to the continuity of elementary education after the Reformation should be noted. The period considered is up to 1833, and there are many useful references to education in other parts of the British Isles and the Empire.

Vincent, W. A. L., *The State and School Education, 1640-1660*, S.P.C.K., 1950.

Watson, Foster, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, C.U.P., 1908.

The Old Grammar Schools, C.U.P., 1916.

Specially useful for the Tudor and Stuart periods. They contain much detailed information about the life and curricula of the grammar-schools. The latter has a chapter dealing with the decline of the grammar-schools.

The Beginning of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England, Pitman, 1909.

The opening chapter is a useful introduction on the development of the grammar-school curriculum in the 16th and 17th centuries. Subsequent chapters describe the introduction of the different studies, such as mathematics, history, and geography, etc.

Wood, N., *The Reformation and English Education*, George Routledge, 1931.

C. ENGLISH SCHOOLS, 1660 TO 1902.

Adamson, J. W., *Pioneers of Modern Education, 1600-1700*, C.U.P., 1921.

In addition to Continental developments, this book deals with the work of Brinsley, the educational legislation of the Long Parliament, Hoole's *New Discovery*, and elementary education during the period.

English Education, 1789-1902, C.U.P., 1930.

A detailed study of great value. Includes elementary, secondary, and university education.

Archer, R. L., *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, C.U.P., 1921.

Includes an account of the development of the modern universities and pays special attention to Wales.

Arnold, Matthew, *Reports on Elementary Schools*, H.M.S.O., 1910.

The criticism of the Revised Code and its results should be noted.

Baines, E., *The Life of Edward Baines*, Longmans, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859.

Balfour, G., *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*, Clarendon Press, 1903.

Bingham, J. H., *The Sheffield School Board, 1870-1903*, J. W. Northend, 1949.

Binns, H. B., *A Century of Education*, Dent, 1908.

An account of the work of the British and Foreign School Society.

Bowen, W. E., *Edward Bowen*, Longmans, Green, 1902.

Butler, S., *Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler*, 2 vols., J. Murray, 1896.

Carlisle, N., *Endowed Grammar Schools*, 2 vols., 1818.

Clough, B. A., *Memoir of Anne J. Clough*, Edward Arnold, 1903.

Dobbs, A. E., *Education and Social Movements, 1700-1850*, Longmans, Green, 1919.

Edgeworth, M., *Practical Education*, 2 vols., London, 1798.

Professional Education, London, 1809.

Findlay, J. J., *Arnold of Rugby*, C.U.P., 1897.

Fitch, Sir J., *Thomas and Matthew Arnold*, "Great Educators Series," W. Heinemann, 1905.

Gautrey, T., "*Lux Mihi Laus*," *School Board Memories*, Link House Publications.

Gregory, A., *Robert Raikes*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1877.

Gregory, R., *Elementary Education*, National Society, 1905.

An account of the work of the National Society.

Hans, N., *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century*, Routledge, 1951.

Holman, H., *English National Education*, Blackie, 1898.

A very useful account of the development of elementary education before 1897. It contains a sound appraisal of the results of the Revised Code.

Holmes, E., *What Is and What Might Be*, Constable, 1911.

How, F. D., *Six Great Schoolmasters*, Methuen, 1904.

The lives and work of Hawtrey, Moberly, Kennedy, Vaughan, Temple, and Bradley.

Jones, M. G., *The Charity School Movement in the 18th Century*, C.U.P., 1938.

A detailed and scholarly study of the schools of the S.P.C.K. in Great Britain and Ireland.

Kay-Shuttleworth, Sir James, *Public Education*, Longmans, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853.

Kekewich, Sir G. W., *The Education Department and After*, Constable, 1920.

Kendall, G., *Robert Raikes*, Nicholson and Watson, 1939.

Kirk, K. E., *The Story of the Woodard Schools*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1937.

Lilley, A. L., *Sir Joshua Fitch*, Edward Arnold, 1906.

Mack, E. C., *Public Schools and British Opinion*, Columbia University Press, 1938 and 1941.

A most important work which should be read by all interested in the relation of the public schools to the national system.

Vol. I, 1780 to 1860.

Vol. II, Since 1860.

- McLachlan, H., *English Education under the Test Acts*, Manchester University Press, 1931.
- Maltby, S. E., *Manchester and the Movement of National Elementary Education, 1800-1870*, Manchester University Press, 1918.
- Matthews, H. F., *Methodism and the Education of the People, 1791-1851*, Epworth Press, 1949.
- Owen, Robert, *The Life of Owen Robert: Written by Himself*, G. Bell, 1920.
- Parker, I., *Dissenting Academies in England*, C.U.P., 1914.
- Parkin, G. R., *Life and Letters of Edward Thring*, Macmillan, 1900.
- Philpott, H. B., *London at School—The Story of the School Board*, Fisher Unwin, 1904.
- Pritchard, F. C., *Methodist Secondary Education*, Epworth Press, 1949.
- Raikes, E., *Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham*, Constable, 1908.
- Raymont, T., *A History of the Education of Young Children*, Longmans, Green, 1937.
- Robson, A. H., *The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England*, Kegan Paul, 1931.
- Rodgers, J., *Old Public Schools of England*, Batsford, 1938.
- Rusk, R. R., *A History of Infant Education*, University of London Press, 1933.
- Salmon, D., *The Practical Parts of Lancaster's Improvements and Bell's Experiment*, C.U.P., 1932.
- Smith, F., *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, J. Murray, 1923.
- An interesting and well-written biography.
- A History of English Elementary Education*, University of London Press, 1931.
- Valuable for its relation of educational progress to the political, and industrial background.
- Spalding, T. A., *The Work of the London School Board*, D. King, 1900.
- Stanley, A. P., *Life of Dr. Arnold*, J. Murray, 1904.

Stow, D., *The Training System*, Glasgow, 1840.

Strachey, L., *Eminent Victorians* [Life of Dr. Arnold], Penguin Books, 1948.

Webster, F. A. M., *Our Great Public Schools*, Ward, Lock, 1937.

Wilderspin, S., *The Infant System*, J. S. Hodson, 1852.

Wilkins, H. T., *Great English Schools*, Noel Douglas, 1925.

Wilson, Dover, J., *The Schools of England*, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1928.

Wood, J., *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School*, Edinburgh, 1828.

Wordsworth, C., *Discourse on Public Education*, F. and J. Rivington, 1844.

D. ENGLISH SCHOOLS SINCE 1902.

Allen, B. M., *Sir Robert Morant*, Macmillan, 1934.

Dr Allen presents very clearly the part played by Morant in shaping the Education Act of 1902, and the new policy towards education which he developed.

Badger, A. B., *The Public Schools and the Nation*, Robert Hale, 1944.

Bazeley, E. T., *Homer Lane and the Little Commonwealth*, Geo. Allen, and Unwin, 1928

Curtis, S. J., *Education in Britain, 1900-1950*, Andrew Dakers 1952.

Dent, H. G., *Education in Transition*, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1944.

A sociological study of the impact of war on English education, 1939-43

The Education Act, 1944, University of London Press, 1944.

Secondary Education for All, Routledge and Kegan, 1949.

A valuable study of the development of the idea of universal secondary education with pertinent criticisms of the present arrangements.

Earle, F. M., *Reconstruction in the Secondary School*, University of London Press, 1944.

A detailed description of the organisation of a multilateral school.

Fisher, H. A. L., *An Unfinished Autobiography*, O.U.P., 1941 (reprint).

Graves, J., *Policy and Progress in Secondary Education*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1943.

A useful account of secondary education during the past fifty years.

Hall, W. Clarke, *Children's Courts*, Geo., Allen, and Unwin, 1926.

Hughes, D., *The Public Schools and the Future*, C.U.P., 1942.

Kitchen, P. I., *From Learning to Earning*, Faber and Faber, 1944.

The story of the Rugby Continuation Schools.

Laidler, J. G., *Voluntary Schools*, Nat. Soc. and S.P.C.K.

Detailed information on the position of voluntary schools under the Education Acts of 1944 and 1946.

Leeson, Spencer, *The Public Schools Question*, Longmans, Green, 1948.

This book develops the views of the Fleming Report.

Lester Smith, W. O., *To Whom Do Schools Belong?*, Blackwell, 1943.

A very able study of the English educational system, introducing the points at issue in current controversy.

Lowndes, G. A. N., *The Silent Social Revolution*, O.U.P., reprinted 1948.

Probably the best study of the development of English elementary, secondary, and technical education from 1895 to the period immediately preceding the Second World War.

McMillan, Margaret, *The Nursery School*, J. M. Dent, revised edition, 1930.

Mansbridge, A., *Margaret McMillan—Prophet and Pioneer*, J. M. Dent, 1932.

Norwood, C., *The English Tradition of Education*, J. Murray, 1929.

Partridge, E. H., *Freedom in Education*, Faber and Faber, 1943.

A defence of the public schools.

Anon., *Sanderson of Oundle*, Chatto and Windus, 1924.

An account of Sanderson's achievements, compiled by members of his staff.

Segal, C., *Backward Children in the Making*, F. Muller Ltd., 1949.

A sociological study of children in a district of North Kensington.

Selby-Bigge, Sir L. A., *The Board of Education*, Putnam, 1927.

Sillitoe, H., *A History of the Teaching of Domestic Subjects*, Methuen, 1933.

Ward, H., *The Educational System in England and Wales*, C.U.P., 1939.

A concise but interesting description of the different educational institutions immediately preceding the Second World War

Waugh, A., *Public School Life*, W. Collins, 1922.

Wells, H. G., *The Story of a Great Schoolmaster—Sanderson of Oundle*, Chatto and Windus, 1924.

Wolfenden, J. F., *The Public Schools To-day*, University of London Press, 1949.

A spirited defence of boarding-schools, by the late headmaster of Shrewsbury and present Vice-Chancellor of the University of Reading.

Worsley, T. C., *Barbarians and Philistines*, Robert Hale. (No date given.)

A severe criticism of the public-school system.

E. SCOTTISH EDUCATION.

Belford, A. J., *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1946.

Boyd, W. (Editor), *Evacuation in Scotland*, University of London Press, 1944.

Cant, R. G., *A Short History of the University of St. Andrews*, Oliver and Boyd, 1946.

Coutts, J., *A History of the University of Glasgow*, James Macleshouse, 1909.

Edgar, J., *History of Early Scottish Education*, J. Thin, 1893.

Forbes, F. A., *The Founding of a Northern University*, Sands, 1920.

The story of the foundation of the University of Aberdeen.

Grant, J., *The History of Burgh and Parish Schools*, W. Collins, 1876.

The standard work on Scottish schools before the Act of 1872.

Insh, G. P., *School Life in Old Scotland*, Educational Institute of Scotland, 1925.

Jessop, J. C., *Education in Angus*, University of London Press, 1931.

Kerr, J., *Scottish Education, School and University*, C.U.P., 1910.

Mackenzie, R. J., *Almond of Loretto*, Constable, 1905.

Mason, J., *A History of Scottish Experiments in Rural Education*, University of London Press, 1935.

Morgan, A., *Makers of Scottish Education*, Longmans, Green, 1929.

Rise and Progress of Scottish Education, Oliver and Boyd, 1927.

Presents a clear and interesting account of the development of Scottish education including the Act of 1918.

Scottish University Studies, O.U.P., 1933.

Rusk, R. R., *The Training of Teachers in Scotland*, Educational Institute of Scotland, 1928.

Simpson, I. J., *Education in Aberdeenshire Before 1872*, University of London Press, 1947.

Strong, J., *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, Clarendon Press, 1909.

Includes the Act of 1908.

Tristan, H. B., *Loretto School*, Fisher Unwin, 1911.

Wade, N. A., *Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland, 1872-1936*, University of London Press, 1939.

F. ADULT, TECHNICAL, AND FORCES EDUCATION.

Abbott, A., *Education for Industry and Commerce in England*, O.U.P., 1933.

A complete survey of the development of technical education up to 1933, by a former Chief Inspector of Technical Schools. An authoritative work.

Burns, C. Delisle, *A Short History of Birkbeck College*, University of London Press, 1924.

Davies, L. J., *The Working Men's College*, Macmillan, 1904.

Dent, H. G., *Part-Time Education in Great Britain*, Turnstile Press, 1949.

Hawkins, T. H., and Brimble, L. J. F., *Adult Education. The Record of the British Army*, Macmillan, 1947.

Hudson, J. W., *History of Adult Education*, Longmans, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1851.

A detailed account of the growth of the early adult-schools and the Mechanics' Institutes.

Mansbridge, A., *An Adventure in Working-Class Education*, Longmans, Green, 1920.

An account of the origin and early development of the W.E.A.

- Martin, G. Currie, *The Adult School Movement*, National Adult School Union, 1924.
- Millis, C. T., *Technical Education, Its Development and Aims*, Edward Arnold, 1925.
- Parry, R. St. John (editor), *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education*, C.U.P., 1920.
- Peers, R., *Adult Education in Practice*, Macmillan, 1934.
- Pole, T., *A History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools*, Bristol, 1814.
- Raybould, S. G., *W.E.A. The Next Phase*, W.E.A., 1949.
- The English Universities and Adult Education*, W.E.A., 1951.
- Richardson, W. A., *The Technical College*, O.U.P., 1939.
- Sadler, Sir M. E., *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, Manchester University Press, 1907.
- Scott, R., *The Story of the Women's Institutes*, Village Press, Idbury, Oxon, 1925.
- Smith, Moore G. C., *The Story of the People's College, Sheffield*, Northend, 1912.
- Turner, D. M., *History of Science Teaching in England*, Chapman and Hall, 1927.
- Wilson, N. Scarlyn, *Education in the Forces—The Civilian Contribution, 1939-46*, Evans, 1948.
- Wood, Ethel M., *The Polytechnic and Quintin Hogg*, Nisbet, 1932.
- Yeaxlee, Basil A., *Spiritual Values in Adult Education*, 2 vols., O.U.P., 1925.

One of the most important contributions made to the study of adult education.

G. ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES.

- Attwater, A., *Pembroke College, Cambridge*, C.U.P., 1939.
- Brodrick, G. C., *A History of the University of Oxford*, Longmans, Green, 1886.
- Childs, W. M., *Making a University*, Dent, 1933.
- Cooper, J. W., *Annals of Cambridge*, 5 vols, C.U.P. (various dates).
- Documents Relating to King's College, London*, printed for private circulation by Richard Clay, 1933.

Fiddes, E., *Chapters in the History of Owens College, and of Manchester University*, Manchester University Press, 1937.

Flexner, A., *Universities, American, English, German*, O.U.P., 1930.

Gardner, A., *A Short History of Newnham College, Cambridge*, Bowes and Bowes, 1921.

Godley, A. D., *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, Methuen, 1909.

Grylls, R. G., *Queen's College*, George Routledge, 1948.

Gunther, R. T., *Early Science in Oxford*, Vol. I, O.U.P., 1921.

Pages 99-107 give an account of Recorde's work as a mathematician.

Hamilton, M. A., *Newnham*, Faber and Faber, 1936.

Hearnshaw, F. J. C., *The Centenary History of King's College, London*, Harrap, 1929.

Humberstone, T. L., *University Reform in London*, Allen and Unwin, 1926.

James, L., *A Forgotten Genius: Sewall of St. Columb's and Radley*, Faber, 1945.

Johnson, Brimley R., *The Undergraduate*, Stanley Paul, 1928.

An abridgment of Christopher Wordsworth's *Social Life at the English Universities in the 18th Century*.

Lowe, A., *The University in Transformation*, Sheldon Press, 1940.

Lyte, Maxwell H. C., *A History of the University of Oxford*, Macmillan, 1886.

A detailed account of Oxford before 1530.

Mallet, Sir Charles, *A History of the University of Oxford*, 3 vols., Methuen.

I. "The Mediaeval University," 1924.

II. "16th and 17th Centuries," 1924.

III. "Modern Oxford," 1927.

The most recent authoritative history of the University of Oxford.

Moberly, Sir Walter, *The Crisis in the University*, S.C.M. Press, 1949.

A diagnosis of the dangers which threaten the universities at the present time, with suggestions for meeting them. A valuable study of modern trends in the universities of to-day, based upon the writer's long experience as chairman of the University Grants Committee.

Rait, R. S., *Life in the Mediaeval University*, C.U.P., 1912.

Rashdall, H., *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., O.U.P., 1936.

The standard work on the mediaeval universities. Dr. Rashdall's theory of the origin of Oxford University is not universally accepted. The original work was published in 1895, but the second edition, 1936 (reprinted 1942), has been re-edited by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, and contains much additional material in the way of notes and corrections. Leach's criticism of Rashdall's theory of the origin of Oxford University has been reprinted in Appendix I, Vol. III.

Roberts, S. C., *British Universities*, Collins, 1947.

Introduction to Cambridge, C.U.P., 1945.

Schachner, N., *The Mediaeval Universities*, Allen and Unwin, 1938.

A useful book for the reader who desires a shorter account than that given by Rashdall.

Smithells, A., *From a Modern University*, O.U.P., 1921.

Stephen, Barbara, *Emily Davies and Girton College*, Constable, 1927.

Thompson, J., *The Owens College: Its Foundation and Growth*, Cornish, 1886.

Trevelyan, G. M., *Trinity College*, C.U.P., 1943.

Truscott, B., *Redbrick University*, Faber 1943.

Tuke, M. G., *A History of Bedford College for Women*, O.U.P., 1939.

Tylecote, M., *The Education of Women at Manchester University, 1883-1933*, Manchester University Press, 1941.

Venn, J., *Early Collegiate Life*, Heffer, 1913.

Caius College, C.U.P., 1923.

Whiting, C. E., *The University of Durham, 1832-1932*, Sheldon Press, 1932.

Wilson, Gordon S., *The University of London and Its Colleges*, U.T.P., 1923.

Winstanley, D. A., *Unreformed Cambridge*, C.U.P., 1935.

Cambridge in the 18th Century, C.U.P., 1922.

Early Victorian Cambridge, C.U.P., 1940.

Later Victorian Cambridge, C.U.P., 1947.

A detailed and authoritative history which performs for Cambridge a service similar to that of Sir Charles Mallet for Oxford.

Histories of particular colleges are published in the *College History Series* published by F. E. Robinson and Hutchinson. Included in the series are:—

Davies, W. C., and Lewis Jones, W., *The University of Wales*, 1905.

Fowler, J. T., *Durham University*, 1904.

H. A SELECTION OF HISTORIES OF PARTICULAR SCHOOLS.

Histories of all the English public schools and most of the grammar-schools have been published, and the student is advised to read one or more of these with the object of ascertaining how far the particular school fits in with the general line of development. The list which follows is a selection from the many histories which have been written and the student will find it useful to choose a school from his own district.

Airy, R., *Westminster*, Bell, 1902.

Anon., *Fifty Years of Fettes*, Constable, 1931.

Austin, R., *The Crypt School, Gloucester*, John Bellows, 1939.

Badley, J. H., *Bedales*, Methuen, 1923.

Barletot, R. G., *History of Crewkerne School*, James Wheatley, 1899.

Bedford, F. W., *History of the George Heriot's Hospital*, Bell and Bradfute, 1872.

Bell, E. A., *A History of Giggleswick School*, R. Jackson, Leeds, 1912.

Bennet, W., *A History of the Burnley Grammar School*, The Grammar School, Burnley, 1940.

Blanch, W. H., *Dulwich College and Edward Alleyn*, E. W. Allen, 1877.

Brett-James, N. G., *The History of Mill Hill School*, Thomas Malcomson, 1923.

Burgess, M. A., *A History of Burlington School*, printed for private circulation, 1924.

Claridge, W., *Origins and History of Bradford Grammar School*, J. Green, 1882.

Clarke, A. K., *A History of Cheltenham Ladies' College*, Faber and Faber, 1953.

Clarke, H. L., *History of Sedbergh School*, Jackson, 1925.

- Cobley, F., *Chronicles of the Free Grammar School of Prince Henry at Otley*, W. Walker, 1923.
- Cook, A. K., *About Winchester College*, Macmillan, 1917.
- Cox, T., *History of the Heath Grammar School, Halifax*, F. King, 1879.
- Crump, G., *Bedales Since the War*, Chapman and Hall, 1936.
- Cust, L., *A History of Eton College*, Duckworth, 1899.
- Davies J. C., *A History of Borlase School*, Aylesbury, 1932.
- Dodd, E. E., *A History of the Bingley Grammar School, Bradford*, 1930.
- Douglas, M. A., and Ash, C. R., *The Godolphin School*, Longmans, Green, 1928.
- Firth, J. d'E., *Winchester College*, Winchester Publications, 1949.
The latest account of Winchester. Very well illustrated
- Fisher, G. W., *Annals of Shrewsbury School*, Methuen, 1899.
- Forder, C. R., *A History of the Paston Grammar School* (published by the Governors, 1934).
- Forrester, E. G., *A History of Magdalen College School*, Hillier and Sons, 1950.
- Garside, B., *History of Hampton School*, C.U.P., 1931.
- Garstang, J., *A History of Blackburn Grammar School*, NE. Lancashire Press, 1897.
- Gibbon, A. M., *The Ancient Free Grammar School of Skipton in Craven*, University Press of Liverpool, 1947.
An admirable example of the way in which a school's history should be written. The history of Skipton Grammar School is given against the national background of secondary education.
- Gray, J. M., *A History of the Perse School, Cambridge*, Bowes and Bowes, 1921.
- Houseman, J. W., *Hipperholme Grammar School*, Lund Humphries, 1948.
- Houson, E. W., and Warner, G. T., *Harrow School*, Edward Arnold, 1898.
- Hutton, T. W., *King Edward's School, Birmingham, 1552-1952*, Blackwell, 1952.

Jameson, E. M., *Charterhouse*, Blackie, 1937.

Knight, Francis, A., *A History of Sidcot School*, J. M. Dent, 1908.

Laborde, E. D., *Harrow School*, Winchester Publications, 1948.

Law, W. S., *Oundle's Story*, Sheldon Press, 1922.

Leach, A. F., *A History of Winchester College*, Duckworth, 1899.

Leach is writing about his old school and includes many personal reminiscences.

A History of Bradfield College, O.U.P., 1900.

History of Warwick School, Constable, 1906.

Lempriere, W., *A History of the Girls' School of Christ's Hospital*, C.U.P., 1924.

Lennox, J. T., *Sevenoaks School and its Founder*, Caxton and Holmesdale Press, 1932.

Lunn, J., *A History of Leigh Grammar School*, Sherrall and Hughes, Manchester, 1930.

Lyte, Maxwell H. C., *A History of Eton College*, Macmillan 1875.

Many new editions (1877, 1889, 1899, and 1911). Probably the most complete history of a school yet written.

MacDonald, *A Short History of Repton*, Benn, 1929.

Mumford, A. A., *The Manchester Grammar School*, Longmans, Green, 1919.

Oldham, B. J., *A History of Shrewsbury School, 1552-1952*, Blackwell, 1952.

Peacock, M. H., *History of the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Wakefield*, W. H. Milnes, 1892.

Pearce, E. H., *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, Methuen, 1901.

Pollard, F. E. (editor), *Bootham School*, Dent, 1926.

Price, A. C., *History of the Leeds Grammar School*, R. Jackson, 1919.

Raine, A., *History of St. Peter's School, York*, Bell, 1926.

A really outstanding school history.

Rivington, S., *The History of Tonbridge School*, Rivingtons, 1935.

Ross, W. C. A., *The Royal High School*, Oliver and Boyd, 1934.

Row, E. F., *A History of Midhurst Grammar School*, Combridge, Hove, 1913.

- Sands, P. C., and Haworth, C. M., *A History of Pocklington School*, A. Brown and Sons, 1951.
- Sargant, W. L., *The Book of Oakham School* (privately printed), C.U.P., 1928.
- Sargeaunt, J., *History of Bedford School*, Fisher Unwin, 1925.
- Annals of Westminster School*, Methuen, 1898.
- Somervell, D. C., *A History of Tonbridge School*, Faber and Faber, 1947.
- Sterry, W., *Annals of Eton College*, Methuen, 1898.
- Sturge, H. W., and Clark, T., *The Mount School, York*, Dent 1931.
- Talboys, R. St. C., *A Victorian School: the Story of Wellington College*, Basil Blackwell, 1943.
- Tanner, L. E., *Westminster School*, Philip Allan, 1923.
- Thomas, D. H., *A Short History of St. Martin-in-the-Fields High School for Girls*, John Murray, 1929.
- Thompson, H., *A History of Ackworth School*, Centenary Committee, Ackworth School, 1879.
- Thornton, A., *Bridlington School*, Bridlington School, 1930.
- Trotter, J. J., *The Royal High School, Edinburgh*, Pitman, 1911.
- Ward, B., *History of St. Edmund's College*, Kegan Paul, 1893.
- Warner, T. R., *Winchester*, Bell, 1900.
- Watney, J., *Some Account of Mercers' School*, Blades, East, and Blades, 1896.
- Watson, G. A., *Ayton School, the Centenary History*, Headley Bros., 1941.
- Westaway, K. M., *A History of Bedford High School*, Hockcliffe, 1932.
- Wildsman, W. B., *A Short History of Sherborne*, Abbey Bookshop, Sherborne, 1930.
- Wilson, B., *Sedbergh School Register and History*, R. Jackson, 1909.
- Woodruff, C. E., *A History of Canterbury School*, Mitchell, Hughes, and Clark, 1908.
- Merchant Taylors' School*, Blackwell, 1929.
- The Story of St. Bees*, Buck and Woolton, 1939.

SELECTIONS FROM OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Again, this list is not intended to be exhaustive, but it attempts to give the names of official publications which may be useful for those studying special topics connected with the history of British education. With the exception of local publications, all the items were issued by H.M.S.O., and in the various sections they have been placed in chronological order.

I. ENGLAND AND WALES

(a) *Reports of Royal Commissions etc.*

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Education (Scotland) Act, 1946.
Education (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1948.
Children's Act, 1948.

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DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
397		St. Ninian founds Candida Casa.	
563		St. Columba founds the Abbey of Iona.	
597	Mission of St Augustine. Foundation of Cathedral School of Canterbury. Cathedral School at Rochester. Cathedral School of London		
628	Cathedral School of York.		
648	Cathedral School of Winchester.		
664	Synod of Whitby.		
685c.	Cathedral Schools of Worcester, Lichfield, and Hereford		
705-18	St. John of Beverley, Archbishop of York.		
766	Alcuin master of school of York. Alfred the Great (871-901).		
1005c.	Colloquy of Aelfric.		
1072	Restoration of Cathedral School of York by Thomas I.		
1124		School at Aberdeen.	
1173		Schools at Aberdeen and Perth.	
1185	<i>Studium generale</i> at Oxford.		
1191	Order of precedence in school of York settled.		
1231	<i>Studium generale</i> at Cambridge.		
1249	William of Durham founded Great University Hall at Oxford.		
1263	Balliol College, Oxford, founded.		
1264	Merton College, Oxford, founded.		
1284	Foundation of Peterhouse, Cambridge.		
1314	Exeter College, Oxford, founded by Walter de Stapleton.		

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1324	Oriel College, Oxford, founded.		
1326	Clare College, Cambridge, founded.		
1340	Queen's College, Oxford, founded by Robert Eglesfield, chaplain to Queen Philippa.		
1348	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, founded.		
	Pembroke College, Cambridge, founded.		
1350	Trinity Hall, Cambridge, founded by William Bateman.		
1352	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, founded.		
1379	New College, Oxford, founded by William of Wykeham.		
1387	Winchester College founded by William of Wykeham.		
1406			Statute of Artificers.
1410	Gloucester Grammar School Case.		
1411		University of St. Andrews founded by Bishop Wardlaw.	
1427	Lincoln College, Oxford, founded by Richard Fleming.		
1438	All Souls College, Oxford, founded by Archbishop Chichele.		
1439	Christ's College, Cambridge (God's House), founded by William Byngham.		
1440	Eton College and King's College, Cambridge, founded by Henry VI.		
1448	Queens' College, Cambridge, founded by Queen Margaret.		
1451		University of Glasgow founded.	
1458	Magdalen College, Oxford, founded by William Waynflete.		
1473	St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, founded by Robert Woodlark.		

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1494		University of Aberdeen founded by Bp. Elphinstone	First Scottish Education Act (James IV).
1496	Jesus College, Cambridge, founded.		
1509	Brasenose College, Oxford, founded		
1511	St. John's College, Cambridge, founded by Lady Margaret.		
1512	St. Paul's School re-founded by Dean Colet.		
1517	Corpus Christi College, Oxford, founded by Bishop Fox.		
1525	Foundation of Manchester Evening School.		
1542	Magdalene College, Cambridge, founded.		
1545			
1546	Foundation of Christ Church, Oxford.		
	Trinity College, Cambridge, founded.		Chantry Act of Henry VIII.
1547			
1552	Foundation of King Edward VI School, Birmingham, Christ's Hospital, and Leeds Grammar School.		
1555	St. John's and Trinity Colleges, Oxford, founded.		
1557	Repton School founded by Sir John Porte.		
1560	Westminster School re-founded by Queen Elizabeth.	Reformation in Scotland completed. 1st Book of Discipline (John Knox).	
1567	Rugby School founded by Laurance Sheriff.		
1571	Harrow School founded by John Lyon.		
	Jesus College, Oxford, founded by Queen Elizabeth.		
1574			
		Andrew Melville became principal of Glasgow University.	Chantry Act of Edward VI.
1581	Gresham College founded.		

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1583		University of Edinburgh founded.	
1584	Emmanuel College, Cambridge, founded by Sir Walter Mildmay. Uppingham School, founded by Archdeacon Johnson		
1593		Marischal College, Aberdeen, founded.	
1596	Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, founded. Foundation of University at Ripon proposed.		
1604			Parliamentary representation granted to universities by James I.
1610	Wadham College, Oxford, founded.		
1611	Charterhouse founded by Thomas Sutton.		
1619	Dulwich College founded by Edward Alleyn.		
1624	Pembroke College, Oxford, founded.		
1633			Scottish Act authorising establishment of parish schools.
1639		Hutcheson Hospital founded.	
1646			Scottish Act for founding schools.
1657	Cromwell's College at Durham.		
1659		George Heriot Hospital opened.	
1663	Royal Society incorporated.		
1696			Act for Settling Schools (Scotland).
1698	Founding of S.P.C.K.		
1709		S.P.C.K. (Scotland) founded.	
1714	Worcester College, Oxford, founded.		
1741	Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, founded.		
1761		First Academy opened (Perth).	
1767	First appointment of Army Schoolmaster.		
1779	Nonconformists permitted to teach.		

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1780	R. Raikes opens Sunday Schools in Gloucester.		
1794	Stonyhurst College founded.		
1798	Butler becomes headmaster of Shrewsbury. Joseph Lancaster in London.		
1799	Royal Military College, Sandhurst, opened	R. Owen at New Lanark. Birkbeck lectures at Glasgow.	
1800	Royal Institution founded. Oxford Public Exam. Statute. Downing College, Cambridge, founded.		
1801	Duke of York's School founded.		
1802			Health and Morals of Apprentices Act.
1803			Educ. Act (Scotland) fixing salaries.
1805	Leeds Gr. School Case.		
1807			Parochial Schools Bill (Whitbread).
1808	Royal Lancasterian Soc. founded.		
1810	British and Foreign School Society founded.		
1811	National Society founded. Sergeant Schoolmasters appointed.		
1816		R. Owen's infant-school at New Lanark.	
1818			Brougham's Commission of Educational Charities, 1818-37.
1819	Hazelwood School opened by Hill.		Factory Act (Peel). Charity Commission Report (Brougham). Parochial Schools Bill.
1821		Foundation of Dollar Academy.	
1822	Royal Academy of Music founded.		
1823	Beginning of Birkbeck College.		
1824	Infant Sch. Soc. founded.		
1825	Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.		
1826	University College, London, founded.	Glasgow Infant Soc. founded by David Stow.	Royal Commission on Universities (Scotland).

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1827	St. David's College, Lampeter.		
1828	King's College, London, founded. Arnold becomes head-master of Rugby.	Wood's Account of the Edinburgh Sessional School.	
1829		Parochial schools opened to all denominations.	
1832	Durham University founded.		Reform Act.
1833	Oxford Movement begins. Foundation of British Association for the Advancement of Science.		Factory Act (Shaftesbury). Education Bill (Roe-buck). First grant for Education.
1834	City of London College founded.		
1836	Home and Colonial Infant School Society founded. University of London established.	Glasgow Normal Seminary opened (Stow).	
1837	Normal School of Design founded.		
1839	Committee of Council for Education.		Grammar School Act.
1840	Kay-Shuttleworth opens Battersea Training College. Appointment of Army Schoolmistresses.		
1841	Cheltenham College founded.		
1842	People's College, Sheffield.		
1843	Queen's College, Birmingham, founded. Governesses' Benevolent Institution founded. Marlborough College founded.	Great Disruption.	Graham's Factory Bill.
1844	Rossall School founded. Y.M.C.A. founded.		
1845	Royal College of Chemistry founded.		
1846	Pupil-teacher system introduced. Corps of Army Schoolmasters founded.		
1847		Educational Institute of Scotland founded.	
1848	Queen's College, London, founded.		

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1849	College of Preceptors incorporated.		
	Bedford College, London, founded.		
1850	North London Collegiate School founded.		
	Hartley Institute (<i>later</i> University College), Southampton.		
1851	Great Exhibition.		
	Government School of Mines founded.		
	Owens College, Manchester, founded.		
1853	Department of Science and Art founded.		
	Y.W.C.A. founded		
	Cheltenham Ladies' College founded.		
	Wellington Coll founded.		
1854	Working Men's College founded.		Oxford University Act.
	First English Kindergarten opened.		
1855			Pakington's Education Bill.
1856	Creation of Education Department.		Cambridge University Act.
1858	Oxford and Cambridge Locals established.		University Act (Scotland).
	Miss Beale appointed to Cheltenham Ladies' College.		
1860	Army Certificates of Education.		
1861			Report of Newcastle Commission.
			Parochial and Burgh Schoolmasters' Act (Scotland).
1862	Revised Code.	Almond at Loretto.	
	Clifton College opened.		
	Haileybury Coll. founded.		
1864	Cambridge Locals opened to girls.		Report of Clarendon Commission.
1867			Reform Act.
			Report of Argyll Commission.
1868			Public Schools Act.
			Report of Taunton Commission.
1869	Girton College founded.		Endowed Schools Act.
	Headmasters' Conference founded.		

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1870	National Union of Teachers founded.		Elementary Education Act.
	Keble College, Oxford, incorporated.		
1871	College of Physical Science founded at Newcastle.		Abolition of religious tests at the universities.
	Newnham College founded.		Education (Scotland) Act.
1872	University College, Aberystwyth.		
1873	Beginning of University Extension.		
	Royal Naval College, Greenwich, founded.		
1874	Froebel Society founded.		Report of Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge.
	Hertford College, Oxford, founded.		
	Yorkshire College of Science founded.		
1876	Yorkshire College.		Lord Sandon's Act. Oxford and Cambridge Act.
1877	Maria Grey Training College founded.		
1878		Formation of Scotch Education Department.	
1879	Somerville College and Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, founded.		
1880	Victoria University founded.		Mr. Mundella's Education Act.
	London University admits women to degrees.		
	Regent Street Polytechnic opened.		
1883	University College, Cardiff.		
	Church School Company founded.		
1884	Toynbee Hall opened.		Report of Commission on Technical Education.
	Central Technical College opened.		
1885	University College, Bangor.	Reorganisation of Scotch Education Dept. (Craik, Secretary.)	
1886		Fettes College founded.	
1887	P.N.E.V. founded.		
1888		Leaving Certificate Examination.	Local Government Act. Report of Cross Commission.

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1889			Welsh Intermediate Education Act.
1890	University Day Training Colleges. "Whiskey Money."		
1892		Merit Certificate.	
1893	University of Wales founded. Free Elementary Education achieved.		Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act.
1894			Report of Gresham Commission.
1895			Report of Bryce Commission
1896	Royal College of Art established.		Gorst's Education Bill.
1897	Abolition of Payment by Results.		
1898			University of London Act.
1899	Ruskin College, Oxford, opened.		Board of Education Act.
1900	Cockerton judgment. University of Birmingham created.		
1901	University College, Exeter.		
1902	Hartley University College, Southampton.		Education Act (Balfour-Morant).
1903	W.E.A. founded. Universities of Manchester and Liverpool founded. Common Entrance Examination instituted.		
1904	University of Leeds founded.	Struthers appointed Secretary.	Education (Local Authorities Default) Act.
1905	University of Sheffield founded.		
1906			Education (Provision of Meals) Act. Birrell's Education Bill.
1907	Imperial College of Science founded. Free Place system.		Education (Administrative Provisions) Act.
1908	Boy Scouts founded.		Education (Scotland) Act. McKenna's Education Bill.
1909	Queen's University, Belfast. University of Bristol founded.		Children Act.
1910	Girl Guides founded.		

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1911	University Grants Committee.		
1912			Report of Royal Commission on London University.
1914	First World War. Rachel and Margaret McMillan open nursery school at Deptford.		
1915	Women's Institutes started.		
1916	Secondary Schools Examination Council.		
1918	Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee. University College, Leicester.		Education Act (Fisher). Education (Scotland) Act. Teachers' Superannuation Acts. Burnham Committee.
1919			
1920	Women admitted to degrees at Oxford. State scholarships begin. Army Educational Corps founded. University College, Swansea.	National and provincial committees for training of teachers.	
1921	National Council of Labour Colleges formed. Geddes Axe.		Education (Consolidating) Act.
1922			
1924			Teachers' Superannuation Act.
1925	National Playing Fields Association formed.		
1926	Joint examining boards for training of teachers. University of Reading founded.		
1928	Cambridge village colleges opened. University College, Hull.		Hadow Report (Adolescent).
1929			Local Government (Scotland Act). Report of Mental Deficiency Committee.
1931	Great financial crisis.		Hadow Report (Primary School).
1932	Special Places.		
1933			Children and Young Persons' Act. Hadow Report (Infant and Nursery School).
1936			Education Act (England).

DATE CHART—*continued.*

DATE	EDUCATIONAL EVENTS		ACTS AND OFFICIAL REPORTS
	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	
1936			Education (Scotland) Act.
1937	National Fitness Council.		
1938			Spens Report.
1939	Second World War. Evacuation.		<i>B. of E. Circular 1486</i> , Youth Service. <i>B. of E. Circular 1516</i> , Challenge of Youth.
1940	Institution of Central Advisory Council for Education in H.M. Forces.		
1941	A.T.C. formed Boys and Girls (16-18) register.		Green Book.
1942	Introduction of A.B.C.A. National Youth Advisory Council.		
1943			<i>B. of E. White Paper</i> . Norwood Report.
1944			Education Act (Butler). Fleming Report.
1945			McNair Report. Education (Scotland) Act.
1946	Army Education Corps receives title of "Royal"		Percy Report Education Consolidating Act (Scotland). Education Act (England).
1948			Education (Misc. Provisions) Act. Children Act.
1949	Scheme for General Certificate in Education accepted. Universities take responsibility for civilian aid to Forces' education.	Scheme for Scottish Leaving Certificate accepted.	
1950	University College of North Staffordshire (Stoke-on-Trent).		Universities cease to be represented in Parliament.
1952	University of Southampton founded.		

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